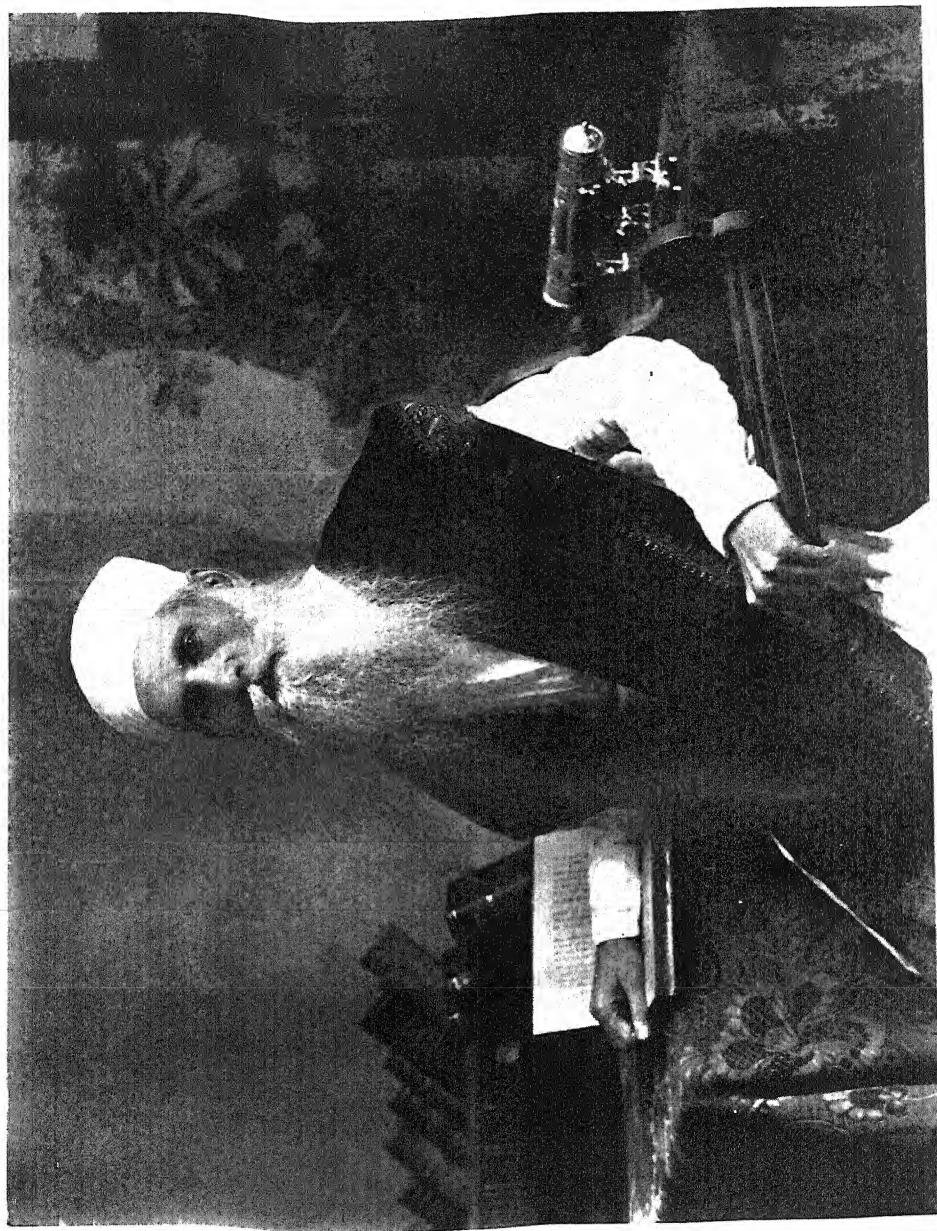


ORIENTAL STUDIES





DASTURJI SAHEB CURSETJI ERACHJI PAVRY

Order of Merit of the Persian Empire

ORIENTAL STUDIES

In honour of

Cursetji Erachji Pavry

EDITED BY

JAL DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY

WITH A FOREWORD BY

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

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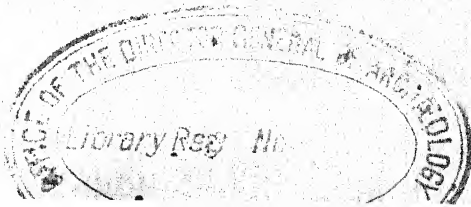


LONDON

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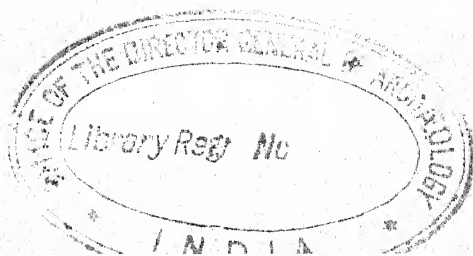
THESE STUDIES ARE OFFERED
TO
Dasturji Sahab Cursetji Erachji Pabry
IN COMMEMORATION OF
THE SEVENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF
HIS BIRTHDAY
AND IN RECOGNITION OF
HIS EMINENT POSITION IN THE WORLD
OF ZOROASTRIAN LITERATURE

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
MUSEUM, NEW DELHI.

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Dr. J. C. Pabry 1/10/58

PREFACE

DASTURJI SAHEB CURSETJI ERACHJI PAVRY, the distinguished Parsi High Priest and author, celebrated the seventieth anniversary of his birthday on the 9th April 1929. In commemoration of the happy occasion, and in recognition of his eminent position in the world of Zoroastrian literature, the Dasturji's colleagues and friends in many lands decided to bring out a volume of Oriental studies in his honour.

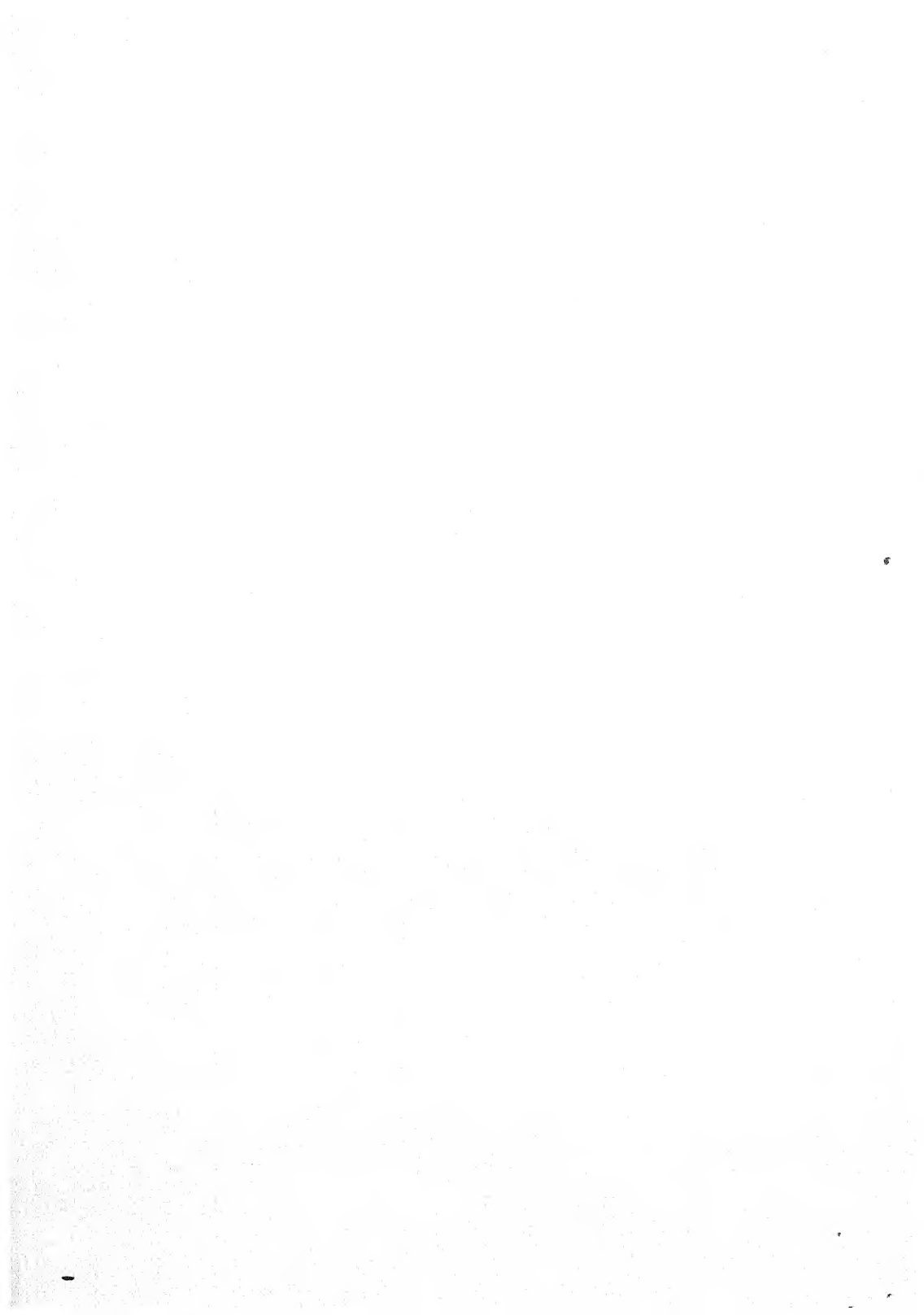
At the suggestion of these colleagues and friends, I undertook the pleasant task of editing the volume. An invitation was sent out in the April of 1929 to all the distinguished Orientalists of the world. The response was immediate and overwhelming. The present volume is the result of the co-operation of seventy of the world's foremost Orientalists, from no less than seventeen different countries.

A mere glance at the list of contributors will be sufficient to show the extent and importance of this great work of scholarship on Oriental subjects, dealing with languages, literature, history, philosophy, religion, ethics, and the arts. It is not too much to say that never has there been assembled together in one enterprise such a wealth of learning on Oriental subjects as is represented here. No attempt has been made, moreover, to increase the bulk of the volume by the inclusion either of already published articles or of translations of published articles. All the seventy articles here included are the carefully considered contributions of experts, and have been specially written for the volume.

Before closing these prefatory remarks, I wish to thank each and all of the distinguished contributors, without whose generous co-operation it would not have been possible to bring out the present volume. To my friend and teacher, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, who generously devoted much time to writing the Biographical Sketch of the Dasturji, my thanks are especially due.

JAL DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY.

LONDON, 1 *October* 1930.



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A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF DASTURJI SAHEB CURSETJI ERACHJI PAVRY

BY

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

I ACCOUNT it a special privilege to have been invited to write a brief sketch of the life and works of Dasturji Cursetji Erachji Pavry, the distinguished Parsi prelate and scholar, in whose honour the present volume of studies by well-known Orientalists has been prepared. The pleasure I feel in composing this biographical outline as a Foreword has been enhanced by the fact that for four years I had his son, Dr. Jal Pavry, M.A., Ph.D., as a pupil at Columbia University, and his daughter, Miss Bapsy Pavry, M.A., as my student likewise for some time. These two devoted pupils have helped to make closer the tie that binds me with their scholarly father, with whom I have long been in correspondence.

A few words concerning the family history and connexions of Dasturji Pavry may be of interest.¹ He was born of a priestly family at Navsari, the early stronghold of Zoroastrianism in India, on 9 April 1859. His father, Ervad Erachji Pavry, ranked as a 'priest of priests' (*mōbēdān mōbēd*) among the Zoroastrians of that pontifical centre, and to this position Dasturji Pavry succeeded after his father's death, to be followed in office later by one of his younger brothers when he himself was called into a larger sphere of scholarship and service. Dasturji Pavry has three sons and three daughters, all happily living. He is a Zamindār (landowner) of Gujarat, having large estates both in the British territory and in the Baroda State.

The now honoured Dastur received his early education in the public and private schools of Navsari and was ordained to the Zoroastrian priesthood in 1871 at the age of twelve. It is recorded that at that age he had learned by heart the entire Avesta, and he can even now recite it from cover to cover, without mistake, besides being able rapidly to repeat the first words of all the chapters and even of the sections. This ready concordance has always stood him in good stead, and the early liturgical training under his father, followed by long years of experience in performing religious ceremonies, has made him one of the foremost authorities on the Zoroastrian ritual. His more specialized training in scholarship he owed to two worthy pioneers in Parsi learning, no longer living. It was Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha, noted also as a Sanskrit scholar, who introduced him to Iranian studies in a broader sense. Bharucha

¹ For a number of details in this sketch I am indebted to data kindly furnished by some of my Parsi friends and to material contained in Mr. G. K. Nariman's introduction to Dastur Pavry's *Iranian Studies*, Bombay, 1927, as well as to information gleaned from short articles in the *Indian Daily Mail*, 8 April 1929, and in the *Times of India*, 17 June 1929, 12 April 1930, 20 July 1930.

had in turn been a pupil of the noted K. R. Cama, who was the first Parsi to study in Germany and bring back from Europe something of the scientific approach to the Avesta. Both of these pioneers, each distinguished in his own line of work, held the young man in high esteem, and Bharucha always accounted it a piece of good fortune to be able to claim as his pupil a scholar of such outstanding qualities.

The young scholar's career leading up to the High-Priesthood was gradual but assured. In 1889, at the age of thirty, he was appointed as the first Principal of the Zend Pahlavi Madressa (Zoroastrian Theological Seminary) at Navsari. This was the earliest Parsi institution of its kind in India, while others have since been established at Udvada and in Bombay. Many of the young clerics who were educated under his principalship now occupy high positions in the priestly order. After discharging with distinction his duties as Principal of the Madressa for several years he was appointed to be High-Priest of the Parsis at Lonavla, in 1912. That office he filled with remarkable success, and in 1920 he was elected to be the first High-Priest of the Fasali Sect (Reform Section) of the Parsis in Bombay. This merited choice was due in part to the position he has consistently maintained between the extreme conservatives and the radical reformers among the Parsis. In a complimentary Address presented to him by the Parsis of Navsari on the occasion of his being elevated to the office, 11 December 1920, he was acclaimed as 'a great man with exceptional gifts; a great ambition, with nothing selfish about it; a great career, without any self-seeking'. The illuminated Address, printed on pure silk, was presented in a beautiful silver casket.

All his life Dasturji Pavry has given himself devotedly and without ostentation to the service of the Parsi community to which he belongs, and his name is associated with various important endowments. Mention need only be made of the Society for the Propagation of Zoroastrian Knowledge (Bazmē Jashanē Ruzē Hormazd), of which he was the founder, followed by similar Parsi societies organized elsewhere in India; and he holds likewise a trusteeship on the board of the Foundation for the Betterment of the Zoroastrian Community (the Mullan Anjuman Behtari Fund). Moreover, his scholarly knowledge and wide experience in regard to all ceremonial subjects has made his opinion sought, not only by the laity and the priesthood, but at times also even by the learned high-priests. He has ably supported his views by writing numerous works on Zoroastrian subjects, as the appended Bibliography will show. It is fervently to be hoped that he may continue to be a guide to his community and receive from it still further honours.

In the course of a long life the Dastur has been the recipient of many marks of distinction, not only at home but from abroad. Among the latest of these are the First Class of the Order of Merit (*Nēshānē Ēlmī i Darajē Avval*) from the Persian Government, bestowed upon him on the occasion of his seventieth birthday by His Majesty Reza Shah Pahlavi, in recognition of Dasturji Pavry's eminent position in the world of Zoroastrian literature, the Honorary Membership of the Magyar-Indiai Társaság (elected 1930), and the Congratulatory Addresses received from Société d'Ethnographie de Paris, Czecho-

slovak Oriental Society, Società di Studi italiani di Filologia indo-iranica Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, Meiji Society of Japan, and Société Géographique à Téhéran, 1930.

The present volume, comprising articles brought together in his honour by many scholars, is the newest tribute. In offering this as a mark of regard, each of the contributors and all his other friends unite in wishing him a prolonged life amid enduring happiness. While it might seem out of place to employ anything Manichæan in a volume in honour of a Zoroastrian High-Priest, I cannot refrain from quoting a beneficent wish that always lies deep in the heart of man, and has found expression in a Turfan Pahlavi Fragment:

‘Mayest thou remain sound in body
and be liberated in soul;
Mayest thou live long—for many years—
together with thy children!

Taniha dīrist ‘ēstāy
ūd pad ruvān bōkhtag bavāy;
Dēr zivāy, pad vasān sarān,
abāg khvēshān tōhmagān.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
NEW YORK CITY.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF DASTURJI PAVRY'S WORKS

DASTURJI PAVRY is the author of a number of works on Zoroastrian subjects, the chief of which are listed below. He writes in Gujarati, and in a style whose purity and force are a model for Parsi authors. One of the longer of these works has already been made available in English, and translations of others are expected soon to follow and will be welcomed.

Rāhē Zarthoshti. A Zoroastrian Catechism. Part One. First Edition: Bombay, 1901. Second Edition: Bombay, 1931.

Rāhē Zarthoshti. A Zoroastrian Catechism. Part Two. First Edition: Bombay, 1902. Second Edition: Bombay, 1932.

Va'zē Khurshed. Sermons and Lectures on Zoroastrian Subjects. First Series. Bombay, 1904.

Resālahē Khurshed. Essays and Addresses on Zoroastrian Subjects. Second Series. Bombay, 1917.

Resālahē Khurshed. Essays and Addresses on Zoroastrian Subjects. Third Series. Bombay, 1921.

Resālahē Khurshed. Essays and Addresses on Zoroastrian Subjects. Fourth Series. *In preparation.*

Zarthoshti Sāhitya Abhyās. Zoroastrian Studies. First Series. Bombay, 1922.

Iranian Studies. Essays and Addresses on Zoroastrian Subjects. Translated from the Gujarati. First Series. Bombay, 1927.

Zarthoshti Sāhitya Abhyās. Zoroastrian Studies. Second Series. Bombay, 1927.

Zarthoshti Sāhitya Abhyās. Zoroastrian Studies. Third Series. *In preparation.*

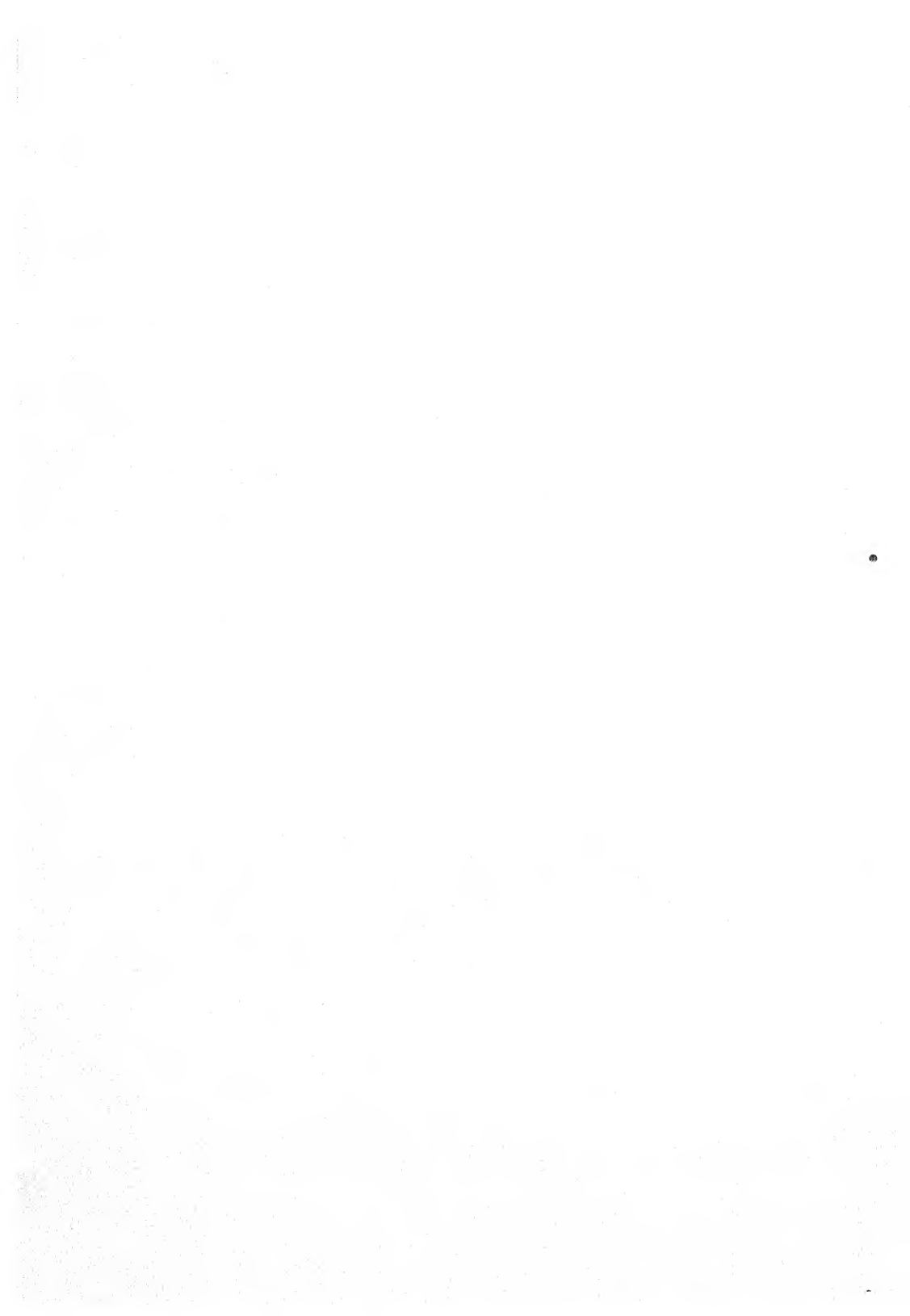
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CONGRATULATORY ADDRESSES FROM LEARNED SOCIETIES

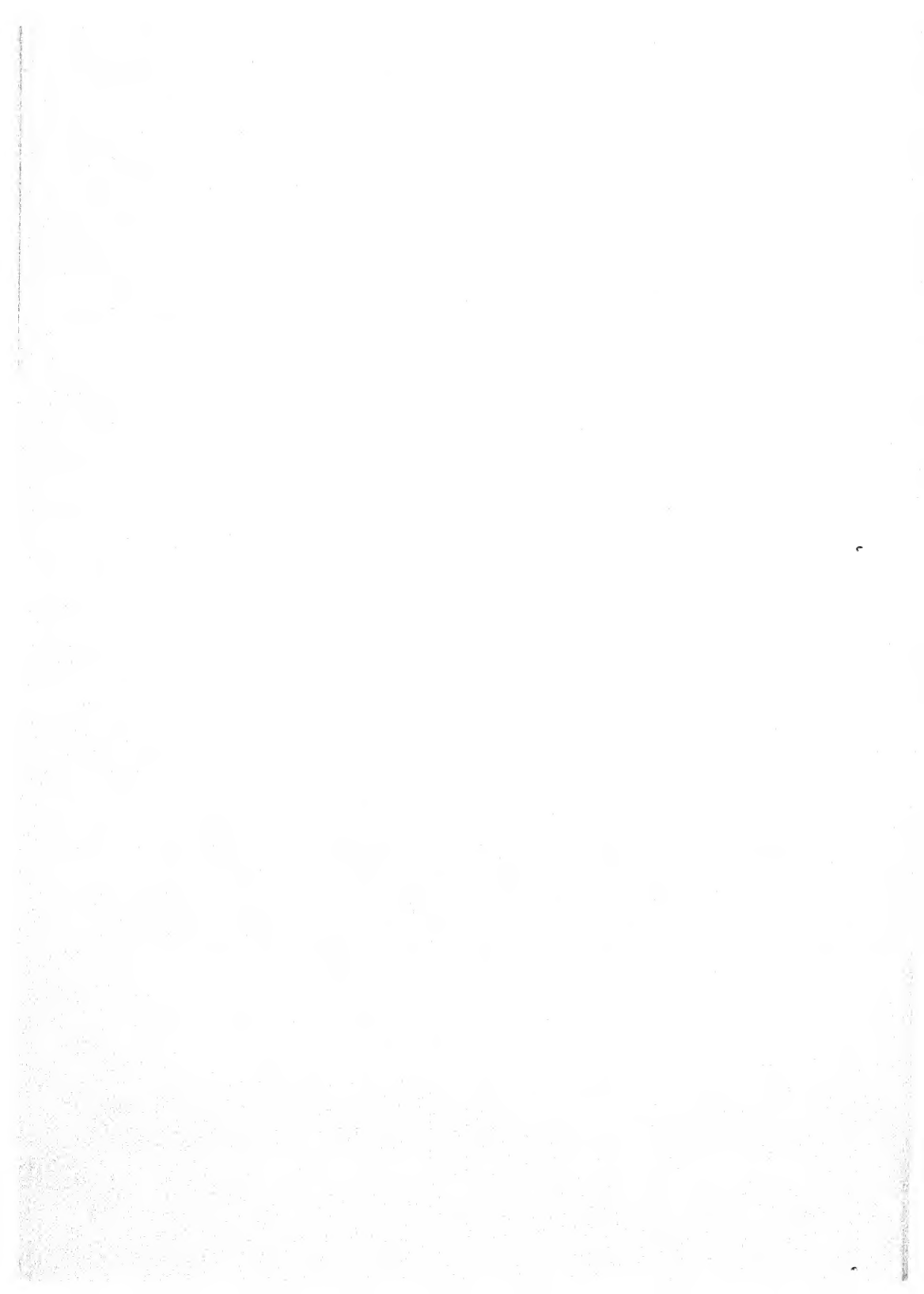
As already noted, Dasturji Pavry has been the happy recipient of Congratulatory Addresses from six of the world's prominent Learned Societies, on the occasions of the seventieth and seventy-first anniversaries of his birthday and in recognition of his eminent position in the world of Zoroastrian literature. The names of these Learned Societies are here given, together with those of the Officers of the Societies who signed the Congratulatory Addresses, in accordance with the resolutions which have been passed unanimously. They are arranged in the order in which they were received, as follows:

- (1) *From the Société Géographique à Téhéran, signed by Professor Paul V. Serebriakov-Elboursky, Président, Professor Mme E. Rosenstein, Secrétaire Général, and Mlle A. Eltchaninova, Secrétaire Adjoint.*
- (2) *From the Società di Studi italiani di Filologia indo-iranica, signed by Professor Francesco Lorenzo Pullé, Direttore.*
- (3) *From the Czechoslovak Oriental Society, signed by Professor B. Hrozný, Vice-President, and Dr. František Lexa, Secretary.*
- (4) *From the Société d'Ethnographie de Paris, signed by M. Louis Marin, Président.*
- (5) *From the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, signed by Professor Maurice A. Canney, Secretary.*
- (6) *From the Meiji Society of Japan, signed by Professor Genchi Kato, Secretary.*

A. V. W. J.



ORIENTAL STUDIES



INDO-PERSIAN ARCHITECTURE

'FREQUENT allusions to the inhabitants of the western zone of the Iran plateau are found in Assyrian documents from about the eighth century B.C. They belonged to the Aryan family and were closely related to the Indo-Aryan. The kinship existing between the two branches was unsuspected by antiquity, and is clear beyond doubt to modern science, which bases its conclusions on the striking resemblance observable in the languages, the religious ideas, and even the original rites, and physical characteristics of the Indo-Aryans and Persians.'

These linguistic, religious, and physical resemblances seem to have induced several scholars and historians, including archæologists, to seek further resemblance between the Persian and the Indian architecture. The procedure of investigation appears to have been based on a larger assumption that in all matters of refinement and culture the West must have been the creditors and the East the borrowers. The possibility of indigenous growth was never taken into consideration except in case of the Veda.

The admission made in this connexion by Kennedy is free and frank :

'The prehistoric age in India is distinguished, not by periods of stone and copper and bronze, but by the spread of the Aryans, the consolidation of societies, and the elaboration of a cult. With the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., we reach the commencement of personal and dated history, and a great creative era—the age of Mahāvīra and of Buddha. But the material preceded the spiritual. The first stir of that new life arose from the contact with Western civilization; the breath of inspiration came from Babylon, and then from Persia. When the Greeks arrived they found great and civilized peoples whose learning and whose capitals aroused their admiration. The records of that civilization were written on palm-leaves and on bark, or exhibited in brick and wood—things perishable, which have perished; and we are perforce reduced to search painfully among the flotsam and jetsam of time for any vestiges of the grandeur of antiquity.'

Then follows an interesting note:

'The progress of the Indians was necessarily of the slowest, for Persia could supply them with scarcely any models, and they had to discover everything themselves.'¹

'Of the decoration of the earlier Buddhist monasteries we know practically nothing, but the decoration of the later Vihāra caves, of Nālandā, and of the Sangharamas of Gandhara was Persian, and that not so much after the fashion of the Sassanians as of the Achæmenids. There is the same lavish employment of colour, the use of enamelled or metallic tiles upon the roof, the gilded rafters and elaborately painted ceilings, the rich capitals of the pillars, the application of inlaying. The two schemes of decoration are substantially the same.'²

¹ *JRAS.*, 1898, p. 287

² *Ibid.*, pp. 284-5.

'To the general question, then, concerning the direct influence of Babylon on Indian art, we must answer "no".' But Kennedy thinks that 'a direct influence may be traced in one particular class of buildings and one particular locality—the Buddhist Vihāra caves of Western India. . . . The four- or five-storied Vihāras . . . undoubtedly recall the impression of a Babylonian Zigurat or temple, but are hollow throughout and built of wood'. In a note Kennedy adds:

'Fergusson has attempted¹ to connect certain Burmese and Sinhalese dagobas with the Babylonian type, and has suggested that connecting links once existed in brick and plaster in the valley of the Ganges. But there are two objections: (1) Had massive buildings of solid brick, either temples or vihāras, ever existed in the valley of the Ganges, they could not fail to have left their traces, as the stupas have done. (2) The Indian buildings, so far as we know (apart from the stupas, which are not buildings at all), were not solid, but hollow.'²

'The Babylonian Zigurats represented exactly on a large scale the same idea of a mountain . . . The storied vihāras of India, with their retreating stages, are also imitation mountains. The artificial mountain of the Indians was necessarily a hollow shell, because all their constructions were of brick and wood. . . . But the towering Vihāra became a very different structure from the solid stories of the Zigurat, for India has rarely borrowed any thing which she has not altered in adopting it.'

This is a very convenient assumption. Kennedy himself admits that when he says 'but we may conjecture that Zigurat and Vihāra had a common origin', but he is generous to confess that 'these speculations may be fanciful'; and he 'will not deny it'.³

Thus Grünwedel and Burgess hold that

'the Persian style, which the Achæmenides employed in their buildings at Susa and Persepolis, has inherited West Asian forms in its constructive as well as in its decorative features. This Persian style, which shows many peculiarities, is unfortunately represented only by a few monuments upon which it is almost impossible to pronounce judgement. But undoubtedly its elements may again be recognized in the buildings of Asoka's day and of the older Indian style, dependent on that of Asoka, as grafted upon the native wooden style.'

'As chief elements, the following forms may be indicated:—The Persian pillar with bell-shaped capital was adopted directly; it was set up by itself as an inscription-pillar; the famous iron pillar of Delhi is a later example. In sculptures it is seen not only in representation of palace-halls, but also decoratively—often to divide spaces, and with many interesting variants. The bell-capital frequently serves as a basis for one or more lions or elephants, or for a religious symbol (e.g. the wheel) when the pillar is considered as standing alone. If the pillar is used as a support in a building, the

¹ *History of Indian Architecture*, pp. 202, 618; and *Cave Temples of India*, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 285.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 285, 286, 287.

bell-capital serves as base for an abacus on which, turned towards the sides, winged figures of animals (winged horses, gazelles, goats, lions, or sitting elephants) are placed. This last form resembles the Persian "unicorn-pillar". The appearance of the whole pillar in India, however, is rough and clumsy compared with Persian forms.¹

Fergusson detects Persian influence on pillars in front of the Bedsa cave, south of Karle:

"The two pillars in front, however, are so much too large in proportion to the rest, that they are evidently stambhas, and ought to stand free instead of supporting a verandah. Their capitals are more like the Persepolitan type than almost any other in India, and are each surmounted by horses and elephants bearing men and women of bold and free execution."

In a note he, further, adds that

"in the Pitalkhora vihāra, we find the Persepolitan capital repeated with a variety of animals over it; for the Hindu artists, from their natural aptitude for modifying and adopting forms, very soon replaced the bicephalous bull and ram of the Persian columns by a great variety of animals, sphinxes, and even human figures in the most grotesque attitudes."²

Of the more recent advocates of the Persian theory, Sir John Marshall is stated by Dr. Spooner to have inferred from the Sarnath capital 'that Mauryan stonework had been wrought by foreign masons'.³ Dr. Spooner himself has gone much farther, and the idea which was 'almost within the grasp of Fergusson but missed' altogether possessed him (Spooner), and he could not think of anything but Persian in the Mauryan period of Indian history.⁴ He imagined to have explored everything as the result of his excavation at Kumrahar, Patna, which, however, did not proceed farther than its initial stage and could not unearth anything but a portion of a badly damaged pillar and the footmark of what he imagined to be a hall. Starting with a preconceived idea that 'the style of Asoka's sculptured capitals originated in Persepolis he began to see at the very outset "the peculiar Persian polish in the columns" some twenty-three hundred years after their erection and (from this polish) it seemed to him "not impossible that even in its design the building (i.e. the hall, of which only the footmarks remain) might have been under Persian influence."' The Hall of a hundred columns at Persepolis, which is discussed later on, was a square hall with ten rows of ten columns evenly spaced in square bays. 'At Pataliputra,' Spooner himself emphatically declares, 'to be sure, we had only eight rows,' but he consoles himself with an equally emphatic assumption that 'there was every reason to suppose that others would be found, and possibly evidence for a porch as well, to correspond

¹ *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 17-18. For illustrations see Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Ind. Report*, v, plates XLV, XLVI, pp. 187, 188; Burgess, *Arch. Sur. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 5, 12; and *Cave Temples*, plates XVI, XXIII, XCVI.

² *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, i. 138.

³ *JRAS*, 1915, p. 66.

⁴ See pp. 38-39.

with the porch in Persepolis'. He, further, admits that 'the intercolumnation at Kumrahar was found to be five diameters; an intercolumnation not identical, perhaps, with that of the Persian throne-room, but still', holds Dr. Spooner, 'one which is essentially Persepolitan, and never found in any other country of antiquity'. So far as the capitals are concerned, of which there appears to be striking similarity, as has even been pointed out by all authorities, Spooner admits that 'No capitals had been recovered in Patna to help us in comparing the two buildings, nor had any pedestals been met with'. Spooner acknowledged the importance of the existence of capitals when he says that 'It may be true that, so far as Indian architecture is concerned, the only substantial point showing Persian influence is the capital'. He further admits that 'it may be true that no architectural plan in India, nor any type of building, as a whole, has hitherto been known which one could say was based directly on a Persian model', but yet, undeterred even by this consideration, Dr. Spooner goes on to build his castle of assumption and declares that 'a careful study of the stratification suggested that pedestals had, in all probability, existed, and the indicated dimensions and proportions justified the thought that these pedestals must have been themselves of Persepolitan type, round in plan, some 3 feet high, and inferentially bell-shaped, though as regards this latter point' he is forced to admit that 'no evidence exists'.¹

Here it is necessary to observe that not a single monument of recognizable condition is available in Persia: everything has been in ruins which were seen by historians, and of which many objects have been cleverly restored by several archæologists from scanty materials but fertile imagination. But the restorers do not agree amongst themselves. The actual condition of the ruins, and the manner of their restoration are pointed out later on.

As more tangible similarity between the Persian and the Indian architecture is apparent in the capitals of columns, it will be perhaps better to take into consideration this object to begin with. Columns in all countries can be classified into two broad classes in regard to their utility, namely, the free pillars and those which are employed in buildings as support to the whole structure and as the regulator of the whole composition in ancient architecture in any case. And as regards this regulating column alone, the question of proportion and intercolumnation can arise. But so far as this column is concerned the capital is of minor importance, because in many places of its employment it becomes mixed up with the entablature and loses its prominency if not its identity also. Of the free pillar, on the other hand, the capital is the most prominent part, because no other part draws the attention of the visitor so much, the free pillar having no other purpose to serve except being showy. Therefore, apart from the consideration of stability, the proportion between its length and width, and between its component parts, namely, the pedestal, base, shaft, and capital, has no significance. But these are the factors which count much in case of the regulating pillar, because apart from æsthetic consideration any error in the proportion and in the composition of several parts often prove injurious not only to the pillar itself, but also destructive to the

¹ Ibid., pp. 66, 67.

whole building. Consequently the regulating pillar can hardly be considered without taking into consideration the building which it regulates.

These common characteristic features of columns in all countries may help us in distinguishing the really essential elements from the unessential ones. Before proceeding further it is necessary to take stock of what we find in India and what in Persia, and when.

The archæological remains in India could not be dated much earlier than the fifth century B.C., the Piprahwa Stupa building of 450 B.C. being about the earliest, until the discoveries made at Mahenjodaro and Harappa, which may take back by centuries the Indian architecture and other matters of the cultural progress of the country to a time which would make it impossible to further speculate on the Persian influence in India in any case. But before the artistic treasures unearthed in Sindh and the Punjab have been properly studied and made available they can be hardly utilized in an article like this. We are, therefore, perforce to limit our observation to the old materials which are fortunately plentiful for the present purpose.

The extant Buddhist pillars, with which alone a Persian connexion has been sought to be established, and which probably at one time could be counted by hundreds, do not number more than a dozen. The best known Asokan pillar is that removed from Topra to Delhi by Firoz Sha Tughlak in 1356. A fragment of a second was re-erected also in Delhi in 1867. Three others exist in Champaran district: the first of these is known as the Lauriya-Araraj, the second as the Lauriya Navandgarh pillar, and a fragment of the other was 'recognized—utilized as a roller for the station roads by an utilitarian member of the Civil Service'. The most complete shaft, bereft, however, of its capital, is the Allahabad pillar to which a pedestal was added by Captain Smith, but which was again thrown down and re-erected by Jahangir (in 1605) to commemorate his accession. Four others of Asokan pillars are in much damaged condition at Rampurwa, Nigliva, Rammindei, and Sarnath.

'It is more than probable that each of these Asoka pillars stood in front of or in connexion with some Stupa, or building of some sort. At least we know that six or seven can be traced at Sanchi, and nearly an equal number at Amarabati, and in the representation of topes at the latter place these *lats* are frequently represented both outside and inside the rails. At Karle one still stands in front of the great cave.'

The pillar at Eran and the iron pillar at Mehrauli near Delhi belong to the Gupta period, and the pillar at Pathari in Bhopal is ascribed to Rastrakuta King Parabala (A.D. 861).

The crowning ornament of these pillars have been lost, but the capitals of some pillars still exist. The capital of the pillar at Lauriya Navandgarh is surmounted by a lion of bold and good design. The pillar at Sankisa situated between Mathura and Kanauj, of which the greater part of the shaft has been lost, is surmounted 'by an elephant, but so mutilated that even in the seventh century the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang mistook it for a lion'. The pillar at Karle is surmounted by four lions, 'which, judging from analogy, once bore

a *chakra* or wheel, probably in metal'. The pillars at Bedsa, a dozen miles south of Karle, partly stand free and partly support a verandah: these pillars are surmounted by horses and elephants bearing men and women of bold and free execution. These capitals are stated to be 'more like the Persepolitan type than almost any others'. In a note, on the authority of Dr. Le Bon, Fergusson further asserts that in the Pitalkhora vihāra 'the Persepolitan capital is repeated with a variety of animals over it; for the Hindu artists, from their natural aptitude for modifying and adapting forms, very soon replaced the bicephalous bull and ram of the Persian columns by a great variety of animals, sphinxes, and even human figures, in the most grotesque attitudes'.¹

It is needless to point out that this 'great variety of animals' on the capitals of Indian columns has caused great inconvenience and discomfort to the advocate of the Persian theory, because on Persepolitan capitals the animals comprise only bull and unicorn, possibly lion too.

Another important factor which Fergusson himself admits is that the Persepolitan 'features are only found on the *lats* of Asoka, and are never seen afterwards in India, though common in Gandhara and on the Indus long afterwards. . . . Persian form of capital long retained its position in Indian art'.² It is, however, not stated how and why the Persian form did not influence the other Indian types, but the fundamental differences in the Indian types are explained: 'whatever the Hindus *copied*, however, was changed in course of time, by decorative additions and modifications, in accordance with their own taste'. With such an assumption any slight similarity in the most ordinary things of any two countries or peoples may establish relation of indebtedness of any one of the two to the other.

The great variety, and the undeniable differences from the Persian model, of the Indian columns can be verified by a reference to the capitals of pillars at 'cave no. 26 at Ajanta (Fergusson, i, p. 154), at the Chaitya Cave of Kenheri (p. 164), at Bhaja (p. 178), at caves of Nahapana and of Gautamputra in Nasik (p. 185), at Sri Yajna Cave (p. 188), at Vihāra no. 16 (p. 190), no. 17 (p. 192), no. 24 (p. 194), no. 1 (p. 195) at Ajanta, at Patna (p. 207), at Jamalgarh (p. 214), at Srinagar and at Shadipur (p. 257), in Bhima's Rath at Mamallapuram (p. 332), Dhvaja-stambha at Elura (p. 346), Dipa-stambha in Dharwar (p. 347), in Tirumalai Nayyaka's chaultri at Madura (p. 387), at Vellor and at Pelur (p. 399), of the Hall in Palace at Madura (p. 414), of Court in palace in Tanjor (p. 415), at Ananta Gumpā in Orissa (vol. ii, p. 16), of an Indra Sabha cave at Elura (pp. 20, 21), of Vimala temple at Mount Abu (pp. 39, 42), at Chandravali, Mount Abu (p. 43), at Ranpur (pp. 46, 47), at Khajuraho (pp. 53), at Gyaraspur (p. 54), at Amwa (p. 56), at Sravana Belgola (p. 75), at Mudabidri (pp. 76, 77, 78), at Guruvayankeri (p. 81), at Jaipur (p. 111), at Kailasa, and Elura (p. 126), at Elephanta (p. 129), Kirtistambha at Vadnagar (p. 136), at Udayapur in Gwalior (p. 146), at Brindaban' (pp. 157, 158).

This long list of existing pillars when compared with the shorter one comprising less than a dozen examples, where certain similarity with the Persian type is possible, makes it all the more difficult to believe in the Persian theory,

¹ *Ind. and East. Arch.* i. 138.

² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

so far as the Indian pillars are concerned. Moreover, there is another consideration, and that is, in a matter like the present one, perhaps more significant. Only the general principles and practicable rules and regulations for the guidance of artists are codified in standard treatises dealing with a subject like architecture. If any similarity can be clearly detected in the standard treatises of different countries, deficiency due to the lack of sufficient archæological remains can be rectified. But so far as Persia is concerned there appears to have been no such treatise ever written. All that has been recorded in Persia are from the reports of foreign visitors entirely based on their observation of the scanty remains. In India, fortunately, we possess in manuscripts many hundreds of *Śilpaśāstras* dealing with architecture and the cognate arts in great detail. But the standard work *Mānasāra* was not accessible to scholars in any form until the publication of the writer's *Indian Architecture* and *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* in 1927. It is needless to repeat what has been stated in these books. It is possible that, from the details gathered together in these books, the readers may expect with greater reason a similarity between the Indian and the Greco-Roman orders rather than the Persian columns. Merely the conclusion may be quoted here:

'The striking similarities in the names of the mouldings, like *padma* or *cyma*, *hara* or bead, or in the names of orders like the *Misrita* or Composite, may sometimes be attributed to inexplicable coincidence. But in view of other striking similarities between Vitruvius and the *Mānasāra*, such as the classification of orders into exactly five, and the division of subservient parts called mouldings, common to all the orders, into eight, and also the proportionate measurement varying equally from six to ten diameters, and tapering almost in the same way, there seem to have been something more substantial than mere coincidence. An influence, direct or indirect, of the one upon the other, seems highly probable.'¹

In the absence of the direct influence, an indirect influence through the Persian source should have been quite feasible if there were really anything common save and except a few capitals.

So far as the antiquity and the variety are concerned the Indian columns are so very remote and different from even the doubtfully restored columns of Persia that no connexion seems to be probable. Synonyms of pillars are met with in the *Rigveda*² and the *Atharvaveda*,³ the former of which, in any case, must be dated before the *Zend-Avesta* of the Persis. As regards the variety they are far too many to be referred to; they are given in detail in the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*.⁴ The proportion and the intercolumnations

¹ *Indian Architecture*, by the Writer (p. 153).

² RV. i. 59. 1; iv. 5. 1.

³ AV. ix. 3. 1; Bloomfield, *Hymns of the AV.* 343 et. seq.

⁴ Anghri (p. 13-14), Āyaka (p. 67), Āyikapāda (p. 69), Uchchhraya (p. 78) Kīrti-stambha (p. 132), Gaṇḍa-veraṇḍa, bearing sun-eagle (pp. 161, 674), Garuḍa-stambha (163, 652, 655, 666, 667, 674, 675, 677), Gṛiha-stambha (172), Charaṇa (196), Chitra-stambha (196), Chitrakarṇa (196), Janghā (206), Jayanti (208), Jaya-stambha, pillar of victory (208), Daṇḍaka with 16 sides (256), Dvi-vajraka (281), Dhārāṇa (282), Dhvajā-stambha, bearing a flag or banner (282), Dharma-stambha (282), Dhānya-stambha (282), Padmakānta (339), Pāda (346), Pālīkā-

of the Persian type are also essentially different from the Indian ones. The proportionate measures of the pedestal, base, shaft, capital and entablature, as well as the plan and intercolumnation, have been discussed in great detail in the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, and need not be repeated here. Only the conclusions again may be briefly referred to. The measures of the mouldings of twelve pedestals¹ classified under three heads and of some sixty-four bases² under nineteen heads have been given. Shafts are primarily divided into five orders, but there is a great variety described under the technical names, of which a long list has been given above. The capitals too, which have drawn the attention of the archæologists rather disproportionately, have been described under several types, none of which appears to have much resemblance with the Persian ones. Lastly, the entablature has been described under eight classes.³

The height of the pedestal is generally from one-quarter to six times of the height of the base. Pedestals are actually given nine heights, which are worked out by nine proportions. In the case where a pedestal is joined to the base, the height of the pedestal may be either equal to that of the base, or twice, or three times as much. Again, the bases are given twelve heights varying from 30 *angulas* (of $\frac{3}{4}$ in. each) to 4 cubits. The height of the shaft being divided into four parts, one is given to the base, which may or may not be accompanied by a pedestal. The height of the entablature as compared with that of the base may be equal to the latter, or less by $\frac{1}{4}$, or greater by $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, or twice; in cubit measure these six heights may vary from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 cubits. The heights of the entablature when compared with that of the shaft may be $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, of, or equal to, or greater by $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the latter.

Similarly

'the capitals are varied at pleasure, though not without regard to the diameter and length of the shaft, and the forms of the plainest of them are found at

stambha (348), Kulikānghrika (143), Brahma-Kānta (443), Mānastambha (654-6, 671), Mūla-daṇḍa (511), Yūjpa-stambha (517), Ruchaka (526), Rudra-Kāntam (527), Lakshmi-stambha (527), Vajra (532), Vajra-pāda (533), Viskambha (557), Vishnu-kānta (557), Vṛitta (563), Sitā-stambha (593), Śiva-kānta (594), Śubhāṅkarī (595), Sukhānghri (595), Śrīkara (597), Saumnukhya (642), Skanda-kānta (643), Sthūpa (731), Sthāṇu (731), of the Jains, Buddhists, Vaiṣṇavas, Saivas (677-678), Basava pillar (673), Benefaction-pillar (667), Beauty pillar (597), Boundary pillar (661), Brahma-deva pillar (676), Crocodile pillar (677), Devotion pillar (670), Diamond pillar (533), Dwarf pillar (13-14, 86), Elephant pillar (675), Fan-palm pillar (677), Fortune Pillar (652-3, 668), Foundation Pillar (511, 655, 664, 667), Four-faced pillar (653, 654, 658), Gate pillar (672), Gold pillar (648), Granite pillar (654, 655, 656), Honour pillar (664-5, 666, 670-1), Lamp pillar (258, 664, 672, 673, 677), Lion pillar (655, 675, 676), Main pillar (143), Memorial pillar (538, 674), Monkey pillar (677), Monumental pillar (132, 282, 675), Octagonal pillar (656), Phallus pillar (667), Piety pillar (659), Projecting pillar (657), Quadrangular pillar (653, 656, 657), Religious pillar (282), Sacrificial pillar (663, 666, 669-70, 677), Sati pillar (660, 677), Sixteen-sided pillar (669), Stone pillar (593, 645, 652, 653, 657, 658, 659, 671, 673), Thieves pillar (677), Thirty-two-sided pillar (648), Town pillar (656), Trident pillar (652), Umbrella pillar (676), Unshaken pillar (673), Upper pillar (143), Victory pillar (659, 664, 666, 670, 671, 677), Wall pillar (139), War pillar (661-2), and Welfare pillar (669).

Like the *Romaka-siddhānta*, the name of an astronomical treatise, based on Roman sources, one might expect to find in this huge list of pillars some named after the Greeks, Romans, or the Persis, but no such names are available.

¹ The Writer's *Dictionary*, pp. 88-91.

² The Writer's *Dictionary*, pp. 20-41.

³ The Writer's *Dictionary*, pp. 378-81.

a distant view to bear some resemblance to the Doric and Ionic capitals; but those of a more elaborate kind are sometimes so overloaded with a sort of filigree ornaments as to destroy the effect of the beautiful proportions of the whole.'¹

'The capital given to the first design is from a model found at Tiruvottiyur near Madras and is called Taranga(Wave)-bodhikā; it is one diameter high and projects equal to its height (*Dictionary*, p. 680). The other form is from a temple at Mayalapura; it is called Surub-bodhikā or roll capital (p. 680). The height of the third capital called Phalakā is three-quarters of the lower diameter of the column and is divided into thirteen parts: its projection is one diameter (p. 683). The capital in the fourth variety takes three-quarters of the diameter (pp. 687-8). The fifth capital, called Pushpa-bandha, or Band of flower, is equal to the upper diameter of the column: its projection is equal to its height, but its altitude may be equal to the higher, lower, or the middle diameter of the column; and its breadth may be equal to its height, or four or five diameters (p. 691). There are many other varieties, which are hardly necessary for the present purpose (pp. 699-702).'

We may conclude with a more general direction:

- 'a capital, the height of which is from one to two diameters, and the breadth twice its height, is of the superior sort; and that which in height is half the diameter, and in breadth from one to three diameters, is of the inferior sort' (p. 691).

The plan of the Hindu columns admits of every shape, and is frequently found in the round, quadrangular, and octangular forms, although sixteen-sided and thirty-two-sided ones are also met with: they are richly adorned with sculptured ornaments (p. 703).

'The intercolumnation may be two, three, four, or five diameters: it is measured in three ways—first from the inner extremity of the base of one pillar to that of another; secondly, from the centres of the two pillars; and thirdly, from the outer extremities of the pillars including the two bases. There seems to be no fixed intercolumnation. This has been left to the discretion of architects, who are, however, required to be particularly careful with regard to beauty and utility.'²

The similar details of columns may be briefly quoted from Perrot and Chipiez's *History of Art in Persia*:

'A glance at the proportions of the Persian column, its thin and airy aspect, would, almost by itself, make it clear that it would have been a poor support for a stone entablature' (p. 48).

We have seen above that the Indian column is generally bulky.

'The shaft of the Persian column is always tall and slender. In the Palace of the thirty-six columns at Persepolis, the total height of the order, with base and crown, is in the proportion of twelve to one diameter of the shaft;

¹ The Writer's *Dictionary*, p. 704.

² *Indian Architecture*, by the writer (p. 45).

whilst in the Pasargadæ specimen, whose capital has disappeared, the proportions are more airy and light' (p. 53). 'The Susian column, whose head is now in the Louvre, best characterizes the architecture of the Achæmenid sovereigns' (pp. 86, 87).

'The shaft in all the orders of the edifices is slender and slightly tapering towards the top. It is fluted in all instances, save in the façades of the necropolis at Persepolis, and the single column that still remains of the Palace of Cyrus in the upland valley of the Polvar' (p. 87).

'In the oldest stone column standing among the ruins of the Palace of Cyrus at Pasargadæ, we have a faithful representation of the primitive post, save that its material is stone and not wood. There is no fluting, the shaft being quite smooth. But what was its capital like? Nobody knows. As to the base, it is a simple round form interposed between the shaft and the ground, even more rudimentary than the cube which does duty as a plinth in the rustic house' (pp. 98-9).

'The complex column, with the double capital and volutes, rose between the four enormous pillars of the monumental Propylæa on the Persepolitan platform; it upheld the ceiling of the central hall of the great Palace of Xerxes, and formed the supports, both internally and externally, in the main porch of the Hall of a hundred columns, as well as those of the hypostyle hall of Artaxerxes at Susa.'

In a note it is, further, stated that until recently only slight fragments of the capitals had been recovered; nevertheless the number seen by Coste was sufficiently large to enable him to write as follows—'the flutes of the shaft are cut to a fine edge, and the capitals consist of four distinct sections'. Scores of shafts and chips of capitals were disengaged some ten years ago. In Plates (LXVII-LXIX) of the atlas published by the German Mission, entitled *Details of Columns*, will be found fragments of the bull-group, along with pillars adorned by volutes and the cylindrical form which intervenes between these and the pillar. 'Altogether they furnish all the elements requisite for a restoration of the column' (p. 95), but not for a comparison with the Indian column.

'All the columns have a base, which differs from one building to another' (p. 88). 'The type that prevailed all over the country in the golden age of Persian art is represented' in the great palace at Susa. It constitutes the true Persian base.

'The base is not infrequently carved into the lower drum of the shaft, and is singled with it; hence with it must stand or inevitably fall. Elsewhere, in the hypostyle hall of Xerxes, for instance, the base is cut into two; in it the torus belongs to the first drum of the shaft, whilst the principal member is a separate block—resting directly on the ground. Despite the elegance of its contour and the care displayed in its make, the base lacks independence, and does not sufficiently contrast with the column so as to allow of those charming effects which greet us' (p. 89-90)

in the Grecian and Indian support.

As regards the shape of the base, it is limited to a few types only.

'In the palace of Cyrus it is a disc, or a reversed quarter round. A more complicated shape, composed of a rectangular plinth and a torus seamed by horizontal channellings, is seen in one of the porticoes of the Gabre, in the central colonnade of the great Palace of Xerxes, at Susa, as also in the Hall of a hundred columns' (p. 88).

The plinth is hardly seen or can be distinguished. The proportion between the component parts of the column is also lacking.

The Persian capitals, of which much has been made out by the early Indologists, may be referred to in all available details.

'In every case the lower portion of the capital detaches itself very abruptly from the column, forms a horizontal line on each side, parallel to the architrave and at right angles with the axis of the shaft. There is no junction or intermediary moulding between the tapering column and the rectangular member at the beginning of the capital' (p. 92) akin to the achinus of the Doric and Indian capital.

'If, neglecting minor details, we only regard the shape as a whole, it does not seem unlikely that the first notion of it was suggested by the crowning tuft of a palm. The lower members of the capital would represent the dead twigs as they droop and fall about the stem of the tree; the upper members, whose forms look upwards, would stand for the young shoots, which dart forward past the sere foliage with a slight outward curve; the vertical stride that scar the surface throughout would be reminiscent of the intervals or fillets which, in nature, separate the leaves of the terminal bunch' (p. 92).

In India, on the other hand, it should be noted, the analogy lies with the human body: the capital stands for the head, the shaft for the body, the base for the leg, and the pedestal for the foot.

'Stolze (Persepolis, *Bemerkungen*) seems to think that in the capitals of the columns¹ the animals figured resemble the horse rather than the bull. . . the ornamentist hit upon a kind of compromise between the two quadrupeds so as to add another conventional type to his repertory, which is not a whit more strange than that of the unicorn, found at support to many of the architraves.'

The animals that figured on Indian capitals, we have seen, are neither bull nor even the compromised unicorn but mostly lion, elephant, and man.

Nothing like the Indian cave temples have been disclosed from the Persian ruins. No discussion on the subject is, therefore, possible.²

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¹ Hypostyle hall of Xerxes at Persepolis, no. 31 (Perrot and Chipiez, p. 91), no. 32 (p. 93), no. 38 (p. 97), no. 43 (p. 112), no. 44 (p. 115).

² For the rest of the article please see *The Calcutta Review*, 1930, pp. 373-80, April, pp. 22-35.

A NOTE ON VENDĪDĀD

IN the Fourth Book of Dīnkart—and elsewhere in a more sketchy way—the detailed informations are handed down to us on the preservation of the writings of the Mazda-worshipping religion. The Book tells us that at the time of King Vishtāsp there were already some 'writings' of the religion. Whether they were of the original Mazda-worshipping religion, or of the religion after the reformation, we are unable to know, though the king himself is known to have been the first disciple of Zarathushtra. Furthermore, we are told therein that King 'Dārāi', the predecessor of Alexander, has ordered the preservation of two written copies of the whole Avesta and the Commentary which were probably written then in the tongue of 'Magōi gabrā', whose influence was then quite noticeable, particularly in connexion with the Mazda-worshipping religion.

In the Eighth Book of the same work, we are also told that there were originally twenty-one Nasks of the Zoroastrian teaching, in which some sayings of the original Mazda-worshipping religion of remote age had been included no doubt. The divisions and the names of these Nasks are very plainly told, and the contents of each Nask are minutely explained in the chapters following. But it continues to say that Alexander at his invasion burnt these Nasks at random, and nearly all the Nasks were lost and do not remain perfect ever since. What we have now is of course the later compilation of some fragments that were preserved chiefly in the memory of those high priests in the councils held under the auspices of the Sassanian kings. But Vendīdād is considered to be the only Nask remaining complete out of the original twenty-one Nasks of the Mazda-worshipping religion, and is the best authority we can refer to in connexion with the study of their religious custom, while only a small portion or nothing of the other Nasks is preserved in the present Avesta after the calamity by Alexander. Such is the nature of the material with which I am about to deal, and yet even in this Vendīdād, which is believed to be so complete, we cannot help noticing its fragmentary nature or some contradictory points. Whether this is due to the losses it sustained before the revival of the Mazda-worshipping religion by the Sassanian dynasties, or to the mixed nature of the Nask at the very outset, is the subject of our discussion.

This question may be discussed from various points; but here I shall only dwell upon the subject with the special reference to what they are taught about the dead and how they treat it according to what is stated in the Nask.

In the Seventh Fargard of Vendīdād it says:

'iṣara. pasca. para.iristim. . . . us. haca. baodō. ayāt. aēša. druḥš. yā. nasuš. upa.dvqsaiti. apāhədraēibyō. naēmaēibyō. mahši. kəhrpa. ərazaitya. fraṇnaos. apazadāhō. akaranəm. driwyaə. yaḇa. zōiṣdištāiš'. hrafstrāiš.'
vii. 2.

(Aussitôt après la mort, aussitôt que l'esprit a quitté le corps, la Druj

Nasu fond des régions du nord sous la forme d'une mouche furieuse, genoux courbés en avant, queue en arrière, avec des bourdonnements sans fin, et semblable aux plus infects Khrafstras,')

and thus it defiles the corpse. This is the case when a man dies naturally; but when a man meets a violent death and dies unexpectedly, it requires about five hours before the dead actually becomes unclean, as it requires so long for the Druj to come. They furthermore believe that any one who touches the corpse becomes polluted as well. So, according to the Nask, a woman who brings forth a stillborn child is also regarded unclean, and an enclosure is erected for her in the place which is,

'prisata.gāim. haca. āpraṭ. prisata.gāim. haca. apaṭ. prisata.gāim. haca. barasman. frastairyāt. prigāim. haca. nərəbyō. aṣavabyō.' v. 48; viii. 63.

('à trente pas du feu; à trente pas de l'eau; à trente pas des faisceaux consacrés de Baresman; à trois pas des fidèles,')

and there she has to go through the cleansing processes of various sorts by taking the prescribed food, by washing her body, and cleansing her clothes for a certain length of time.

- Since such is the case, it is almost unnecessary to mention here that any one touching the corpse directly becomes polluted. Even when,

'aēte. mazdayasna. upairi. aētəm. iristəm. avi. mąm. harəkē. harəzyāt. yavaṭ. aēša. carāitika. avi. mąm. harəkē. harəcayāt. jvāscit. noiṭ. bvaṭ. aṣava. mąšascit. noiṭ. baḥṣaiti. vahištahe. anhəus.' v. 61.

('... un adorateur de Mazda jette sur un mort autant seulement que la jeune fille laisse tomber en filant, vivant, ce n'est pas un juste, et mort, il n'aura pas sa part du paradis,')

and moreover,

'Yō. vastrəm. upanharəzaiti. upairi. aētəm. iristəm. ubdaēnəm. vā. izaēnəm. vā. avavaṭ. aipi. yaṣa. narš. aopravana.' viii. 23.

('un homme jette sur un mort un vêtement d'étoffe ou de peau, autant par exemple qu'un couvre-pied,')

is punished by the penalty of four hundred stripes with the horsewhip and four hundred stripes with the 'Obedience-whip'. If it is enough to cover both legs of the dead, the penalty is of six hundred stripes; and if it is enough to cover the whole body, the penalty is of one thousand stripes. And again, if the garment touches the corpse, and,

'Yexi. anhaṭ. upaētəm. vā. aiwi.naptim. vā. aiwi.iritim. vā. aiwi.vanṭim. vā.' vii. 12.

('s'il y a sur le vêtement du sperme, du sang, de l'ordure, ou de la matière vomie,')

then the worshippers of Mazda tear that soiled part and bury it into the earth, it says; and if not so defiled, they are to wash the garments with *gōmēz* for another use; and according to the different material they are made of, they are to be cleansed by the different processes of purification.

And again,

'yō. narō. hāmō.gātvō. nipaidyeiñte. hqm. vā. paiti. stairiš. hqm. vā. paiti. barəziš. paitica. hē. anya. dva. vā. nara. anhən. pañca. vā. pañcāsatəm. vā. satəm. vā. hqm. nāirinqm. āaṭ. aēṣqm. narqm. aēvō. iriṣyāṭ.' v. 27.

('Des hommes sont assis sur la même place, sur le même lit ou le même coussin, l'un près de l'autre, à deux, à cinq, à cinquante ou à cent, tous se touchant: un de ces hommes vient à mourir,')

and if the dead be a priest, the Druj of it defiles all around him as far as the eleventh person; if a warrior, as far as the tenth; and if a husbandman, as far as the ninth.

With regard to the relationship of the faithful with the deceased, it is recorded in the Nask¹ that if a father or mother dies, his son or her daughter 'stays' unclean for thirty days for the righteous ones and sixty days for the sinners; if a son or a daughter dies, his father or her mother 'stays' unclean for thirty days for the righteous people and sixty days for the sinners; if the master of the house or the mistress dies, either one who survives 'stays' unclean for six months for the righteous ones, and one year for the sinners; and further relationship of the faithful with the deceased, and the informations about the cleansing of the house in which they died, are given there. Even those who touch the corpse in the field at a distant place where the regular process of purification cannot be performed, are not excused to omit anything prescribed, yea more severe observance is provided them.²

So, more superfluous it may seem to mention here that, according to their teaching, any one who eats the corpse of a man, not only defiles himself but becomes himself a Druj Nasu; and his house and the family are to be destroyed, his heart to be torn out of his body, and his eyes are to be put out.³ Again, he who burns the corpse commits a capital crime, and is to be put to death by any one without the order of any authority.⁴ This is because he pollutes the fire of course. If a worshipper of Mazda happens to see a corpse in the river, he is taught to take off his shoes and clothes at once, and in order to take the corpse out of water, he is to jump into the water,

'āpō. . . . ā.xangaēibyasciṭ. āpō. ā.žnubyasciṭ. āpō. ā.maidyqnasciṭ. āpō. ā.narəbərəzasciṭ. āpō. vīspəm. ā. ahmāṭ. yaḍōiṭ. upajasōiṭ. iristəm. tanūm.' vi. 27.

('l'eau jusqu'à la cheville, jusqu'aux genoux, jusqu'à la ceinture, de toute la taille, jusqu'à ce qu'il puisse atteindre le cadavre,')

and if the body is already rotten to pieces, he is to take as much out of the water as he can grasp with both hands, and is allowed to lay it down on the dry ground, otherwise it pollutes the water. Again,

'Yārə.drājō. . . . sairī. maṣya. iriste. zəmō. niḍāite. raocāa. aiwi.varəna. hvarə.darəsyā. zəmō. bavaiñti.' vii. 46.

('Quand un mort a été déposé sur la terre et y est resté toute une année, vêtu de la lumière du ciel et regardant le soleil, la terre redevient pure.')

¹ xii. 1-24.

² viii. 97-107.

³ vii. 23, 24.

⁴ viii. 73, 74.

So it continues to say,

'pasca. pañcāsataṃ. sarədaṃ. . . sairī. mašya. iriste. zəmə. nikaṇte. havaṭ. zəmo. bavaiṇti.' vii. 48.

(‘Quand un homme est resté enfoui dans la terre cinquante ans durant, la terre redevient pure.’)

Therefore in the Sixth Fargard it says¹ that the ground whereupon a man has died should lie fallow for one year; and if it should be sown or watered within that year, the sin would be the same as if one had brought dead matter to the water, to the earth, or to the plants; and he is condemned to the penalty of two hundred stripes with the horsewhip and an equal number of stripes with the ‘Obedience-whip’. Even when this period is over, they are requested to look for any bone, hair, flesh, dung, or blood that may be left there, and make the ground fit to be tilled before they water, plough, or sow. If he should throw a bone, or the marrow of it on the ground, he would be condemned to the penalty of different number of stripes from thirty to one thousand stripes with the horsewhip and an equal number of stripes with the ‘Obedience-whip’ according to the size and the quantity of the bone or marrow.² Further, if any one buries the corpse in the earth and does not dig it up within six months, he is condemned to the penalty of five hundred stripes; if not within one year, of one thousand stripes with the horsewhip and an equal number of stripes with the ‘Obedience-whip’; and if not within the second year, there is no atonement for such deed.³ The defiled part of the plants is also to be cleansed at a different length according to the dryness and hardness of it.⁴

So much will be sufficient to show that the corpse of a man—the carcase of a dog as well, since they respect the dog as a sacred animal—defiles not only the man but also the elements such as fire, water, earth, and plants. Therefore, the Nask repeatedly says, if any one brings a corpse into the water or the fire, upon him comes the Druj Nasu, who takes hold of him even to the end of the nails, and thenceforth becomes unclean for ever.

Moreover, according to Bundahish, the Haoma is the king of healing plants; and if it has been strained for the sacrifice, Vendidad says, even the dead shall become immortal by tasting it. But if not strained for the sacrifice, that Haoma stem is defiled at the length of four fingers; and that defiled part of the stem is to be cut off, and be buried in the ground in the middle of the house for one year, and after that period, the worshippers may use the juice made out of that stem.⁵ They are, however, asked to take the fire, the sacred Baresma, the cups, the Haoma, and the mortar out of the house wherein the man has died; and they must keep the fire out specially for nine nights in winter and for a month in summer; and should they carry the fire into the house within that period, they would be condemned to punishment.⁶

Whither are they taught to carry such corpse then? The worshippers of Mazda, among the Zoroastrians at least, are taught to carry the dead,

'barəzištaēšvaca. paiti. gātušva. . . yađoiṭ. dim. bādištəm. avazanqn. sūnō. vā. kərəfš.hvarō. vayo. vā. kərəfš.hvarō. : aētađa. hē. aēte. mazdayasna.

¹ vi. 1-9.

² vi. 10-25.

³ iii. 36-9.

⁴ vi. 28-31.

⁵ vi. 42, 43.

⁶ v. 39-44.

aētām. iristām. nidarəzayām. havaēibya. pādaēibya. hwaēpapyāca. varsa. ayanhaēnām. vā. zarštvaēnām. vā. fravāhšānām. vā. vi. 45, 46.

(‘Sur les lieux les plus élevés, là où l’on sait que viennent toujours des chiens carnivores et des oiseaux carnivores; là les adorateurs de Mazda fixeront le corps par les pieds et par les cheveux, avec du métal, des pierres, ou de l’argile,’))

and if not so fastened, the corpse-eating bird and the corpse-eating dog may carry the bones into the water and into the trees, and defile them, and the worshippers will be condemned to the penalty. This is the description of the Dakhma which is said to be the first building that the Parsis erect when settling on a new place. Then the worshippers are asked to carry the bones left there, out of the reach of the dog, the fox, or the wolf, into the building, which is to be made of stones, mortar, and clay. If they cannot afford to make such places to carry the corpse and its bones, they are allowed to lay down the dead man on the ground on his own carpet and his own pillow, and to expose the corpse to the sun.¹ When a man dies in a wooden house or a hut, the Nask still continues to say, the worshippers of Mazda shall have to look for a Dakhma to which they can remove the dead and they must perfume the house with some sweet-smelling plant. But if it is easier for them to remove the house, they shall leave the dead body as it is, and remove the house and perfume it as before.²

There is also such teaching in the Nask that no corpse must be taken to the Dakhma when it is raining, or snowing, or threatening to do so, or the darkness is coming. Then the worshippers must find the place in the house which is the cleanest, the driest and the least passed through by the sacred things; and at the prescribed distance from them, they are taught to dig a grave half a foot deep when the earth is hard, and half the height of a man when the earth is soft, and let the dead body lie in it until the weather becomes favourable, when they must carry it to the Dakhma.³ Again in the Fifth Fargard⁴ it says, when the winter comes they could build three small houses for the dead, large enough,

‘yať. hē. nōiť. ərədvō. āəvhanām. vazdanām. upa.janyāť. nōiť. fraša. pādaēibya. nōiť. zastaēibya. vītarām.’ p. 11.

(‘Assez grandes pour ne pas heurter la tête de l’homme s’il était debout, ni les pieds étendus ni les bras tendus,’))

and there they lay the lifeless body until the weather becomes favourable.

As has been already stated, the Mazda-worshippers look upon the dog as a sacred animal, and this respect for the dog is indeed something singular in the Mazda-worshipping religion. They believe that a particular kind of dog has a faculty of expelling or even smiting the Druj Nasu in the corpse of a man, and thus making it clean.⁵ Thus the ‘Sag-did’ or ‘a look of the dog’ makes a part of their funeral ceremony to-day; and, in spite of this ceremony, they still have an impression of uncleanness in the dead body, and carry it to the Dakhma in order not to defile the things with which it may come in contact. So the Dakhma is believed to be the place where the troops of fiends rush

¹ vi. 47-51.

⁴ v. 10-14.

² viii. 1-3.

⁵ viii. 16-18.

³ viii. 4-11.

⁶ vii. 55-9.

together,⁶ and therefore the earth where the Dakhma stands is one of the places which feel the sorest grief,¹ and he who rejoices the earth with the greatest joy is the one who breaks down most of those Dakhmas.² Thus while they are taught to build the Dakhma for depositing the corpse, they are also taught to destroy it, since it is written in the Nask that the ground on which it stands is not regarded as clean until the dust of the corpse has mingled with the dust of the earth.³

From what we have already noted, we know that they were strictly prohibited to bury the corpse—or even lay it on the ground—because of the pollution of earth; yet there are also some phrases in the Nask in which they are permitted to dig a hole in the ground in the house or build three small houses for depositing the corpse, though temporarily, and are also allowed to lay on the dry ground the rotten pieces of the dead taken out of the river. These deeds are, indeed, quite sacrilegious among the Mazda-worshippers after the reformation, and yet it says there is no sin attached to such deeds and they do not become unclean, even though they directly touch the dead and bury or lay the dead on the ground.

These contradictory phrases will show that there is mixed in the Nask something of the older custom of the original Mazda-worshipping religion which was actually practised among the Achaemenians in the southern part of Persia, who were most devoted followers of Ahura Mazda.

The best example of a burial-place is seen in the ruins at Nakhsh-e Rostam. Some think these burial-places of the Achaemenian kings to be the places where their bones were deposited; but the interior of the vaults clearly shows that those deeply hewn troughs were used as sarcophagi in which to lay the royal bodies and those of the nearest to them.

We noticed also, that the Mazda-worshippers are allowed to tear the defiled part of the garments touched by the corpse and bury such pieces under the ground, and sometimes they wash the soiled parts of their bodies or garments in the water, though it might be after being cleansed with *gōmēz*. Here again we see something contradictory to what is said elsewhere in the Nask, and there is no question about the mixture of the old teaching of their ancestors in the remote age with the reformatory spirit of the Magus.

They use the four-eyed dog or a white dog with yellow ears for the 'sag-did' ceremony. This again is the reflection of the Indo-Iranian faith as we see Yama⁴ in Veda, who guards the ways to the realm of Death with two brown four-eyed dogs; and even in the words of their spells, there is some resemblance between the Avestan and the Vedic faith.

There are, moreover, many points we can hardly understand, such as the corpse of a priest defiles more people than that of the dog, or the Haoma already prepared for the sacrifice does not become polluted by the dead. So we see many points stated in this Nask contradict, and there are many points that seem to be the reflection from the faith after the Reformation by Zarathushtra and that of the original Mazdaism.

¹ iii. 7-9.² iii. 13.³ vii. 50.⁴ RV. x. 14. 10 f.

We know that the original Indo-Iranians had separated from each other, and had taken the different courses for their future homes, probably because of their religious differences, as some suggested, or economical reason. After their separation, it seems, there was another break-up among the Iranians themselves while coming down southwards; and one can easily think of two main courses of their immigration into the Iranian plateau: one group, appearing in the northern part of Persia, established the Median kingdom; and the other established the Achaemenian kingdom in the south.

One thing is quite evident, that they were both the worshippers of Ahura Mazda. But after their separation, there came a religious gap between these two branches of the Iranians; and among the Medes in the north, the Magus took the entire charge of the religious matter, and the reformation was going on among them, as already noted, and the central figure of which reformation was Zarathushtra; while the Achaemenians in the south held the older view of the original Mazdaism, and consequently the older custom.

So there was, in ancient Persia, a certain period when there were two distinct branches of the Iranians, the Medes and the Persians, as described in the famous history of Herodotus, and naturally they each had a religious belief and custom of their own. So we see, under the Achaemenian rule, not only that the burial of the dead was not forbidden, but that it was the general practice, and they even burned the corpse as mentioned by Herodotus.¹

In the Fourth Book of Dīnkart it mentions specially that the words of Avesta are 'the receiving' by Zarathushtra himself from Ahura Mazda, and that this Avesta was probably the original Avestan copy made before the devastation of Alexander; therefore it is the work after the reformation, and we may safely conclude that the mixed nature and the contradictory points we see in this Nask were already existing at the very outset, provided that the Nask remained the same as it was before. If this Nask be a later compilation, it is quite natural that there remained some mixed nature and contradictory points in it, because there were ample opportunities of mixture of the belief of the original Mazdaism of the Persians with that reformed idea of the Medes after the reunion of two branches of the Iranians at the later period of the Achaemenes downwards.

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¹ *History*, Book III. 16.

IRANIAN VERBS IN *-m* AND *-p*

1. It has already attracted attention (see Bartholomae, *Zum Altiranischen Wörterbuch*, pp. 64, 218) that certain verbal roots appear in Western Middle Iranian now with *-m*, now with *-p* (*-f*). The same phenomenon has been remarked also in Middle Sogdian of the Buddhist texts (see Tedesco, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, ii. 40). It is the agreement in this interchange of *-p* and *-m* in the case of both Eastern and Western Middle Iranian that suggests, if it can be assumed that the development is related, that the older Iranian may also have shared in this change.

2. The verbs which are recognized to belong here are:

(1) *gam-* 'go'

The forms in Turfan Pahlavi are:

from **gata-*, *gd 'gd 'gd 'ngd 'zgd* with Middle (Buddh.) Sogdian *'yt*.

from *gam-*, *prg'myd prg'm'm 'ng'm*

gap-, *hng'pt*

gav-, *'ng'vg 'bg'v'h* (Mahrnāmag, 288)

zam-, *hnmn hnz'm'y*

zap-, *zap-*, *hnzft, hnzft hnzps'd, hnzpt prs'pt, prs'ptn 'n'przptg, n'frs'ptg*

For the change *-m-* to *-v-*, compare Turfan Pahlavi *h'vs'r* 'like', Armenian loanword *havasār* 'equal', in which *hāv-* is the same as *hām-*.

In Zoroastrian Pahlavi

p rč ptnn fražastan

p rč am dn dtnn fražāmēnitan

dam dn dt nn žāmēnitan Pāzand, *jāminīdan*

p zam dn dt nn pa(z)zāmēnitan

In New Persian *farjām* 'end', *anjām* 'end'.

Middle (Buddh.) Sogdian *yβs'nt* 'they went' (Vess. Jāt. 58e); *yβt'ynt* 'they went' (Vess. Jāt. 784).

(2) *nam-* 'go'

Avestan *nam-* (see Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterb.*) as in Y. xlvī. 1. *kqm nāmōi zam, kuθrā nāmōi ayenī* 'to what land to flee, whither am I to go to escape?'

Turfan Pahlavi *nam-*, *prnm'nd*

nap-, *'bnft frnft frnptn frnpt*

Zoroastrian Pahlavi *nāmom franāmišn franāmūtan franaftan franāftan*

(3) *rap-* 'go'

Turfan Pahlavi *r'mynyd* 'lead ye'

'hr'myd 'hr'myšn v'd'hr'm

'hr'pt 'hr'ptn

nyr'myšn nyr'pt

Zoroastrian Pahlavi *ahrāmišn*, *ahrāmihēt* *raftan*, pres. tense *rp dt*, *rapēt*

Here too the Causative *a r a p dt harāpēt* (see Pavry, *Zoroastrian Doctrine of the Future Life*, p. 88).

New Persian *raftan*, pres. tense *ravad* 'go'

ramīdan 'flee'

ramān timid

Cf. Middle (Buddh.) Sogdian *rm''n* timid (?) (Reichelt, *Die Soghd.*

Handschriftenreste d. Brit. Museums, p. 2, no. 3).

Afghānī *ramedal* (1) proceed (of a flock)

(2) be terrified

ramaval (1) lead to graze

(2) terrify

Balōči (Eastern) *ravay* 'go', *rap'ta* 'gone'

Sarikoli *varāfsam*, pret. *vu-rūwd-* 'stand'

Šignī *virāfcam*, pret. *vi-rūwd-* 'stand'

Wāxī *varefsam*, pret. *varefstam* 'stand'

(4) *x^vap-* 'sleep'

Turfan Pahlavi *xvpt* 'slept'; *xvmr* 'sleep'

Zoroastrian Pahlavi *x^vaftan*, *x^vafsēt* 'sleeps'; *xumr* (*an mn*) 'sleep';

x^vāb (*av db*) 'sleep'.

New Persian *x^vābidan* *xuspidan*

(5) *vam-* 'vomit, spit'

Turfan Pahlavi *vfynd* 'they spit out'

Zoroastrian Pahlavi *vāmēt* 'vomits'; *vātak* 'vomit'

Ossetic (Digorish) *vomun* 'to vomit'

(6) *vap-* 'destroy'

Avestan (Y. xxxii. 10) *vivāpaṭ*

Jud. Pers. *fravamagīn* 'waste'

Zoroastrian Pahlavi *vīyāpēnitān*

Pahlavi Psalter *vyd'p'n* (see Junker, *Wörter und Sachen*, 1929).

For the change of *-iv-* to *-iy-* compare

Pahl. *živēt* 'he lives', New Pers. *ziyad*, and Turfan Pahl. (North-west)

yāvēdān with (South-west) *šāyēdān* 'eternal'.

3. This development of *ram-* from *rap-* 'go' brought it into contact with the different root *ram-* 'be at ease', Avestan *rāmōiðwəm*, *rāmyaṭ*, *rāmayeiti*, *rāma*.

Tufan Pahlavi *r'm* *r'myšn* *r'm* *r'myn'nd* *rmnyg* 'darling'
(Mahrnāmag, 283)

Zoroastrian Pahlavi *rāmišn* *rāmēnitār*

New Persian *ārām* 'repose', *rāmiš* 'cheerfulness'

4. The Pahlavi Commentators employ *rāmišn*, *rāmēnitār*, *rāmēnitārih* to translate Avestan *rapōiš* *rapantəm* *rapantō* *rapān* *rapaka-* *rafədra-* *rafənah-*. All these Avestan words are traced by Bartholomae (*Altiran. Wörterb.* 1508-10)

to the root *rap-* 'to support'. If we recognize here the possibility that *rap-* and *ram-* are two forms of the one root, it is possible to compare Lithuanian *rėmti* 'to support' beside *rimti* 'to be calm'. The Pahlavi Commentators are then not so far wrong in using *rāmišn* and the other words of this root to translate Avestan *rap-*.

5. A similar assumption of a parallel form *yap-* to the verb *yam-* will afford an explanation of Avestan *āyaptā- āyapta-* 'a boon'. The verb *yam-* occurs with the preverb *ā* in Y. xxxi. 13 *ayamaite* 'demands', and in V. ix. 14 *ayasōiš* 'you are to fetch'. Hence, too, is found an explanation of Zoroastrian Pahlavi *ayāftan* 'obtain' *ayāpēnitān*, *x^oayāpakih*, New Persian *yāftan yābam* 'obtain, find'; Ossetic (Digorish) *āyafun* (Tagaurish) *āyafin* from *ā-yāf-*.

If this derivation is correct, *yap-* (*yam-*) must be kept distinct from the root *ap-* which is common in the Avesta, and in the form *āp-* (*āpnōti*) in Sanskrit. In Pahlavi occurs *āpēnitān*. Possibly Turfan Pahlavi *'byd* belongs here, certainly Šignī *fīrāpam* 'I attain' with its Causative *fīrēpam*, pret. *fīrēpt*. In Middle (Buddh.) Sogdian the same root *ap-* may perhaps occur in *pr'yp-* 'lead away'.

6. It has seemed possible in view of this alternation of *-m -p -f* in verbal roots to attempt once more an interpretation of Avestan *vafūš* which is found twice only and then in the Gāthās Y. xxix. 6 and Y. xlviii. 9. While Andreas (*Nachrichten von d. k. Gesells. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1913, p. 373) translated 'die Welt der Erscheinungen (?)' obviously thinking of the Sanskrit *vāpus* (which occurs already in the Rigveda), Bartholomae preferred to see in *vafūš* a derivative from a root *vaf-* 'to weave' which had secondarily acquired the meaning 'to sing of' as in Y. xliii. 8 *staomī ufyācā* 'I praise and sing'. From such a meaning 'sing', Bartholomae derived *vafuš-* 'a song', thence 'a saying, an ordinance'. On the other hand, the Pahlavi Commentator seems to have seen in the word a derivative of *vap-* 'to destroy'. He rendered *vafūš* by *višōpišn*, which in the Sanskrit version is in turn rendered by *vināśanam* 'destruction'. The *-f-* of *vafūš* is then, if it is derived from *vap-* 'to destroy', a difficulty, but it is possible to compare not only Avestan *hušx^oafa* Y. lvii. 17 from the root *x^oap-* 'sleep' but also Turfan Pahlavi *vfynd*, as above.

The passages are: Y. xxix. 6

at ē vaoçaṭ Ahurō Mazdā vīdvā vafūš vyānayā 'And He Himself spake, Ahura Mazdāh, knowing the *vafūš* in his soul' (*vyānay-ā* Loc. Sing. cognate with Turfan Pahlavi *gy'n*, New Persian *jān*), and Y. xlviii. 9

ərəš.mōi ərəšūčqm vanhēuš vafuš mananhō 'Let the *vafuš* of Good Thought be truly told me'.

In Y. xxix 5 c, which preceeds the line of Y. xxix. 6 under discussion, there is talk of 'destruction':

nōiṭ ərəšəjyōi frajyāitiš nōiṭ fšuyantē dragvasū pairi. 'Not for the righteously living, not for the husbandman, shall there be destruction among the followers of the Lie'.

In the second passage Y. xlviii. 9 the Prophet desires to know whether Ahura Mazdāh has control over his threatening enemies:

kadā vaēdā yezi čahyā xšayaθā
Mazdā Ašā yehyā mā aiθiš dvaēθā.

'When shall I know whether ye rule over all, O Mazdāh,
 With Asha, whose destructiveness is a menace to me?'

But if we translate *vafūš* by 'destructions', what are the 'destructions of Good Thought'? They may well be the 'destructions' of evil to accomplish which Vohuman is the agent of Ahura Mazdāh, as, when Bəndva threatens Zərəθuštra, it is through Vohuman that Bəndva's ruin is achieved:

Y. xlix. 1 *ahyā Vohū aošō vīdā Mananḥā*. 'Do Thou prepare death for him through Good Thought.'

That Vohuman is an active agent in the destruction of the demons is well known. Compare the passage of the Iranian Bundahišn which Darmesteter translated (*Zend-Avesta*, ii. 307): 'Vohuman . . . et c'est surtout par cette vertu pacifique de lui que sont possibles l'annihilation d'Ahriman et des démons, le reveil des morts, la résurrection, l'immortalité.' If *vafūš* means 'destructions', Vohuman would seem to have been most closely associated in Zərəθuštra's thoughts with victory over his enemies.

The Pahlavi Commentator to Y. xlviii. 9 seems to understand that Good Thought strengthens the individual who lives aright, enabling him to annihilate the Evil Ones. His words are: '*kā pat frārōnīh šivēm, ā-m *gundak i vattarān tuvān bavēt višuftan*' 'when I live righteously, then am I able to annihilate the host (?) of the Evil Ones.' Here the word *gundk* is doubtful. It may be *gandak*, as often written with two *n*'s (cf. Turfan Pahlavi '*brung *ašrang*'), meaning 'stench' or is possibly a derivative of *gund* 'a company or troops'. The Commentator bears witness then to the medieval Zoroastrian belief in the destructive activity of Vohuman. His conflict with *Akōman* 'Evil Thought' is the counterpart in the heavenly world.

7. There remains the possibility that the ἀπαξ εἰρημέων *xrapaiti* . . . *aibi* in Y. xl. 1 may be a variant form of the root **xram-* which is attested for Iranian by Middle (Buddh.) Sogdian *yr'm-* 'to go' and by New Persian *xirāmīdan* 'go, stride'. In Vedic Sanskrit is found the verb *kram-* with various preverbs, among others *abhi*:

RV. i. 144. 1.

hótā . . . abhi srūcaḥ kramate dakṣiṇāvṛto 'The Hotar priest approaches the sacrificial spoons which come from the right side'.

RV. vi. 49. 15.

spīdho ádevīr abhi ca krāmāma 'may we overcome the ungodly foes'.

The Avestan passage in Y. xl. 1 (The Haptanḥāiti) reads:

āhū at paiti adāhū Mazdā Ahurā mazdqmčā būiričā karašvā rāiti
tōi xrapaiti ahmat hyaṭ aibi hyaṭ mišdēm mavaēθim fradadāθā
daēnābyō Mazdā Ahurā.

'And at these Recompensings, O Mazdāh Ahura, do thou keep in mind and fulfil, through thy bounty, what comes to thee from us, which thou hast determined as a recompense for one like me for the selves, O Mazdāh Ahura.'

'What comes to thee from us' will mean 'our prayers' or 'our desires'.

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THREE VERSIONS OF AN ATHARVAN HYMN

THE three versions of this hymn are brought together here not for illustration of any principles of text criticism or exegesis, but rather to give an intimation of what a series of studies of the Pāippalāda may show in regard to the development and interrelations of the Vedic saṁhitās: it is a specimen, not a definitive study.

The three versions are (1) a khila to RV. x. 137, as given by Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Rgveda*, p. 119 f.; (2) Atharva Veda Śāunakiya, v. 5; (3) Atharva Veda Pāippalāda, vi. 4, as edited by Edgerton in *JAOS*. xxxiv. 374 ff., but with a few modifications as noted below.

Khila to RV. x. 137

bhūmir mātā nabhaḥ pitāryamā te pitāmahaḥ /
ghṛtācī nāma vā asi sā devānām asi svasā z 1 z
yas tvā pibati jīvati trāyase puruṣaṁ tvam /
trātriṇī śāsvatām asi śāsvatām samyañcanī z 2 z
yad daṇḍena yad iṣuṇā yad vārur harasā kṛtam /
tasya tvam asi niṣkṛtis sānāu niṣkṛtya oṣadhīḥ z 3 z
vṛkṣaṁ-vṛkṣaṁ saṁ patasi vṛṣāyantīva kanyaṇā /
jayantī pratyātiṣṭhantī sañjeyā nāma vā asi z 4 z
bhadrāt plakṣe nis tiṣṭhāśvatthe khadire dhawe /
bhadrāt parṇe nyagrodhe sā mām rāutsīd arundhatī z 5 z
asvasyāsṛk saṁpatasi tat parṇam abhi tiṣṭhasi /
sarat pataty arṇasi sā mām rāutsīd arundhatī z 6 z
hiraṇyaparṇe subhage sokṣme lomaśavakṣaṇe /
apām asi svasā lākṣe vāto hātmā babhūva te z 7 z

Atharva Veda Śāunakiya v. 5

rātri mātā nabhaḥ pitāryamā te pitāmahaḥ /
silācī nāma vā asi sā devānām asi svasā z 1 z
yas tvā pibati jīvati trāyase puruṣaṁ tvam /
bhartrī hi śāsvatām asi janānām ca nyañcanī z 2 z
vṛkṣaṁ-vṛkṣaṁ ā rohasi vṛṣāyantīva kanyaḷā /
jayantī pratyātiṣṭhantī sparāṇī nāma vā asi z 3 z
yad daṇḍena yad iṣvā yad vārur harasā kṛtam /
tasya tvam asi niṣkṛtiḥ semaṁ niṣkṛdhi puruṣaṁ z 4 z
bhadrāt plakṣān nistiṣṭhasy asvatthāt khadirād dhavāt /
bhadraṁ nyagrodhāt parṇāt sā na ehy arundhati z 5 z
hiraṇyavarṇe subhage sūryavarṇe vapuṣṭame /
rutaṁ gacchāsi niṣkṛte niṣkṛtir nāma vā asi z 6 z
hiraṇyavarṇe subhage śuṣme lomaśavakṣaṇe /
apām asi svasā lākṣe vāto hātmā babhūva te z 7 z

silācī nāma kānīno 'jababhru pitā tava /
 aśvo yamasya yaś śyāvas tasya hāsnāsy ukṣitā z 8 z
 aśvasyāśnaḥ saṃpatitā sā vṛkṣāṇ abhi siṣyade /
 sarā patatrinī bhūtvā sā na ehy arundhati z 9 z

Atharva Veda Pāippalāda vi. 4¹

rātrī mātā nabhaṣ pitāryamā te pitāmahaḥ /
 śilādī nāma vā asi sā devānām asi svasā z 1 z
 yas tvā pibati jīvati trāyase puruṣaṃ tvam /
 dhartrī ca śaśvatām asi śaśvatām ca nyañicanī z 2 z
 yad daṇḍena yad iṣvā yad ārur harasā kṛtam /
 tasya tvam asi bheṣajī niṣkṛtir nāma vā asi z 3 z
 bhadrāt plakṣe nistiṣṭhasy aśvatthe khadire dhava /
 bhadraṇ nyagrodhe parṇe sā na ehy arundhati z 4 z
 vṛkṣaṃ-vṛkṣaṃ ā rohasi vṛṣaṇyantīva kanyalā /
 jayanti pratyātiṣṭhanti saṃjayā nāma vā asi z 5 z
 hiranyavarṇe yuvate śuṣme lomaśavakṣaṇe /
 apām asi svasā lākṣe vāto hātmā babhūva te z 6 z
 hiranyabāhu subhage sūryavarṇe vapuṣtame /
 rutaṃ gacchasi niṣkṛdhi semaṃ niṣkṛdhi puruṣaṃ z 7 z
 ghṛtācī nāma kānīno 'jababhru pitā tava /
 aśvo yamasya yaś śyāvas tasya hāsnāsy ukṣitā z 8 z
 aśvasyāśnas saṃpatitā sā parṇam abhi siṣyade /
 sadā patatrinī asi sā na ehy arundhati z 9 z
 ghṛtācake vāmarate vidyutparṇe arundhati /
 yāturaṃ gamiṣṭhāsi tvam aṅgaṇiṣkary asi z 10 z
 yat te 'jagrabhaṃ piśācāis tat tarhāpy āyatām punaḥ /
 lākṣā tvā viśvabheṣajī devebhir trāyatām saha z 11 z

The following little table gives a brief view of the way in which the stanzas of the three versions correspond:

RVKh. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7

Ś. 1, 2, 4, 3, 5, 9, 7, 6, 8

Ppp. 1, 2, 3, 5, 4, 9, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11

From the table it is easily seen that Ś. has all the stanzas of the khila plus two others, and that Pāipp. has all the stanzas of Ś. plus two more; and perhaps one might with reason think that the first five stanzas once constituted the earliest form of the piece.

Comparing the variant readings of the several texts we note that some of

¹ Notes on the Pāippalāda text as given above.

2 b. The MS. reading points to *ca nyañicanī* rather than to *tv anvañicanī* as Edgerton suggested.

6 d. Pāipp intends here the reading of the other two, for *babhūvyathe* is a frequent miswriting for *babhūva te*, and the error *yatsā* for *hātmā* is easily made in the Kashmir MS.

10 c. The last word of this *pāda* is probably *asi*: the form given above involves almost no change in the reading of the MS. I take the words to be *yā + āturaṃ + gamiṣṭhā + asi*.

them show the two AV. texts in agreement against the khila, and some others show the khila and the Pāipp. in agreement against the Ś. The details of these variants are given with a few comments.¹ In 1a *rātri* of Pāipp. and Ś. is not so literal as is *bhūmir* of the khila; in 1c Pāipp. and Ś. do not seem to be exactly in agreement (though *śilādi* may be only a miswriting), but they are in essential agreement as compared with the khila. The case in 2c is similar to that in 1c, and in 2d it seems very likely that both Pāipp. and Ś. have *nyañicanī* where the khila has *samyañicanī*. In 3a Pāipp. and Ś. have *iṣvā*, presumably feminine, and the khila has *iṣuṇā* which is properly masculine. In 4d the variation of the khila from the other two is marked and is repeated in 9d. In 5a Pāipp. and Ś. have *ā rohasi*, which seems to be of more frequent occurrence than *sampatasi* which the khila has; in 5b the variation between the khila and the other two seems to show a touch of colloquialism in the Pāipp. and Ś. In 6a the variation of *hiranyavarṇe* and *°parṇe* could easily be only graphic error, but in 6b a real variant seems to appear; Pāipp. and Ś. *śuṣme*, khila *sokṣme*, if the latter is acceptable. In stanza 9 Pāipp. and Ś. do not agree exactly, but it is obvious that they are much closer to each other than is either to the khila. These agreements of the two AV. versions as against the khila indicate clearly a closer relationship between the two AV. versions than between them and the khila, but there does not seem to be any indication of such a thing as direct copying of one AV. version from the other.

Another set of variants is worth notice. In 2d Pāipp. and the khila have *śasvatām*, Ś. *janānām*; in 4abc where Pāipp. and the khila have locatives Ś. has ablatives (in 4a the khila should probably read *nistiṣṭhasy* as the others); in 5d Pāipp. *saṁjayā*, khila *sañjeyā*, Ś. *sparaṇi*; in 9b Pāipp. and khila *parṇam*, Ś. *vrkṣān*. These are a few instances of a phenomenon frequently observed in Pāipp., i.e. a tendency to agree with RV. rather than with Ś. In 3a and 6c there are instances of agreement of Ś. and the khila against Pāipp.

The two AV. versions of this hymn seem to be related as sisters and the RVKh. is a cousin, and the Pāipp. version is somewhat more like its cousin than is the Ś. version: this may be due to closer geographical association of the Pāippalādins with the RV. schools. The study of a number of hymns in this fashion indicates a probability that many of the Atharvan hymns which appear in the RV. were drawn from the mass of Atharvan material before the formation of the texts of the different AV. śākhās: such a study also yields some evidence that the Pāippalāda saṁhitā was formed before that of the Śāunakīyas, though the evidence of this particular hymn does not point in that direction clearly if at all, for the last two stanzas of the Pāipp. version are pretty surely an addition to the nine stanzas which constitute the Ś. version.

It is a pleasure to present this little study on one of India's sacred books as a tribute to a scholar and distinguished leader in that land: *sa jivec charadaḥ satam*.

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¹ The Stanza numbers refer to the Pāipp version unless otherwise stated.

DER IRANISCHE BUDDHISMUS UND SEIN VERHÄLTNIS ZUM ISLAM

BEREITS in den ersten Jahrhunderten der Hidjra ist die Tatsache völlig verdunkelt worden, dass weder das Sasanidenreich noch dessen Staatsreligion, der Zoroastrismus, jemals die gesamte iranische Welt umfasst hatten. Ausser dem zoroastrischen Iran gab es ein für das spätere Kulturleben der iranischen Welt durchaus nicht bedeutungsloses buddhistisches Iran. Wie von mir an anderer Stelle hervorgehoben worden ist, sind beide Familien, denen von den Persern der mohammedanischen Zeit wie von der modernen Wissenschaft die Wiederbelebung sasanidischer Traditionen zugeschrieben wird, die Barmakiden und die Samaniden, aus Balkh hervorgegangen, einer Gegend, 'in welcher die Sasaniden vielleicht nur kurze Zeit geherrscht hatten, der Zoroastrismus als Staatsreligion niemals anerkannt worden war'.¹

Wie wir aus dem Berichte des Pilgers Hüan Čuang (um 630 n. Chr.) wissen, war der Buddhismus aus einigen Gegenden (z. B. aus Samarkand)² kurz vor der arabischen Eroberung durch den Zoroastrismus verdrängt worden; in anderen Gegenden, südlich und nördlich vom Oxus, stand er dagegen noch in voller Blüte und ist offenbar nur dem Islam gewichen. Das noch im VII. Jahrhundert n. Chr. von zahlreichen buddhistischen Mönchen bewohnte Kloster Nau-bahar bei Balkh wird von Daqiqi (im Shah-Nama) als Tempel und Wallfahrtsort aus der Zeit vor der Bekehrung des Königs Gushtasp zum Zoroastrismus beschrieben. Nach Biruni war in der Zeit vor Zoroaster die Religion der Buddhisten über ganz Persien und Mesopotamien bis zu den Grenzen von Syrien verbreitet. Zoroaster kam aus Adharbaidjan nach Balkh, wo er den König Gushtasp zu seiner Lehre bekehrte; der Sohn dieses Königs, Isfandiyar, verbreitete die neue Lehre in Ost und West, zum Teil durch Gewalt, zum Teil durch Verträge; in allen Ländern von den Grenzen Chinas bis zu den Grenzen des römischen Reiches wurden von ihm Feuer-tempel errichtet. Unter den folgenden Königen wurde der Zoroastrismus in Persien und Mesopotamien zur alleinherrschenden Staatsreligion; die Buddhisten wurden aus diesen Gegenden vertrieben und mussten nach den Ländern östlich von Balkh auswandern.³ Zu den Worten von Biruni wird im Djami' at-tawarikh von Rashid ad-din noch hinzugefügt, dass die Herrschaft des Zoroastrismus 3000 Jahre dauerte. Die von Biruni in einem früheren Werk erwähnten Überreste buddhistischer Klöster im Grenzgebiet von Khorasan gegen Indien⁴ wurden von ihm selbst offenbar als Bauten aus vorzoroastrischer Zeit betrachtet.

Einige dieser Kultstätten sind jetzt untersucht und als von der sasanidischen Kunst beeinflusste buddhistische Denkmäler erkannt worden; nach der Ansicht eines der neuesten Forscher, A. Godard, waren die Künstler von

¹ ZA. xxvi. 260.

² *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen Thsang*, trad. par St. Julien, p. 59 f.

³ Alberuni's *India*, ed. Sachau, p. 10 f.

⁴ Alberuni, *Chronologie*, ed. Sachau, p. 206, 18.

Bamiyan 'sujets bouddhistes d'un monarque mazdéen'.¹ Nach einer anderen Stelle desselben Werkes² stammte dieser Monarch aus dem Hause der Sasaniden; näheres über seinen Namen, seine Zeit und seine Regierung wird nicht mitgeteilt. Wie Herzfeld nachgewiesen hat, hat es schon in III. Jahrhundert n. Chr. mehrere sasanidische Prinzen-Statthalter von Khorasan gegeben, welche den Titel Kushanshah oder Kushan-shahanshah führten; der erste dieser Prinzen-Statthalter, Peroz, der Sohn des Begründers des Sasanidenreiches Ardashir I (226-41), erscheint auf seinen Münzen als Mazdaverehrer und zugleich als Verehrer des Buddha.³ Münzen wie Denkmäler zeugen also von der diesmal nicht feindlichen 'rencontre mémorable de deux grandes civilisations' die von A. Godard⁴ hervorgehoben wird.

Schon im ersten Jahrhundert der Hidjra mussten sich sowohl das zoroastrische wie das buddhistische Iran der Herrschaft des Islam unterwerfen. Dass die vom Islam den Christen und Juden gegenüber beobachtete Duldsamkeit früh auf den Zoroastrismus ausgedehnt worden ist und dass es in dem von den Arabern eroberten Persien, im Gegensatz zu den zoroastrischen Legenden, keine religiöse Verfolgung gegeben hat, ist jetzt allgemein anerkannt; dass unter der islamischen Herrschaft der als Götzendienst betrachtete Buddhismus geduldet werden konnte, schien unmöglich zu sein; es schien deshalb keiner Beweise zu bedürfen, dass alles, was sich in islamischen Ländern von Denkmälern des Buddhismus findet, aus der Zeit vor der arabischen Eroberung stammen müsse. In der wissenschaftlichen Literatur kehrt diese bereits mehrmals durch die Tatsachen widerlegte Anschauung immer wieder. Als im Jahre 1896 von Sven Hedin die Ruinen einer buddhistischen Stadt östlich von Khotan entdeckt wurden, schien es dem Reisenden keiner Beweise zu bedürfen 'that the city is older than the Arab invasion of Kuteybeh Ibn Muslim in the beginning of the 8th century'; dieses könne 'without fear of contradiction' behauptet werden.⁵ Jetzt wissen wir, dass Outaiba nie dort gewesen ist und dass der Buddhismus aus dem heutigen Chinesischen Turkestan durch den Islam meist auf friedliche Weise allmählich verdrängt worden ist. Als bei Ausgrabungen in Samarkand 'Tonfiguren von Menschen und Tieren' gefunden wurden, schien es keiner Beweise zu bedürfen, dass diese Figuren nur aus vorislamischer Zeit stammen konnten; M. Hartmann bezeichnet es als 'sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass solche Industrie etwa heimlich noch nach dem Jahre 93/712, dem Jahre der Eroberung, geübt worden ist'.⁶ Jetzt wissen wir, dass es sogar keiner Heimlichkeit bedürfte; ganz öffentlich wurden im islamischen Bukhara solche Götzen (*butān*) dreimal im Jahre versteigert. Der im Jahre 286/899 geborene Verfasser des im Jahre 332/943-4 geschriebenen Werkes fügt hinzu, dass dieser Brauch 'noch zu seiner Zeit bestanden hatte';⁷ wie das Präteritum (*buda ast*) beweist, war zur Zeit der Abfassung seines Werkes dieser Handel nicht mehr üblich, hatte aber

¹ A. Godard, Y. Godard, J. Hackin, *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, Paris et Bruxelles, 1928, p. 74. ² Ibid., p. 68. ³ Herzfeld Paikuli, 1924, S. 45.

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵ Sv. Hedin, *Through Asia*, London, 1898, p. 802.

⁶ OLZ. viii, 1905, Sp. 559.

⁷ Nerchakhy, *Description de Bukhara*, p. 19. Das Geburtsjahr des Verfassers nach Sam'ani, *GMS*. xx. 558 a.

bis zu der ersten Hälfte des X. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. (etwa 200 Jahre nach der arabischen Eroberung) in der islamischen Stadt bestanden. Jetzt glaubt auch A. Godard ohne irgend welche Beweise 'l'époque où apparurent les arabes et où périrent ou devinrent musulmans les habitants de la paisible vallée' als terminus ante quem auch für die buddhistischen Heiligtümer in Bamiyan festsetzen zu dürfen. Als diese Zeit gilt ihm der Anfang des VIII.² Jahrhunderts, trotz der bereits mehrfach angeführten Tatsache, dass noch im Jahre 870 n. Chr. Götzenbilder aus Bamiyan weggeführt und nach Bagdad geschickt worden sind.³ Dass die Araber auch in Indien nicht immer einen Vernichtungskrieg gegen den Götzendienst geführt haben, ist aus vielen Tatsachen zu erkennen, auf die hier nicht näher eingegangen werden kann; es mag genügen auf die klassische Stelle bei Balazuri über die Eroberung von Alor (712) durch Mohammed ibn al-Qasim hinzuweisen. Die Stadt wird dem Feldherrn mit der Bedingung übergeben, dass ihr Budd' geschont werde; der arabische Feldherr willigt ein und bemerkt dazu 'Was anderes ist (für uns) der Budd als die Kirchen der Christen, die Synagogen der Juden und die Feuertempel der Madjus'. Er legte ihnen den Kharadj auf und baute eine Moschee.⁴

Durch vorurteilsfreie und auf sorgfältigen Quellenstudien beruhende Geschichtsforschung wird wohl immer mehr die Tatsache bewiesen werden, dass die Weltreligionen einander weniger schonungslos bekämpft und länger geduldet haben als meist angenommen wird.

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¹ Godard, op. cit., p. 35.

² Ibid., 34.

³ Fihrist, S. 346; Tabari, iii. 1841; *Festschrift Nöldeke*, S. 187; *Enz. des Islam* s.v. Bāmiyān.

⁴ Beladsori, ed. de Goeje, S. 439.

HARPATQĀ 'MÜHSAL' AUS PAHLAVI HAR PATKĀR

J. LEVY gibt in seinem *Neuhebr. und. chald. Wörterbuch* als Bedeutung von הרפתקא an: 'Unglücksfall, unheilvolles Ereignis'. Die beiden Belege, die er bringt, weisen den Plural הרפתקאי auf, was er mit 'Unfälle' übersetzt. Das Wort ist auch im modernen Hebräisch ganz gewöhnlich, aber mit dem Plural הרפתקאות. Es findet sich zwar nicht im Thesaurus von Ben Jehuda, wo ja überhaupt die Fremdwörter fehlen, aber im *Deutsch-hebr. Wörterbuch* von S. M. Laser und H. Torczyner z. B. wird 'Mühsal', durch הלצה und הרפתקא wiedergegeben.

Wo stammt nun dieses seiner Form nach so seltsame Wort her? Nach Levy, S. 496, ist es wahrscheinlich persischen Ursprungs, und in den von H. L. Fleischer stammenden Nachträgen daselbst S. 559 wird es zurückgeführt auf هفتک, neupersisch هفتک, 'Vergangenes, Geschehenes, Vorfall'. Fleischer empfiehlt daher auch als richtige Aussprache הרפתקא die dann tatsächlich von Dalman in seinem Wörterbuch übernommen worden ist. Das anlautende ה, das für Fleischer eine Schwierigkeit bildet, könnte, meint er, zur Unterstützung von Spiegel's Vermutung dienen, dass *harp* oder *hrap* die Wurzel von *raftan* ist.

Ich weiss nicht, ob heute noch jemand die Vermutung Spiegel's gelten lässt, aber selbst wenn sie richtig wäre, käme dabei für die Erklärung unseres Wortes nichts heraus. Denn auf der Sprachstufe, die für die Entlehnung allein in Betracht kommt, hat *rafta* sicher kein anlautendes *h* mehr gehabt. Wir werden uns also nach einer anderen Erklärung umsehen müssen, und da bietet sich sozusagen von selbst phlv. *harpatkār* dar, dem neupers. هرپتکار entsprechen würde. Von 'jeder(lei) Kampf', wie *har patkār* zu übersetzen wäre, ist aber, wie man sieht, zu 'Mühsal' kein grosser Weg. Zu erklären bleibt nur der Wegfall des auslautenden *r*. Der findet sich aber in der Sprache des babyl. Talmud bekanntlich auch bei אִימַר für אִימַר 'ich sage', so auch אִימַר 'er sagt', אִמַר, sage, (Imp.); es konnte also auch *har patkār* zu *harpatkā* > הרפתקא werden. Wir werden demnach an dieser traditionellen Aussprache festzuhalten haben und die Änderung in הרפתקא ablehnen müssen.

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PEHLEVI *ASTA*χ^v*ĀN* 'OS'

Le rapprochement de phl. *astax^vān* (ασταχαν), pers. *ustux^vān* (prononcé *ustuxān*) avec av. *ast-*, skr. *asthi* 'os' ne rend compte que du début du mot. Depuis Horn (*Np. Etym.*, no. 85, p. 21), qui se contente de signaler cette forme 'remarquable', le problème demeure entier.

C'est à l'Ouest de l'Iran que ce nom de l'os est spécialement restreint. Les dialectes orientaux ont conservé **astaka* : sogd. *astak*, oss. *stäg*, munj. *yostiy*, išk. *wastuk*, vaxi *yašč*, sangl. *astāk*, yidg. *yastāh*, yagn. *sitāk* (Gauthiot, *MSL* xix. 152; Zarubin, *Iran*, i. 182). Le mot persan n'a pénétré que partiellement au Pamir, mais très largement, et avec des altérations variées, dans les parlers limitrophes de l'Ouest: sīv. *istiḫān*, nay. *usuḫān*, kurde *sūqān*, gur. *sūḫān*, vōniš. *issiḫōra*, sāmn. *astaqōn*, aurom. *āswuxanā*, zafr. *issexore*, &c. (Mann-Hadank, *Kurdisch-Persische Forsch.* iii. 1. 229; Benedictsén-Christensen, *Dial. d'Awroman*, p. 120). En pehlevi et en persan, *astak*, *ast* coexistent avec *astaxʷān* (*ustuxān*), ce qui fait soupçonner une nuance particulière de sens. Si l'emploi très rare de phl. *astaxʷān* n'en laisse rien transparaître (dans l'*Art. Vir. Nām.*, lxxv. 2 il s'agit du supplice des os broyés), le persan *ustuxʷān* évoque une idée de vigueur encore perceptible dans l'acception de 'homme noble, valeureux' où il se rencontre accompagné ou non de *buzurg*. Le fait qu'il s'applique également aux os des animaux et au noyau des fruits montre qu'il désigne non seulement la matière osseuse, mais la substance dure, celle où réside la force.

Maint témoignage atteste l'antiquité de cette notion : déjà dans la doctrine des Gāthās, la vitalité s'incorpore si intimement aux os qu'on a pu forger l'abstrait *astantāt* (*astəntāt*), litt. 'osséité', comme expression de la 'force vitale' et synonyme de *gaya* (Y. xli. 3). Dans l'Avesta récent *asti aujah-* 'force des os' équivaut à 'vigueur corporelle'; *ast-* forme même avec *uštāna-* un couple qui s'applique à l'existence dans ce qu'elle a de matériel et de spirituel à la fois. On trouverait une frappante illustration de cette idée dans Yt x. 71 où les expressions 'colonne de vie' et 'source de force' qualifient le terme écrit *mərəzu-*, dont la traduction par 'vertèbres du cou' est assurée (*BSL* xxxl. 80). En tout cas, une tradition constante paraît avoir fait des os le siège de la force vitale.

Dès lors, dans phl. *astax^vān* (peut-être *astux^vān* avec l'épenthèse de *u* comme dans *nux*, *farrux*, &c.), on reconnaîtra un ancien pluriel, analogue à *yazdān*, *gēhān*, et dont le singulier **astax^v* se décompose en **ast-ax^v* 'force des os'. Phl. *ax^v* (phl. T. *ux*) est issu notoirement de av. *ahu-*, *ahvā-* (écrit *anhvā-*) 'force vitale' et a conservé le même sens. M. Nyberg me signale aimablement phl. *patēx^vih* 'bien-être, bonheur', abstrait de **patēx^v* <**pati-ahvā-* 'pourvu de force'. On conçoit que le composé se soit très tôt fixé au pluriel, car il désignait les os en général, la charpente osseuse et la vertu qui s'y attachait; c'est *astak* qui servait pour un os particulier. Suivant toute apparence, *astax^vān* ne provient pas de la langue théologique. La rareté de son emploi en pehlevi littéraire, sa valeur expressive, et la forme sous laquelle il a subsisté dénoncent un emprunt à la langue populaire du Nord-Ouest.

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DER SCHUTZENGE L PERSIENS

EINE merkwürdige Stelle des Danielbuches macht uns mit der Vorstellung bekannt, dass die Juden einen Schutzengel Persiens kannten. Der Visionär hat sich 3 Wochen lang durch Fasten und Unterlassung der Salbung auf den Empfang einer Offenbarung vorbereitet. Da erscheint ihm der Engel, um ihm die Kunde zu bringen von dem, was seinem Volke am Ende der Tage begegnen wird (Dan. x. 14). Drei Wochen hat er Daniel auf diese Mitteilung warten lassen, obwohl dieser vom ersten Tage seiner Trainierung an Erhörung gefunden hat (V. 12); aber so lange Zeit ist der Engel aufgehalten worden durch den Schutzengel des persischen Reiches. Da erst ist ihm Michael, der Schutzengel Israels, als einziger, der ihm beisteht, zu Hilfe gekommen; nun hat er ihn beim Schutzengel Persiens zurückgelassen,¹ aber eilends muss er zurückkehren, um mit dem Schutzengel von Persien zu kämpfen; denn kaum wird er mit ihm fertig geworden sein,² so ist schon der Schutzengel von Griechenland zum Kampfe auf dem Plan (V. 13. 20 f.).

Es sind 3 Gedanken, die hier unsere Aufmerksamkeit in Anspruch nehmen:

- (1) Die einzelnen Völker haben ihre übersinnlichen Stellvertreter;
 - (2) Was diese tun oder erleiden, ist für das Schicksal ihrer Völker massgebend;
 - (3) Diese Vorbildung der Geschichte geht im Himmel vor sich alinea.
- Diesen 3 Gedanken gilt es in Kürze nachzuspüren.

I

Der Text spricht Dan. x. 13 vom *sar malkūt pārās*, dem Obersten des Königreiches Persiens, bezw. V. 20 vom *sar pārās*,³ dem Obersten Persiens. Das könnte, rein sprachlich besehen, Bezeichnung eines menschlichen Oberhauptes sein, wie z. B. Ester i. 14 von den 7 *sarē pārās*, d.h. den dem König nächststehenden Grossen, die Rede ist, und darnach ist es auf den ersten Blick verständlich, wenn ältere Exegeten an unserer Stelle an Cyrus dachten. Aber was die Frage sofort in anderm Sinne entscheidet, ist die mit der Stelle unmittelbar verbundene Verwendung des *sar* als Bezeichnung des Engels Michael. Darnach ist ein Zweifel nicht möglich: der *sar pārās* gehört in die Kategorie der Uebersinnlichen, und genauer: er verhält sich zu Persien wie Michael sich zu Israel verhält, d.h. dass er Persiens Schutzengel ist wie Michael der Schutzengel Israels. Es ist längst erkannt, was das bedeutet: Engel sind nicht selbstherrliche, sondern Gott untergeordnete Wesen, Mittelwesen zwischen ihm und Mensch. Und damit ist bereits gesagt, dass der Autor des Danielbuches, für den neben dem Gott seines Volkes kein lebendiger Gott existiert, und der also auch keinen selbständigen Gott Persiens anerkennt, an dessen Stelle einen Engel treten lässt, der als solcher eine dem

¹ Ich lese nach LXX und Theodotion *hōtarti* statt des überlieferten *nōtarti*, was man notdürftig genug erklärt: Während ich (vorher) im Kampf allein gelassen worden war.

² *jāsā* = als Sieger hervorgehen.

³ Wenn man nicht auch hier nach LXX *malkūt* einfügen will.

Judengott untergeordnete Stellung einnimmt. Man entdeckt hier geradezu eine der Quellen, aus welcher jüdischem Engelglauben neue Nahrung zufließen konnte: es gibt Engel, die depossedierte Götter fremder Völker sind. Die Religionsgeschichte, auch die jüdische, lehrt uns eine Reihe von Beispielen kennen, wo aus solchen depossidierten Gottheiten Dämonen geworden sind.¹ So tief drückt der Autor des Danielbuches den Persergott nicht hinab. Das möchte damit zusammenhängen, dass die Beurteilung der persischen Religionswelt jüdischerseits überhaupt keine unfreundliche gewesen zu sein scheint, und mit Recht, trat den Juden in ihr doch die höchststehende entgegen, die sie bislang hatten kennen lernen, ja sogar eine der ihren nach gewissen Seiten hin verwandte, und sie haben sie weniger verketzert, als dass sie sich von ihr in Verschiedenem selber beeinflussen liessen.

Ob aber gerade die uns beschäftigende Vorstellung des Schutzengels eines Volkes persischer Herkunft ist? Ich wüsste nicht, dass sich auf persischem Boden eine entsprechende Vorstellung nachweisen liesse; denn ich glaube nicht, dass von den Fravashi her dem Gedanken eines Kollektiv-Schutzgeistes beizukommen ist. Auch kann ich höchstens als eine Anregung die Frage aufwerfen, deren Beantwortung ich Iranisten überlassen müsste, ob sich hier allenfalls eine Verbindungslinie zum Khshathra vairiya, dem 'erwünschten Reich', ziehen liesse. Bekanntlich ist Khshathra vairiya der Genius der Metalle, und es ist umstritten, wie das mit seiner geistigen Fassung als erwünschtes Reich in Einklang zu bringen ist.² Sollte er als Geist der Metalle zum Geist der Waffen geworden sein, durch die er das gewünschte Reich zur Herrschaft bringt? Dann liesse sich zum *sar malkūt pāras* wohl eine Beziehung denken. Oder sollte man noch auf den Bundahish rekurrieren dürfen: 'la fonction de Sharēvar est d'intercéder auprès d'Auhrmazd en faveur des pauvres'.³ Aber ich wage nicht, mich auf den Boden solcher Spekulationen zu begeben.

Wichtiger ist zu betonen, dass die Notwendigkeit, fremde Beeinflussung nachzuweisen, überhaupt erst da gegeben ist, wo sich eine Vorstellung nicht aus den Prämissen der eigenen Gedankenwelt erklären lässt. Und so könnte man im vorliegenden Falle zunächst eine vom Standpunkt des Monotheismus aus vollzogene Umdeutung der alten Heidengötter annehmen, die sich jüdischem Glauben schon auf dem Wege des Nachdenkens und der Kombination ergeben konnte. Jahve war für ihn zum alleinigen Gott geworden. Wie verhielt es sich denn nun mit den andern Göttern? Sie wurden behandelt, wie man ihre Völker behandelte. Diese wollte man entweder vernichtet wissen oder dem Judengott unterworfen. So liess man ihre Götter entweder der Vernichtung anheimfallen,⁴ oder man machte sie zu Jahve untergeordneten Organen. Als solche hatte man ja schon Engel, auch Schutzengel, wenigstens

¹ Vgl. W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, I, 1876, S. 122 Anm.

² Vgl. Louis H. Gray, 'The Double Nature of the Iranian Archangels', *AR.*, vii, 1904, p. 363.

³ Darmesteter, *ZA.*, ii, 313.

⁴ Vgl. z. B. Ex. xii. 12. Jes. xix. 1, xxi. 9, xlv. 1 f.; Jer. x. 11; Ez. xxx. 13; Zeph. ii. 11.

individuelle (nach Art der babylonisch-assyrischen¹). Warum diese fremden Gottwesen den Engeln nicht einfach zugesellen? Und an diesem Punkt konnte vielleicht die Analogie persischer Vorstellungen fördernd einwirken. Wenigstens hält Cumont² persischen Ursprung des Gedankens eines höchsten Gottes, der als Herrscher an der Spitze eines organisierten Hofes stehe, für wahrscheinlich, vergleiche man doch den Himmelsgott oft nicht mit einem König überhaupt, sondern mit dem Grosskönig und spreche von seinen Satrapen. Damit war ja nun auch die Möglichkeit gegeben, das Verhältniss des alleinigen Gottes zu Israel gegenüber seinem Verhältniss zu den andern Völkern auf die Dauer zu differenzieren.

Das ist der Standpunkt Jesus Sirachs, der etwa um eine Generation älter ist als der Verfasser des Danielbuches, wenn er sagt (xvii. 17): 'Ueber jedes Volk setzte er einen Fürsten (er meint: einen himmlischen, d.h. einen Engel), aber das Erbteil des Herrn ist Israel'. Mit Recht stellt man daneben die Stelle Deutn. xxxii. 8 f., deren Text nach LXX zu korrigieren ist (es handelt sich um das, was die Väter und Aeltesten denen, die sie fragen, zu melden wissen): 'Als der Höchste den Völkern ihr Erbe gab, als er die Menschenkinder schied, die Grenzen der Nationen steckte, nach der Zahl der Gottessöhne, da ward Jahves Anteil sein Volk, Jakob sein zugemessenes Erbe'.³ Die Stelle, die etwa der Zeit bald nach Heseziel angehören mag, zeigt, dass die Vorstellung dieser Völkerengel zeitlich schon weiter zurückreicht, und vielleicht sieht man sich durch Deutn. iv. 19 (vgl. xxix. 25) veranlasst, sie noch höher hinaufzurücken, womit die Annahme persischer Beeinflussung wieder an Boden verlöre. Bestimmter begegnet uns eine entsprechende Vorstellung in Psalmen, deren Alter allerdings nicht mit Sicherheit zu ergründen ist. So wendet sich der Dichter des 58.ten Psalmes gegen Götter, die ungerechtes Gericht sprechen. Nur zu Unrecht hat man diese Götter auf menschliche Richter deuten wollen, seien es heidnische, seien es jüdische. Vor Vergöttlichung von Menschen hat jüdisches Empfinden stets Halt gemacht. Vielmehr denkt der Dichter an die himmlischen Regenten der Völker, unter deren politischer Herrschaft man steht und in deren Namen, vielleicht von Juden selber (vgl. lviii. 4), Parteigängern jener Fremden, das Gericht gehandhabt wird. Für diese Deutung des schwer deutbaren Psalmes spricht ganz entschieden der parallele 82.te. Wenn hier nämlich die gleichen ungerechten Richter mit dem Fluch bedroht werden: 'Fürwahr wie Menschen sollt ihr sterben, wie der Fürsten einer fallen' (V. 7), so ist das eine Drohung, die nur Sinn hat, sofern sie auf Nicht-Menschen geht. Was also der Dichter erwartet, wenn er unmittelbar anschliessend Jahve auffordert, die Erde zu richten, weil er der Erbherr über alle Völker sei, das ist der entscheidende Sieg des

¹ Vgl. Campbell Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, London, 1908, p. 46.

² *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum*, 1910, S. 327.

³ Das ist die Uebersetzung Buddes (*Das Lied Moses*, 1920, S. 47 f.). Nur vermag ich Budd nicht zu folgen, wenn er meint, dass hier nicht Jahve die Länder und Völker verteile, sondern dass ein höchster Gott von ihm unterschieden werde und er selber zunächst als *par inter pares* erscheine. Das wäre in der Tat, wie Budd selber (S. 19) urteilt, eine 'Ketzerei, die vielleicht im ganzen AT nur hier zu Tage träte'. Aber solche 'Ketzerei' vermag ich einem jüdischen Autor nicht zuzutrauen, sondern fasse 'eljôn einfach als Wechselbegriff zu Jahve wie z. B. Ps. xviii. 14, xxi. 8, lxxxiii. 19 u.a.

jüdischen Monotheismus über die letzten Reste des Polytheismus, von denen er sich doch selber, die einstigen Heidengötter als Jahve untergeordnete Gottwesen behandelnd, noch nicht ganz frei gemacht hat (vgl. noch Ps. lxxxix. 6). Auf der selben Linie hält sich die sogenannte Tierapokalypse des Henochbuches (Kap lxxxv–xc.) mit ihrer Nennung der 70 Hirten; denn das sind nicht, wie man früher wohl meinte, heidnische Herrscher, es sind überhaupt keine Menschen (sonst müssten sie der übrigen Darstellung dieser Apokalypse gemäss als Tiere dargestellt sein), sondern die himmlischen Prototypen der heidnischen Herrscher, übersinnliche Regenten, d.h. Völkerengel, und sie stehen unter der Aufsicht eines andern Hirten, d.h. des Engels Michael, der nach dem Vorbild des babylonischen Schreiberengels Nabu über ihr Tun Buch zu führen hat (lxxxix. 61).¹ Dieser ganze Glaube an Engelfürsten als Völkerfürsten wurde in der spätjüdischen Literatur traditionell. So kennt z. B. Pesikta 150 b die Fürsten von Babel, Medien, Javan, Edom. Sie alle sah Jakob auf der Himmelsleiter. Die Zahl aber dieser Engelfürsten entspricht derjenigen der Völker, die nach ihren Sprachen nach der babylonischen Sprachverwirrung entstanden: 70²—diese Zahl wiederum eine Abkürzung aus 72, die ihrerseits auf die babylonische Einteilung des Jahres in 72 Fünftagewochen zurückzugehen scheint.³

II

Aber nun ist weiter lehrreich der Gedanke, dass was diese übersinnlichen Stellvertreter tun oder leiden, für das Schicksal ihrer Völker massgebend wird. Deutlich wirkt hier der uralte Gedanke der Solidarität von Gott und Volk nach, auch nachdem diese Götter für den jüdischen Autor aufgehört haben, im eigentlichsten Sinne des Wortes Götter zu sein. Aber wie schwer es den Juden überhaupt fiel, vom Solidaritätsgedanken loszukommen, auch nachdem er von einem Hesekei auf's Entschiedenste bekämpft worden war, lehrt schon ein Hinweis auf Jes 53. Vor allem lässt sich gerade am Danielbuch beobachten, wie für seinen Verfasser der Gedanke an den Herrscher eines Reiches (und diese himmlischen Prototypen bezeichnet er ja auch mit dem Ausdruck 'Fürsten') mit dem Gedanken des Reiches selber zusammenfliesst. Das ersieht man besonders deutlich aus dem Traume des zweiten Kapitels und der Deutung, die er ihm zu Teil werden lässt: das Bild, das Nebukadnezar schaut: sein Haupt von Gold, seine Brust und seine Arme von Silber, sein Bauch und seine Lenden von Erz, seine Schenkel von Eisen, seine Füße teils von Eisen, teils von Ton,—das stellt unmissverständlich die vier Weltreiche dar: 'Nach dir wird ein anderes Reich, das geringer ist als das deine, erstehen, nach ihm ein anderes drittes . . . und ein viertes Reich wird nach dir sein'. Nichtsdestoweniger wird das Haupt nicht auf das babylonische Reich gedeutet, sondern 'das goldene Haupt bist du!' Dem entsprechend

¹ Vgl. Bertholet, *Biblische Theologie des AT* (Stade II), 1911, S. 227.

² Vgl. z. B. Targ. jer. zu Gen. xi. 7 f. und zum Ganzen Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch*, II, S. 360; III, S. 48.

³ Vgl. W. Bousset-H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im ntl. Zeitalter*³, 1926, S. 246, I. 326.

dürfte vielleicht nicht zu viel in den Text gelegt sein, wenn man beim Menschensohn des 7. ten Kapitels, der zunächst Bild ist für das überlegene Reich, das mit der Judenherrschaft anbrechen soll, nachdem die unter dem Bilde wilder Tiere dargestellten Weltreiche zusammengebrochen sind, doch zugleich an den persönlichen Vertreter des jüdischen Reiches, d.h. im besondern Falle an den Messias,¹ denkt. Aus dem Gedanken dieses solidarischen Zusammenhanges von Reich und Vertreter des Reiches wird verständlich, inwiefern der Ausgang des Kampfes mit dem Schutzengel Persiens für Persiens eigenes Schicksal bestimmend werden kann.

Eine weitere Illustration zu der in Frage stehenden Vorstellung dürfte Jes. xxiv. 21 zu entnehmen sein, wenn der Autor dieser (späten) Stelle als die vom kommenden Gericht Betroffenen 'das Heer in der Höhe' in unmittelbarer Parallele zu den 'Königen des Erdbodens' nennt.² Den hier angenommenen Sinn haben schon spätere Rabbinen aus den Worten herausgelesen, wie denn überhaupt spätere jüdische Literatur ein Entsprechendes mit besonderem Nachdruck gerne wiederholt. So sagt R. Chanina (um 225): 'Nicht bestraft Gott eine Nation eher, als bis er zuvor ihren Engelfürsten im Himmel bestraft hat.' Und R. El'azar b. P'dath (um 270) weist es an verschiedenen Beispielen nach: 'Als der Pharao und Aegypten auszog, die Israeliten zu verfolgen, erhoben sie ihre Augen gen Himmel und sahen den Engelfürsten Aegyptens in der Luft fliegen'. Das bedeutet Aegyptens eigenen Sturz. 'So findest du es auch bei Nebukadnezar, dass Gott zuvor dessen Engelfürsten gestürzt hat, wie es heisst: "noch war das Wort in des Königs Mund, da fiel Qol (= Stimme) vom Himmel"'. R. J'hoschu^a b. Abin (im 4. Jhdt) hat gesagt: 'Der Engelfürst des Nebukadnezar hatte den Namen Qol, und Gott warf ihn herab'. Wiederum soll der Engelfürst, der mit Jakob rang (Gen. xxxii. 29), der Engelfürst Esau (= Roms) gewesen sein, das natürlich dem Untergang geweiht ist. Es erübrigt sich, weitere Belege anzuführen; sie sind bereits von Strack-Billerbeck³ gesammelt.

Im Gedanken dieses solidarischen Zusammenhanges von Engelfürst und irdischem Reich kann man eine Nachwirkung magischer Vorstellungen finden und zwar dessen, was man mit dem Namen sympathetischer Magie zu bezeichnen pflegt: das Ergehen des Ganzen ist mit dem Ergehen eines seiner Teile innerlich verhaftet. Gleichzeitig offenbart sich im Beispiel, von dem wir ausgegangen sind, ein Stück homöopathischer (oder imitativer) Magie: der Ausgang des persönlichen Zweikampfes (im besondern Falle: des jüdischen Engels mit dem persischen Schutzengel) ist Vorausbildung des Ausganges des kommenden Gesamtkampfes Israels mit Persien, und so gewiss nach der Meinung des jüdischen Autors der jüdische Engel über den persischen den Sieg erringen muss, so gewiss erscheint ihm das Schicksal Persiens als besiegelt. Bekanntlich ist es aus entsprechenden Voraussetzungen

¹ Vielleicht schwebte als solcher dem Verfasser Michael der 'Menschenähnliche' vor; vgl. Bertholet, "Daniel und die Griechische Gefahr" (*Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*, ii. 17), 1907, S. 51 f.

² Die Ausscheidung von V. 21 b (Budde in der Kautzschbibel) dürfte z. T. auf einer Verkennung dieser Vorstellung beruhen; sie stützt sich freilich auch auf metrische Gründe.

³ A.a.O., iii, S. 50 f.

heraus mannigfach Brauch geworden, einem Kollektivkampf einen persönlichen vorausgehen zu lassen. Auf israelitischem Boden wird man das 2 Sam. ii. 14 ff. erwähnte Kampfspiel nach seinem ursprünglichen Sinn einem solchen Gedankenzusammenhang zuzurechnen haben. Um nur ein ausserbiblisches Beispiel namhaft zu machen, verweise ich auf das, was uns Tacitus von den Germanen berichtet: 'Aus dem Volke, welchem der Krieg gilt, suchen sie auf irgend eine Weise einen Gefangenen aufzugreifen; diesen lassen sie dann mit einem aus der Mitte ihrer Landsleute Gewählten kämpfen, jeden mit seinen heimischen Waffen. Der Sieg des einen oder andern wird dann als Vorspiel der Entscheidung angesehen'. Groenbech¹ wird richtig empfunden haben, wenn er urteilt: 'In den beiden Kriegern war das Heer konzentriert . . . und ihr Kampf wurde entscheidend, denn er wirkte auf das Lebenszentrum'. Entsprechendes gilt vom Kampf der Engelfürsten: er wird erst aus grösseren Zusammenhängen ganz verstanden.

III

Endlich der Gedanke der himmlischen Vorbildung. Er steht an dieser Stelle im Alten Testament nicht vereinzelt. Das bekannteste Beispiel, das es uns dafür liefert, ist wohl das Ex. xxv. 9, 40 vorausgesetzte himmlische Modell der Stiftshütte. Auf eine verwandte Vorstellung weist der 139. te Psalm, wenn es richtig ist, seinen verderbten 16. ten Vers in der Weise herzustellen, wie ich es² im Anschluss an Kittel getan habe: 'Alle meine Tage sahen Deine Augen, und auf Deinem Buche stehen sie alle, sind geschrieben, *ehe sie gebildet, als derselben noch keiner für mich da war*'. Im Blick auf diese Stelle könnte man sich fragen, ob nicht Jes. xxxiv. 16 ein anderer Sinn abzugewinnen ist, als gewöhnlich geschieht: 'Forschet im Buche Jahves: keines von ihnen'—es handelt sich um die dämonenhaften Wesen, die vom verwüsteten Edomiterland Besitz nehmen sollen—'bleibt aus'. Gewöhnlich fasst man das Jahvebuch als die Schrift eines Propheten, unter Umständen sogar des Verfassers der Stelle selber, der sich hier, wie Duhm meint, unwillkürlich in den Propheten, der er sein wolle, und in den Schriftgelehrten, der er sei, teile. Aber sollte hier vielleicht nicht (wie in Ps. cxxxix) Bezug genommen sein auf die himmlische Buchführung, welche die Ereignisse auf Erden antizipiert?³ Was zu Gunsten eines derartigen Verständnisses der Stelle noch in's Gewicht fallen könnte, ist, dass der Gedanke der himmlischen Vorbildung im gleichen Kapitel vermutlich schon einmal ausgesprochen ist in den Worten V. 5 a: '4' 'mein Schwert trinkt sich satt im Himmel'. Das geschieht, ehe es auf Edom niederfährt, um sich da an Blut und Fett der Erschlagenen zu sättigen. Auch hier also nimmt der Himmelsvorgang das irdische

¹ Bertholet-Lehmann, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (Chantepie de la Saussaye*), ii, S. 578.

² In der Kautzschbibel.

³ So neuerdings auch Charles Cutler Torrey, *The Second Isaiah*, 1928, S. 294; nur ist seine Berufung auf Ps. lvi. 8 (es müsste übrigens lvi. 9 heissen), insofern nicht zutreffend, als es sich lvi. 9, um nachträgliche Aufzeichnung in das göttliche Merkbuch handelt.

⁴ Es bedarf also nicht der grösseren Aenderungen seines Wortlautes, die man z.T. hat vornehmen wollen; höchstens dürfte die Verbalform als Kal zu lesen sein.

Geschehen voraus.¹ Wie im Himmel also auch auf Erden. Man kennt diesen Gedanken vor allem als babylonischen, wo als ein Grundsatz gilt: 'Ein Vorzeichen, das am Himmel sich wiederholt, wiederholt sich auch auf Erden; ein Vorzeichen, das sich auf Erden wiederholt, wiederholt sich am Himmel'.² Einer derartigen Grundauffassung entspricht der babylonische Glaube, dass die Geschehnisse, die für jedes Jahr am Neujahrstag von neuem festgesetzt werden, auf die Schicksalstafeln aufgeschrieben werden, wie denn auch auf eine 'unabänderliche Tafel' aufgezeichnet wird, welche Abgrenzung Himmel und Erde haben, ob die Tage des Herrschers lang oder ob er mit Nachkommenschaft gesegnet werden soll.³ Den Nachklang solcher Gedanken vernimmt man z.B. noch aus der (christlichen) *Ascensio Jesajae*, die es (vii. 10) als Axiom ausspricht: 'so wie droben ist es auf der Erde; denn das Abbild dessen, was in dem Firmament ist, ist hier auf Erden'. In den Zusammenhang dieser Gedanken gehört u.a. die merkwürdige jüdische Idee von einem wunderbaren (himmlischen) Doppelgänger des Menschen, einem zweiten höheren Ich, das nicht der Mensch selbst ist und doch mit ihm in unauflösbarer Verbindung steht.⁴

Immer wieder stösst man auf die Ueberraschung religionsgeschichtlicher Analogien, auch da, wo man sie vielleicht am Allerwenigsten sucht. So stelle ich neben die letztgenannte Idee, was ich K. Th. Preuss⁵ über Eingeborene Amerikas entnehme: 'Wenn die Lebenskraft bei der Geburt in den Menschen verpflanzt wird, bleibt im Himmel als Gegenstück des Lebenden die "Perle" (*táuka*) zurück, die bei dem Tode verdorrt'. Mit diesem Beispiel sind wir von der Idee des Schutzengels Persiens weit abgerückt, und doch besteht hier letzten Endes ein wenn auch noch so entfernter Gedanken Zusammenhang. So stark erweist sich wieder einmal—denn von einer direkten oder auch nur indirekten Gedankenübertragung ist ja in diesem Falle nicht die Rede—die Macht des 'Völkergedankens', ein Zeichen, wie religionsgeschichtliche Einzelphänomene immer wieder auf grössere phänomenologische Zusammenhänge hindeuten.

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¹ Darnach erledigt sich die Bemerkung des letzten Exegeten zu dieser Stelle: 'the sword is "sated" after it has descended upon the victims, not before'. (C. C. Torrey, a.a.O., S. 283). Vgl. noch Jes. xxii. 11.

² Vgl. A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, 1913, S. 171.

³ Vgl. Br. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, II. 1925, S. 125.

⁴ Bousset-Gressmann, a.a.O., S. 324.

⁵ *Die Eingeborenen Amerikas (Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*², hrsg. von A. Bertholet, 2, 1926, S. 4.)

THE RELATION BETWEEN INDO-EUROPEAN AND SEMITIC

THE languages that are spoken in the various parts of the world, probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of one thousand, have been, through the efforts of linguists and students of language, grouped into speech-families, the members of each of which give, more or less clearly, evidence of a common origin. The exact number of such speech-families it is difficult to state with any degree of certainty on account of the wide variation in the assiduity and intensity with which the different groups have been studied, and the consequent impossibility of stating just what are the linguistic relations and connexions of many languages. There are certainly over a dozen clearly marked linguistic families, which number would probably be considerably increased by a more complete knowledge of the world's idioms. Some of the most important of these speech-families are the Indo-European, the Semitic, the Hamitic, the Finno-Ugrian, the Dravidian, the Monosyllabic, the Malayo-Polynesian, the South African or Bantu, and the American.

While linguistic science has been able to group the world's languages into a comparatively small number of families, it has proved a task of excessive difficulty to establish any certain connexion between any of these families.

The possibility of such a relationship is neither to be denied nor assumed *a priori*. It depends on our answer to the question as to whether the human race had a single or multiple origin, a question which we are not at present in a position to decide and perhaps never shall be. If all races and peoples have descended from one common human stem, then it is most likely that all languages are ultimately related, though even in this case there is a possibility that the origin of articulate or connected speech, as distinct from the inarticulate speech of animals, falls after the separation of the original ancestral group into several divisions, in which event a number of unconnected languages would have developed independently. If we assume that the various races have originated independently of one another, their respective languages must of course be unrelated.

The Indo-European and Semitic speech-families, on account of the part played in the world's history by the peoples speaking these tongues, are more important, probably, than any other group or groups of languages, and naturally more effort has been expended in their case in the attempt to prove their kinship. Efforts to establish this relationship have been undertaken by both Indo-Europeanists and Semitists, and striking suggestions have been made with regard to methods of comparison, and attention has been called to many apparent points of contact. The chief Semitist to devote any attention to this question was the great Assyriologist Friedrich Delitzsch. On the Indo-European side probably the most significant work along this line has been, and is being done, by the Scandinavian scholar Hermann Möller.¹

¹ Works dealing with the relation between Indo-European and Semitic before the publication of Delitzsch's *Studien* are of little value. The most important are: G. J. Ascoli, 'Del nesso

In comparing any two languages with a view to their possible relationship, four things, phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary, must be subjected to scrutiny. In comparing two speech families with the same end in view, syntactic resemblances, unless the constructions are very peculiar, count for very little, as there is far greater likelihood that two similar constructions should be developed independently, than that two similar words with similar meanings, or two similar forms with similar use should be unrelated. Syntactic resemblances ordinarily become important only when they offer support to a relationship already shown by forms or words.

In the realm of the comparative syntax of Indo-European and Semitic, while there are some rather striking similarities between Semitic and Gaelic, there is nothing that appears to be significant.¹

In the comparative morphology of the two speech-families, aside from the fact that final inflexion is found in both Indo-European and Semitic to denote the person of the verb (in Semitic initial inflexion is also found), and the cases of the noun, there are no striking correspondences. It is true that the important element of the endings of the second person singular and plural is a dental *t* or *th* in both groups, that the ending of the first person in Assyrian and Ethiopic contains a *k*, which may be compared with Latin and Greek *ego*, and that the nominative *u* of Assyrian and Arabic may be compared to Latin and Greek *u-s*, *-o-s*, but there is nothing compelling about any of these com-

Ario-semitico. Lettera al professore A. Kuhn', *Politecnico*, xxi, Milano 1864; 'Lettera secunda', *Politecnico*, xxii, 1864; 'Studj Ario-Semiti', *Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo*, Milano, 1867. R. v. Raumer, 'Die Urverwandschaft d. semitischen u. indoeuropäischen Sprachen', *Gesammelte sprachwissenschaftlichen Schriften*, Frankfurt u. Erlangen, xv, 1863, 461-539; 'Herr Prof. Schleicher in Jena u. d. Urverwands. d. sem. u. indoeur. Sprachen', Frankfurt, 1864; 'Erörterung über d. Urverwands. d. sem. u. indoeur. Sprachen', *Zeitschrift für d. Gymnasialwesen*, xix. 801-18; *Fortsetzung d. Untersuchungen*, Frankfurt, 1867; *Zweite Fortsetzung*, Frankfurt, 1868; *Dritte Fortsetzung*, Frankfurt, 1871.

For other works on this subject before Delitzsch, cf. Delitzsch's *Studien*, notes to pp. 3-20.

The following is a chronological list of the chief works on the subject from Delitzsch to the present: Friedrich Delitzsch, *Studien über indogermanisch-semitische Wurzelverwandschaft*, Leipzig, 1873. R. v. Raumer, *Vierte Fortsetzung*, Frankfurt, 1873; *Sendschreiben an Herrn Prof. Whitney über d. Urverwands. . .*, Frankfurt, 1876. A. Uppenkamp, *Beiträge z. semitisch-indogermanische Sprachvergleichung*, Dusseldorf, 1895. A. Trombetti, *Indogermanische u. semitische Forschungen, vorläufige Mittheilungen*, Bologna, 1897; *L'unità d'origine de linguaggio*, Bologna, 1905. H. Möller, *Semitisch u. Indogermanisch, Erster Teil, Konsonanten*, Kopenhagen, 1906. A. E. Drake, *Discoveries in Hebrew, Gaelic, Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Latin, Basque and other Caucasian Languages*, Denver and London, 1907 (unscientific but suggestive). H. Möller, 'Indoeuropäisch-semitisch sammenligende Glossarium (in *Festschrift udgivet af Kjøbenhavns Universitet i Anledning af Universitets Aarsfest*, Oct., 1909). A. E. Drake, *Supplementary Discoveries showing Aryo-Semitic Cognation*, Denver and London, 1910 (unscientific but suggestive). H. Möller, *Vergleichendes indogermanisch-semitische Wörterbuch*, Göttingen, 1911.

¹ Some resemblances between Old Irish and Semitic are: (1) Omission of copula in 3 sg. present in both Irish and Semitic. (2) No article is used with an Irish noun followed by a determinate genitive: in Semitic no noun followed by a genitive can take the article. (3) Use of singular verb before plural subject in both Irish and Semitic. (4) Retrospective pronoun in relative clauses in both Irish and Semitic. (5) Position of verb at beginning of sentence in both Irish and some Semitic languages. (6) The use of the *ro* form (regularly preterite) in Irish to denote desiderative ideas, may be compared to the Semitic use of the perfect in prophecies to denote the future. Cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss d. vergl. Grammatik d. semitischen Sprachen*, Bd. ii Berlin, 1913: and Thurneysen, *Handbuch d. Altirischen*, I Grammatik, Heidelberg, 1909.

parisons.¹ They must be relegated to the sphere of secondary evidence as with syntactic correspondences. It seems evident then, that if a relationship is to be proved it will have to be done in the closely related spheres of vocabulary and phonology.

Theoretically, the logical procedure in attempting a comparison between the vocabularies of these two speech-groups, would be first to establish, so far as possible, the form and characteristics of the parent Semitic and the parent Indo-European speech and then compare them. In practice, however, comparison is first made between apparently connected words or expressions in any two languages, one in each group, and then the matter is further investigated in order to determine whether the suggested comparison conforms to all that we know about the parent languages of the two groups; and an attempt is made, finally, on the basis of the suggested comparisons to set up the phonetic laws or phonetic equivalences which govern the relationship between the two groups.

At the outset of any comparison of the two linguistic groups we are struck by the difference in the character of the so-called roots of the two families, a root being that part of a series of related words which remains unchanged or practically unchanged throughout the processes of derivation and inflexion. The roots of Indo-European are mostly monosyllabic, containing one vowel and a varying number of consonants, from one consonant as in *dhē*, *dhā* 'put' to three or more as in *kart* 'cut', though the majority have one or two consonants. The roots of the Semitic languages, on account of the great variation of vocalism caused by internal vowel change, are exclusively consonantal, and in the great majority of cases contain three consonants.² There are a large number of cases in Semitic, however, in which the root contains only two consonants and the forms of the words made from these roots are conformed to the triconsonantal norm by the lengthening of some vowel or by the doubling of a consonant.³ If the two groups are to be extensively compared it is evident that we shall have to practically ignore the vowels, and show either that many Indo-European roots have lost an original consonant, or on the other hand that many Semitic roots have added secondary consonants.

In spite of the apparent incommensurability of Indo-European and Semitic roots, there are a small number of cases in which the correspondence between Indo-European and Semitic words is striking. In Semitic a word meaning 'bull, steer, cow' appears in Arabic as *thauru*, in Syriac as *taurā*, in Hebrew as *šor*, in Ethiopic as *sor*, in Assyrian as *šuru*. In Indo-European we have Greek *ταῦρος*, Latin *taurus*, Slavic *туру* and with prefix *s*, Avestan *stavro*, Middle Persian *stor*, Goth. *stiur*, OHG. *stior*, AS. *steor*. In Semitic the common

¹ Cf. Möller, *Wörterbuch*, Vorwort, pp. viii-xv.

² For a discussion of roots in the two speech-families, cf. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, Bd. i, Die Sprache Th. 1, Stuttgart, 1921, pp. 594-609, especially 608 f.; Brockelmann, *Grundriss d. vergl. Gram. d. semitischen Spr.*, Bd. i, Berlin, 1908, pp. 285-7; W. D. Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language*, New York, 1884, p. 255 ff.; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Gram.*²⁸, §§ 30, 31.

³ Cf. my article on 'Congeneric Assimilation as a Cause of the Development of New Roots in Semitic' in *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, New Haven, 1920, pp. 36-9.

word for the horn of the above animals is represented by Assyrian *qarnu*. In Indo-European we have Latin *cornu*, Goth. *hauru*, OHG. *horn*, Sans. *gr̥ṇga*. The common Semitic word for 'wine' is represented by Arabic *uainu*, Ethiopic *uain*, Hebrew *ja'in*, Assy. *inu*. In Indo-European we have Greek *oĩvos*, Latin *vinum*, Armenian *gini*.¹

These correspondences may be explained only in one of the three following ways:

1. They are accidental and therefore meaningless.
2. They are due to borrowing.
3. They are due to original identity of the two speech-families.

If the correspondences are accidental it is rather remarkable that they should occur in the case of words describing things of vital interest to primitive pastoral and agricultural man. The extensive character of the correspondences seems to preclude the possibility of explaining the forms in either group as loan-words from the other, unless the borrowing took place from parent Semitic to parent Indo-European or vice versa, or was made by both parent speeches from some other language. These few correspondences then, taken alone without any reference to other apparent points of contact between the two speech families, would seem most naturally to point in the direction of a real relationship between them.

If we examine the nouns denoting family relations, the numerals, and the pronouns in the two speech families, we shall find that the presumption in favour of a real relationship already established, while it is by no means raised to the position of proof, is strengthened to a not inconsiderable degree.²

The Semitic words for 'father' and 'mother' Assyrian *abu*, *ummu*, may be connected with the root syllables *pa* and *ma* of the Indo-European words, though the possibility and even probability of accidental resemblance between words of this kind belonging to entirely unrelated languages has long been recognized.

In the field of the numerals the most striking correspondence is in the numeral 'seven'. This presents forms in Indo-European, Semitic, and also in Egyptian, all of which contain, at the beginning, a sibilant followed by a labial, but with a different additional element in each group, a complex *tm* in Indo-European, e.g., Latin *septem*, a laryngeal spirant in Semitic, e.g., Hebr. *šeba'*, and in Egyptian a velar spirant, *safh*. The first two consonants of the numerals for 'three' Arabic *thaláthu*, Lat. *tres*, are also not incompatible.

In the realm of the pronouns the possible correspondences are quite numerous. The two most striking are that between the demonstrative stem Arabic *šá*, Syriac *de*, Hebrew *zeh*, and the Indo-European *to*, Sans. *tat*, Eng. *that*, German *das*, &c., and that between *t*, *th* which is the characteristic mark of the pronoun of the second person in Indo-European, e.g. Sans. *tvam* 'thou', *tha* ending of second person singular of Sans. perfect and the *t* of Semitic

¹ Cf. A. Walde, *Lateinisches etymolog. Wörterbuch*, 2 Aufl., Heidelberg, 1910, pp. 764 f., 193, 839.

² For the various comparisons that follow, cf. the indexes to Möller's *Sem. u. Indog.* (pp. 373-92) and *Wörterbuch* (pp. 275-316).

pronouns like Arabic *an-ta*, *an-ti* 'thou' and *qatal-ta*, *qatal-ti* 'thou hast killed', *ta-qtulu* 'thou wilt kill', &c.

The possibility of real relationship between Indo-European and Semitic is further strengthened by a number of additional complete or partial correspondences between the consonantal skeleton of Indo-European and Semitic words.¹

Compare Sans. <i>garbha</i>	Hebr. <i>qereb</i>	'inside'
Lat. <i>flec-to</i>	Hebr. <i>berek</i>	'knee'
Lat. <i>fulg-eo</i>	Hebr. <i>baraq</i>	'lightning'
Lat. <i>alb-us</i>	Hebr. <i>laban</i>	'white'
Lat. <i>plen-us</i>	Hebr. <i>male</i>	'be full'
San. <i>rasana</i>	'tongue'	Hebr. <i>lašon</i> 'tongue'
Goth. <i>hlifa</i>	'steal'	Hebr. <i>ganab</i> 'steal'
Germ. <i>wirt</i>	'possessor, host'	Arab. <i>ʔaritha</i> Hebr. <i>ʔaras</i> 'inherit'
Lat. <i>vir-idis</i>	Sem. <i>ʔr-k</i>	Hebr. <i>ʔaraq</i> 'green vegetables'
Lat. <i>ver-eor</i>	Sem. <i>ʔr-</i>	Hebr. <i>ʔare</i> 'fear'
Lat. <i>vert-o</i>	Sem. <i>ʔrd</i>	Hebr. <i>ʔarad</i> 'descend'
Germ. <i>wer-fen</i>	Sem. <i>ʔr-ʔ</i>	Hebr. <i>ʔara</i> 'throw'
Lat. <i>nut-are</i>	Hebr. <i>nūd</i>	'wander'
	<i>nu-ere</i>	Hebr. <i>nū</i> 'waver'
Germ. <i>heiss</i>	Hebr. <i>qaiç</i>	'summer'
Lat. <i>avi-s</i>	Hebr. <i>ʔop</i>	'bird'
I.E. <i>stha-</i>	'stand'	Hebr. <i>šīt</i> 'put'
Germ. <i>riechen</i>	'smell'	Hebr. <i>rūḥ</i> 'wind, to smell'
Lat. <i>opus</i>	Sem. <i>ʔabad</i>	'do, make, work, serve'
Eng. <i>over</i>	Hebr. <i>ʔabar</i>	'to cross over'
Lat. <i>ad</i>	Hebr. <i>ʔad</i>	'up to, until'
Lat. Greek <i>en</i>	'behold'	Hebr. <i>hinne</i> Arab. <i>ʔinna</i>

Such random comparisons, even provided they stand the test of our accumulated knowledge of Indo-European and Semitic phonology and morphology, do nothing more than increase the degree of probability which may be ascribed to the relationship under investigation, and can in no case reach the stage of proof. In order to place the relationship beyond question, the phonetic laws governing this relationship must first be established and proved in each case by a satisfactory amount of material. This has been recognized by all important investigators of the question, though the most elaborate attempt to establish such laws is that made by Hermann Möller of the University of Copenhagen.

He assumes for the presumed linguistic parent of both Indo-European and Semitic four series of stop sounds, viz., surd and sonant fortes, and surd and sonant lenes. The sonant stops fortes and lenes appear as the so-called emphatic sounds in Semitic; in Indo-European the surd fortes appear as stops or aspirates, the sonant fortes as aspirates, the surd lenes as surd stops, the sonant lenes as sonant stops. Thus original surd fortis *t* appears as *t* in

¹ For additional examples, cf. references cited in n. 2, p. 44.

both Indo-European and Semitic in the *t* of second person pronoun; surd lenis *b* appears in the word for 'seven' as *b* in Semitic, as *p* in Indo-European (Arab. *sab'u*ⁿ, Lat. *septem*); sonant lenis *g* appears as *g* in Indo-European, as *q* (emphatic *k*) in Semitic, e.g. Sans. *garbha* 'womb', Hebr. *qereb* 'inside'.¹

He also assumes three series of palato-velar stops, e.g., *k*₁, *g*₁, represented by a Semitic sibilant, *k*₂*g*₂ represented by Semitic *k*, *g*, and *k*₃*g*₃, represented usually by guttural or laryngeal spirants. An original root *k*₁ *r* *t* appears in O.N. as *hraeda* 'fear', Arab. *šarada* 'took fright', 'fled', an original pronominal root *k*₂ appears as a labio-velar in Indo-European, Sans. *ca*, Lat. *que*, Greek *τε*, in Semitic as a *k*, Arabic *ka*, Hebrew *ke* 'like, as'; a root *k*₃ *r* 'burn' appears in Lithuanian *kur-ti* 'heat', O.N. *hyrr* 'fire', in Semitic as Arabic *harra* 'be hot'.²

Möller is influenced in this view of the palato-velars partly by his assumption that the Abyssinian sounds with parasitic *u*, e.g. *ky*, *gy*, *hy*, *qu*, have a different origin from the simple *k*, *g*, *h*, *q*, sounds, which assumption has not been proved, and is probably incorrect. It seems not unlikely that these labialized velars are borrowed from some of the surrounding African languages where they are common.³

The Semitic laryngeals ' *h*, ' , which are not represented in Indo-European, he assumes have been lost as in Assyrian, but that, as there, they have modified the neighbouring vowel, *h* and at times ' changing *e* to *a*, ' changing *e* to *o*. Arabic *hanaja* 'bend' is thus compared with Sanskrit *añkas* 'bend', Hebrew 'am 'people' with Latin *om-nis* 'all'. Where these consonants originally closed a syllable in Indo-European, the preceding vowel is said to take compensatory lengthening.⁴

An independent evidence of the former existence of some kind of an *h* sound in Indo-European, different from the ordinary *h*, is furnished by the occurrence of a sound written *h* in Hittite which has no equivalent in the other Indo-European languages. Unfortunately the cases of its occurrence do not lead to any certain Semito-Aryan etymology.⁵

It must be said that the material given by Möller in support of the phonetic equivalences that he assumes is neither full enough nor convincing enough to warrant us in accepting his laws as proved, but his comparisons are certainly interesting and suggestive and worthy of the attention of both Indo-Europeanists and Semitists.

The question of the relationship between Indo-European and Semitic may be said to stand at present about as follows. A presumption in favour of this relationship has been created by a small group of complete correspondences, and a larger group of partial or less certain correspondences, but the phonetic laws that govern this relationship cannot be said to have been worked out

¹ Cf. Möller, *Sem. u. Indog.*, p. 1 and pp. 30-204 *passim*.

² Cf. Möller, *op. cit.*, p. 1; cf. for *k*₁ *k*₂ *k*₃, pp. 57 f., 65 f., 71 f., and for other velar stops beginning of sections devoted to them.

³ Cf. Grimme, 'Theorie der ursemitischen labialisierten Gutturale,' *Zeitsch. d. deutsch. morgenländischen Gesellsch.* iv (1901), pp. 407-86; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 124.

⁴ Cf. Möller, *op. cit.*, p. 254 ff. No clear cases of vowel change or lengthening are cited.

⁵ For Hittite *h* cf. E. H. Sturtevant, 'Original *h* in Hittite and the Medio-Passive in *r*' *Language*, iv. 3. 159-70.

satisfactorily, and until that is done, and until we have a considerable body of correspondences which resist all attacks upon their validity, and may, therefore, be regarded as firmly established, we cannot say that the kinship of the two speech-families has been proved.

On the other hand, the methods employed by Möller, and others, in attempting to isolate the more original roots from which the Semitic trilateral roots and the longer Indo-European roots were expanded, are the methods which must be employed if any progress in such a comparison is to be made. Moreover, we must bear in mind that we have no right to expect to find a greater degree of resemblance between the two speech-families than that indicated by the work of Möller. In the long period which must have elapsed since any possible joint life of the original Indo-European and Semitic peoples, time enough has passed to have brought about any conceivable amount of difference between the two linguistic groups. If the resemblances were more evident and more striking, they would have been noticed long ago, and we should be talking now of one speech-family instead of two.

The normal attitude of the average student of language towards those who assert the possible relationship between any two of the speech-families into which the languages of the world have been grouped, is one either of absolute incredulity or of tolerant contempt. Such was the attitude of many towards the efforts of the late Egyptologist, Professor Aaron Ember, to establish the kinship between Egyptian and the Semitic languages.¹ Such I must confess was my own attitude in the matter of the relationship between Indo-European and Semitic until, following a chance remark of Professor Sturtevant at the Linguistic Institute (summer 1928) I came to devote some attention to the subject.

On all such questions every serious student of language should maintain an open mind, and though he should be unceasingly and unstintingly critical of the methods employed, and withhold the stamp of his unqualified approval until the proof submitted with regard to such linguistic relationships is beyond cavil, he should never scoff at their possibility. If we have confidence in our science we should believe it capable of ultimately establishing a relationship where one exists, no matter how disguised, or of showing, on the other hand, that there is no possibility of proving a connexion. It is unfortunate for linguistic science that so many of its exponents devote their attention exclusively to one language or to a few closely related languages of one group.

¹ Professor Ember's chief articles on the relation between Egyptian and Semitic are: (1) 'Semitic-Egyptian Sound Changes', *Aegypt. Zeitschr.*, xlix, 1911, pp. 87-92; (2) 'Kindred Semitic-Egyptian Words', *A. Z.*, xlix, 1911, pp. 93-4; (3) 'Notes on the Relation of Egyptian and Semitic', *A. Z.*, l, 1912, pp. 86-90; (4) 'Mehri parallels to Egyptian stems with prefixed *h*', *A. Z.*, li, 1914, p. 138 f.; (5) 'Kindred Semitic-Egyptian Words (New Series)', *A. Z.*, li, 1914, pp. 110-21.

The completion of Professor Ember's work on this subject was prevented by his untimely and tragic death as the result of injuries received in the burning of his residence, 31 May 1926 (cf. *Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, xlv, 182-4). A portion of a work on Semitic-Egyptian relations, which Professor Ember was preparing for the press at the time of his death, was saved from the fire. This is being edited under the supervision of Professor Kurt Sethe of Göttingen, and will soon be published.

A more complete knowledge of all the languages in any two groups to be compared, combined with the knowledge of as many linguistic types as possible belonging to other groups, may be said to be essential if problems of general comparative linguistics, similar to the one here treated, are ever to be solved in a manner which shall disarm suspicion and force conviction.

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QUELQUES NOTES A PROPOS DE L'ARDA VIRAF NAMA

ARDA Viraf est appelé à contempler les tourments des âmes dont les péchés et les bonnes œuvres s'équivalent si justement qu'il est impossible de les récompenser ou de les punir; elles vivent dans une sorte de purgatoire où elles ne connaissent pas d'autre châtement que les variations de la température, qui les conduisent du froid au chaud, suivant des alternatives constantes, en punition de leur tiédeur morale, qui les a empêchés de montrer la chaleur, ou, au contraire, la frigidité de leurs sentiments; ce concept délicat n'entre point dans la préoccupation sémitique; on le retrouve au contraire dans le Christianisme, dans l'Apocalypse, aux versets 14-16 du troisième chapitre, où 'Celui qui possède les sept esprits de Dieu', dit à l'Apôtre d'écrire à l'ange de l'église de Laodicée: 'Je connais tes œuvres; plutôt à Dieu que tu fusses froid ou chaud! Mais, parce que tu es tiède, et que tu n'es ni froid ni chaud, je te vomirai de ma bouche'; ce qui manifestement a inspiré Dante, quand il parle, au troisième chapitre de l'Enfer, du vestibule de la Géhenne, où se trouvent reléguées les tristes âmes de ceux qui vécurent sans mériter la louange ni le mépris, mêlés aux anges indignes qui ne furent ni rebelles, ni soumis à l'Être suprême; encore, leur froideur est-elle plus cruellement punie dans la *Divine Comédie* que dans le livre d'Arda Viraf, puisqu'elles sont perpétuellement dévorées des morsures de mouches et de guêpes. Mais il ne faut point oublier que l'Apocalypse est du temps de Néron, que la composition du récit des aventures d'Arda Viraf est infiniment plus tardive, qu'Arda Viraf vécut à une date postérieure à la mort du célèbre dastour Adarbad Mahraspand, lequel, comme on le sait, fleurit à l'époque de la souveraineté du roi sassanide Shâhpûhr II, fils d'Aûhrmazd (309-79), ce qu'affirme le Dînkart (West, *Arda Viraf*, Intr. lxxii); il est vraisemblable que ce saint personnage vécut tout à la fin de la dynastie sassanide, vers le milieu du VI^e siècle; il est dit, dans l'introduction de l'Arda Viraf, qu'il portait le surnom de Nîkhshahpoûhr *u ît man Nîkhshahpoûhr sham yamallûnd* (p. 7), de la forme ancienne du nom de la ville de Nîshâpour نیشاپور, au Khorasan, laquelle fut fondée par Shapour I^{er}, fils d'Ardashîr I^{er}, au III^e siècle, suivant ce que nous apprend Hamza d'Isfahan, dans sa chronique arabe (p. 48), sous le nom, manifestement, de Nîvak Shâhpûhr 'la belle (ville) de Shapour', ce qui est régulièrement devenu Nîkhshâhpûhr, en moyen-persan; en même temps que cette ville célèbre, Shapour I^{er} fonda la cité que Hamza (ibid.) nomme Bîshâpoûr, laquelle était en pehlvi Vêh Shâhpûhr 'la bonne ville de Shapour'. 'Nîkhshahpoûhr = Nîshâpoûr', suivant toutes les vraisemblances, est un personnage qui commenta l'Avesta, dont le nom se trouve cité dans la traduction pehlvie du Vendîdâd (fargards v et viii), ainsi que dans le Nîrangistân; il fut un des grands théologiens du règne de Khosrau Anoushirwan (531-579), et l'un des conseillers de ce monarque, comme nous l'apprend le Dâdistân (West, *Pahlavi texts* i, p. xlvi; ii, p. xxviii). Quant à la rédaction du livre d'Arda Viraf sous sa forme actuelle,

il est certain que, comme celle de tous les ouvrages pehlvis que nous connaissons, même la traduction de l'Avesta, puisqu'on y trouve cités des personnages qui ont vécu vers 570, elle se place à une époque postérieure à la chute de la dynastie sassanide, au ix^e siècle, au x^e, ou même plus tard, puisque le Bahman Yasht est postérieur aux Croisades. Il n'est pas possible de rien préciser sur ce fait, qui est évident, si l'on considère que la langue dans laquelle ils sont rédigés n'a rien à voir avec celle qu'écrivirent les Sassanides, et qu'elle n'est autre chose que du persan moderne déguisé sous des formes archaïsantes. L'aventure merveilleuse d'Arda Viraf Nishapour n'a rien qui surprenne quand l'on se souvient que les auteurs de la glose pehlvie de l'Avesta sont donnés comme les disciples de Maïdhyômâh, du personnage que les textes zends nomment Maidhyôi-mâoṇha, fils d'Arâsti, cousin de Zoroastre et son premier disciple; encore faut-il entendre, ce qui est bien dans l'esprit iranien, des disciples par tradition orale, ou même écrite, et non des élèves immédiats, puisque des personnages qui ont vécu sous le règne des Sassanides ne peuvent manifestement avoir entendu les leçons d'un saint qui florissait à l'époque du roi Goushtasp; c'est ainsi, entre autres exemples, qu'à la fin du xv^e siècle, à Hérat, Djami se disait l'élève respectueux de Mohyi ad-Din Ibn al-'Arabi, lequel était mort bien avant sa naissance, et que, partant, il n'avait jamais autrement connu que par la lecture de ses traités de Mysticisme; c'est en ce sens que les docteurs du Mazdéisme sont souvent qualifiés de disciple '*shâgird*', c'est-à-dire de disciples du prophète Zoroastre; cette tradition, d'ailleurs, n'est pas ancienne, comme cela résulte des termes d'Aspandyardji (vii. 37). En ce sens, ils se considéraient certainement comme supérieurs aux dastours et aux mobeds, lesquels, à leurs yeux, étaient de simples officiants, chargés de réciter liturgiquement les textes sacrés, de l'interprétation desquels ils n'avaient pas à se mêler, parce qu'elle dépassait ce qu'on était légitimement en droit d'attendre d'eux; ce n'est pas que quelquefois les dastours et les mobeds ne reçoivent cette qualification de 'disciples du Prophète', soit qu'il y faille voir une simple formule de courtoisie, soit que ces officiants, comme saint Augustin et saint Jean Chrysostome, en même temps qu'ils célébraient le sacrifice rituel, employassent leurs veilles à étudier le sens des textes qu'ils récitaient devant les fidèles; la distinction est assez subtile, elle n'a pas échappé toutefois à l'excellent exégète du Mazdéisme qu'est Aspandyardji (viii. 18).

C'est un fait certain que les anges qui paraissent dans la Bible, postérieurement à l'époque où les Juifs furent emmenés en captivité à Babylone, diffèrent essentiellement de ceux dont parlent les livres de l'Ancien Testament aux dates plus reculées; le concept de l'ange, de l'intermédiaire surnaturel entre l'homme et le Créateur, change brusquement au cours de cette période en laquelle Cyrus le Grand, roi de Perse, renvoya Israël à Jérusalem et confia à Zorobabel le soin de rebâtir le Temple de Jéhovah. Par suite d'une coïncidence extraordinaire, mais toute fortuite, l'ange, dans l'Ancien Testament, est nommé מַלְאָכַי *mal'âkh* 'messenger', exactement comme en perse **fra-atc-ta-ka* ou **fra-ash-ta-ka*, en pehlvi *firishtak*, en persan moderne *firishta*; mais ce

concept de l'ange messenger du Seigneur, déjà à une époque antérieure à celle de la Captivité, est manifestement une évolution de l'idée primitive que les Juifs se faisaient de ces esprits divins, puisqu'ils les nommaient les fils des dieux בני אלהים, et בני אלים, les considérant comme des êtres doués de l'apparence humaine, d'une beauté éclatante, immatériels, impondérables, quoiqu'ils pussent jouir des faveurs des filles des hommes, tout comme les divinités de l'Olympe hellénique; mais ces anges qui viennent accomplir sur la terre les volontés du Seigneur, restent anonymes dans les livres anciens de la Bible, sans que leurs auteurs se soient inquiétés de préciser leurs attributs. Le concept de l'ange, manifestement, change après le VI^e siècle, et Daniel est le premier livre de l'Ancien Testament qui leur confère une individualité, une personnalité exclusive, des titres, des noms précis, au lieu de la qualification générale de 'fils des dieux'; le Talmud de Babylone (Midrash Rabbah Gen. 48) ne fait aucune difficulté pour avouer que: אף שמוח המלאכים עלי עמהם מבל (les Juifs renvoyés dans leur patrie par Cyrus le Grand) de Babel', sans qu'il y faille voir la reconnaissance de ce fait que l'ange des livres tardifs de l'Ancien Testament soit né sous l'influence babylonienne.¹ L'ange des Chaldéens est essentiellement différent de celui des Juifs, tel l'esprit qui apparaît à Tobie pour le guider dans son chemin; il est une entité terrible et vengeresse, devant laquelle les hommes doivent trembler comme devant le dieu d'Israël, et l'ange juif postérieur à la Captivité imite bien plus les idiosyncrasies de ceux du Mazdéisme. Les principaux esprits divins qui paraissent dans la Bible et dans le Talmud possèdent des attributs qui sont très voisins de ceux des Amshaspands, si bien qu'on a pu reconnaître le prototype de l'ange Mikaël dans Vohu-manô, celui de Gabriel, qui guide Mahomet à travers les sphères du monde intangible, dans le saint Sraosha, qui conduit Arda Viraf au paradis et dans l'enfer; celui d'Ouriel 'ma lumière est Dieu' dans Hvarenô 'l'éclatant'; mais ces assimilations entre les anges de la basse judaïcité avec les izeds des Mazdéens ne sauraient se poursuivre bien loin; Israël a plutôt emprunté à la Perse le concept de l'ange iranien qu'il ne lui a emprunté une série d'anges déterminés; Kohut s'est étrangement égaré lorsqu'il a voulu pousser à l'extrême, à l'allemande, son système en une

¹ C'est manifestement à cette même époque, et sous les mêmes influences, que les Juifs empruntèrent aux Perses le concept de leur paradis et de leur enfer; ce n'est point ici le lieu d'insister sur cette question; il me suffira de dire que le concept juif, antérieur à la Captivité, du Shéol, où les morts, non leurs âmes, mais eux-mêmes, vivent d'une existence misérable, après leur trépas, sans connaître de récompense ou de châtement, exactement dans le même esprit que le monde souterrain des Sumériens ou la triste vallée de la Nékuia dans Homère, que ce concept est absolument irréductible à celui de l'enfer avec ses sept stades du Talmud (Midrash des Proverbes, chapitre vii; Yalkut, *ibid.*, 939), où les méchants sont torturés; que le concept du paradis est en contradiction absolue avec les idées et les théories d'avant la Captivité; bref, en résumé, que l'enfer et le paradis d'Arda Viraf sont les prototypes de ceux du Talmud; par l'intermédiaire du Judaïsme, du paradis et de la géhenne islamiques; du paradis et de l'enfer de l'Alighieri, par l'intermédiaire et le canal des légendes juives, qui vivaient au moyen âge, dans l'esprit des rabbis italiens, que connut Dante, bien loin qu'il ait jamais connu l'énorme volume des Foutouhat Makkiya d'Ibn al-'Arabi, que son ignorance de l'arabe l'aurait bien empêché de lire; a-t-on l'idée d'un poète, comme Dante, allant chercher son inspiration à coups de lexique dans un océan tel que l'ouvrage d'Ibn al-'Arabi?

formule 'exhaustive' dans son *Über die jüdische Angelologie und Daemonologie*; l'ange Mitatroun du Talmud n'est point Mithra; il est possible, comme je l'ai dit autre part, que le nom du grand amshaspand Mithra ait contaminé Mitatroun, mais il n'en est pas moins certain que Mitatroun מִיטָטְרוֹן n'est autre chose qu'une transcription du grec *μετὰ θρόνον* 'qui est auprès du trône de Dieu'; quant à Sandalfon סַנְדַלְפֹן, que Kohut a été assez habile pour expliquer par des mots iraniens inexistants, il y faut tout simplement voir le grec *συνάδελφον* 'fraternel'. Quant au nom d'Ashmodaï אֲשִׁמּוֹדַי, d'Asmodée, il n'y a aucun doute qu'il ne transcrive fort exactement une forme iranienne très ancienne, presque au même stade linguistique que le zend Aêshmô-daêva 'le démon de la colère'; אַגְרוֹמִינוֹס Agrômînôs, dans la Kabbale, le chef des Satans, n'est nullement, comme Schwab l'a proposé dans son *Vocabulaire de l'Angelologie*, Agro-Mivôs 'méchant dominateur' (*sic* ?), mais bien une forme iranienne également d'une haute antiquité, puisqu'elle est en fait identique au nom du malin esprit dans l'Avesta, Añrô-mainyush, tout comme אַבְרִימְיוֹש, qui représente le quatrième jour de la semaine, et qu'il faut immédiatement corriger en אַנְרוֹמִינוֹס Añro-mainus, bien loin de l'expliquer, comme l'a fait Schwab, par une forme hétéroclite Abri-vômos 'puissante vie' (*sic* ?). Ces deux noms transcrivent, dans des sens différents, celui d'Ahriman, sous sa forme zende; mais c'est la forme pehlvie et parsie du nom du mauvais esprit, Ahriman, qui figure dans le Talmud, dans la graphie אַהֲרִמִּין Ahurmin. C'est incontestablement au Mazdéisme que l'Islam a emprunté les attributs de l'archange Michel, dont le rôle essentiel est de peser les destinées des hommes; Arda Viraf, dans le paradis, contemple l'ized Rashn le juste, le Rashn-i râst des textes parsis, que le sanskrit traduit Rashna satyâdhipati, le Rashnu razista de l'Avesta, tenant dans ses mains la balance d'or jaune avec laquelle il pèse les bons et les justes (v. 5), et ces mêmes attributs lui sont assignés par le Minôkhirad (ii. 118, 119, 163); c'est sous les espèces d'un esprit ailé tenant la balance d'or à la main que l'archange Michel est figuré dans un manuscrit persan du traité des Merveilles du monde de Kazwini, de la fin du xiv^e siècle; le Koran parle seulement de la balance créée par Allah pour juger les hommes. Ce concept se retrouve dans le bouddhisme, comme l'enseigne le livre des Trois-terres, le Tray-phum, lequel proclame (Feer, 'Études Cambodgiennes', dans le *Journal Asiatique* de 1877, i. 206) que si un homme a fait le bien, mais aussi commis des fautes, à sa mort, un ange le fait conduire à la balance où se pèsent les péchés et les œuvres pies; si les bonnes actions font pencher la balance, on l'envoie immédiatement au séjour de la félicité, si ce sont ses fautes, il part pour les tourments de l'enfer jusqu'à ce qu'il y ait expié ses crimes.

Ce n'est manifestement pas au Christianisme que les Musulmans ont emprunté leur archange Mikail, car la théologie chrétienne considère saint Michel comme le chef de la milice céleste, le commandant des armées des anges qui ont lutté contre les esprits rebelles, qui a vaincu Satan, et qui l'a précipité du haut du Ciel, 'et factum est proelium in coelo, Michael et angeli ejus proeliabantur cum dracone', dit l'Apocalypse. Le rôle qui lui est concédé de conduire au paradis les âmes des justes n'a qu'une lointaine analogie avec

celui de l'esprit divin qui est l'origine de l'archange Mikail dans l'eschatologie de l'Islam. Il n'est point impossible, d'ailleurs, de signaler quelques autres points de contact entre l'Iranisme et l'Hindouïsme, qui étaient infiniment voisins dans l'Iran oriental, ou mieux, dont les domaines se superposaient dans ces provinces aryennes, dont le Vendidad maudit l'esprit d'infidélité, l'hérésie et la sorcellerie; la treizième énigme que le sorcier Akht pose à Yôsht-i Fryân, dans le conte de Yôsht-i Fryân (ed. West, ii), consiste à lui faire deviner ce que sont, un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq, six, sept, huit, neuf, dix, et le touranien Yôsht, descendant de Fryâna, qui mérita par ses vertus, comme le dit l'Avesta, d'être admis au nombre des rois immortels, lui répondit en des termes qui rappellent ceux dans lesquels s'exprime le Bhâgavata pourana, x. 2, 27, le un étant le Soleil, les deux, l'inspiration et l'exhalaison de l'air dans les poumons, les trois, les bonnes pensées, les bonnes paroles, les bonnes actions, . . les neuf, les neuf ouvertures qui se trouvent dans le corps de l'homme, les neuf portes, comme le dit le sanskrit. Et les termes dans lesquels le Hâdhôkht Nask (ed. West, ii) s'exprime sur le sort de l'âme vertueuse après la mort rappellent d'une manière frappante l'histoire bouddhique de Révati, telle qu'elle a contée par Minayeff, dans l'Introduction à sa grammaire pâlie (pages 19 et 20). Ces similitudes de l'Iranisme et de l'Hindouïsme sont assez frappantes; il est douteux qu'il y faille voir le résultat d'un simple hasard, comme dans le portrait que Dante, à la fin du troisième chant de l'Enfer, par deux fois, trace du nocher infernal, quand il parle du démon Caron, aux yeux de braise, des cercles de flammes qui entourent leurs orbites:

Al nocchier della livida palude,
che 'ntorno agli occhi avea di fiamme ruote.

Caron dimonio con occhi di bragia,

dans une manière qui trahit manifestement le souvenir des flammes étincelantes des yeux des rakshasas, des diables, de l'art bouddhique (voir en particulier *les Peintures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 1914-1920, pages 206, 237), qui sont une caractéristique essentielle de la manière hindoue, laquelle a passé, comme je l'ai montré à plusieurs reprises, dans la technique ancienne de l'Islam, car les yeux de tous les animaux qui paraissent dans les illustrations des Kalila et Dimna sont figurés sous les espèces d'un cercle d'or; c'est, comme on le sait, sous cette forme que Michel Ange a peint Caron dans la fresque du Jugement dernier, et il est manifeste qu'il y faut voir le souvenir précis des vers de la *Divine Comédie*.

Mais toutes les similitudes, toutes les ressemblances que l'on peut remarquer entre le poème de Dante et les œuvres de l'Occident et de l'Orient ne sont pas toutes, loin de là, la preuve tangible d'un emprunt, d'un plagiat; sans doute, la formule même de la *Divine Comédie* dérive-t-elle directement de celle de l'Arda Viraf; Dante est accompagné dans les cercles du monde métaphysique par le cygne de Mantoue, exactement comme l'ange Srosh et l'ized du feu, Âtar, guident les pas d'Arda Viraf dans les régions de la transcendance; Srôsh et Âtar, Virgile expliquent aux pèlerins de l'infini le sens mystique

des scènes tragiques qui se déroulent devant leurs yeux; ce thème se retrouve, sous une forme abâtardie, ainsi que dans tout ce que font les Musulmans, dans la légende de l'Apocalypse de Mahomet, où le Prophète, monté sur la Borak, est conduit par l'ange Gabriel; mais je ne reviendrai pas ici sur ces similitudes qui sont la preuve d'un emprunt direct du Classicisme à l'Iranisme par des voies qui demeureront toujours obscures, et qui ne sont certainement pas les al-Foutouhat al-Makkiyya, comme une critique mal avisée a voulu le prétendre. Certaines de ces similitudes entre la légende iranienne et celle de l'Occident relèvent du folk-lore général de l'Aryanisme; elles évoquent des concepts qui appartiennent à un fonds commun de préoccupations religieuses, plus ancien que l'époque de la dispersion des tribus indo-européennes, à une très haute antiquité, laquelle explique comment et pourquoi ces concepts se retrouvent très rarement et dans des domaines tellement éloignés que l'on a peine à y voir autre chose que l'effet d'un pur hasard: et j'en donnerai un seul exemple, celui qui se trouve au chapitre xvi du livre d'Arda Viraf, où Srosh et Âtar lui montrent le fleuve infernal formé des larmes de ceux qui ont pleuré leurs parents ou leurs amis, quand ils ont quitté ce monde; il est inutile d'insister sur ce point que ce fleuve n'a rien à voir avec ceux que l'Alighieri rencontre dans le monde de l'au-delà, lesquels sont le souvenir bien net des fleuves de l'enfer dans l'Antiquité classique; ce concept répond évidemment à cette idée que Dieu sait ce qu'il fait, et que pleurer avec exagération ceux qu'il a rappelés à lui est une injure à sa souveraineté; il est assez remarquable qu'il se retrouve en Écosse, où la croyance et le sentiment populaires veulent que des manifestations d'une douleur excessive au sujet de la perte d'une personne que l'on a chérie, troublent le repos du défunt et l'inquiètent dans sa tombe; mais j'ai déjà signalé, (*Patrologia Orientalis*, t. xx, p. 13) que les Écossais, les Celtes en général, ont apporté avec eux en Occident des concepts et des coutumes qui sont nettement originaires de l'Orient.

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BRIEF OUTLINE OF INDO-IRANIAN CONTACTS

THE language and the literature of the early Persians and the ancient Indians suggest, through cognate structure, manners, customs, religious beliefs, and ritual observances, not only the common origin of the two peoples and their culture, but also a long period after their separation, during which intercourse continued to be intimate. The geographical position of both Persia and the Panjab with reference to each other and to the region of the Hindu Kush supports the inference of practically uninterrupted communications between the two countries from the earliest times; and the whole history of the north-west frontier of India is against the doctrine of an isolated Hindustan.

The Veda contains numerous references to the Iranian borderland and to certain tribes in the highlands.¹ On the other hand, there are in early Persian literature evidences of a knowledge of these same regions and of India.

During Achaemenian times the borderlands of the Indus belonged to the west rather than to the east. The Bias divided, so far as Persia was concerned, the known from the unknown, or, perhaps, the explored from the unexplored. From the time of Cyrus, Persia appears as the aggressor in making contacts with India; and the whole course of the ancient and medieval history of the latter shows the recurring movements from the west and north-west. Of the Brahmanic civilization to the east there is no evidence that these rulers had any knowledge. It was through the meeting of Chandragupta with Alexander that intercourse between Persia and India was really established; and with the rise of the Maurya Empire these lands enter into intimate relations.

Cyrus the Great (558-530) brought a major portion of eastern Iran, especially Bactria, under his sway. Dagiana, Sattagydia, and Gandharitis touched the Indian border. Persian tradition holds that Cyrus died of a wound inflicted in battle by an Indian. Xenophon says that Cyrus brought Indians under his rule and gives an account of an embassy from an Indian king to the great Persian. The references are undoubtedly to the highlands of the Indian frontier. Megasthenes declares that, according to the Indians, no one before Cyrus, except Dionysus and Hercules, invaded India. The Greeks, even if they are not agreed as to Cyrus actually having entered India, do not dispute his having campaigned in territories corresponding to Afghanistan and Baluchistan. At that time the Persians must have possessed substantial knowledge of north-west India.

Darius I (522-486) brought India within the bounds of his Empire. Both in the Old Persian block tablets sunk in the wall of the capital at Persepolis (between 518 and 515), and in the upper of the two inscriptions chiselled

¹ For a discussion of this whole subject see *Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1, where the sources are cited. For other sections of this paper see vols. i and iii of that history, which contain ample references to source material; to *The Oxford History of India*, 2nd edition, by V. A. Smith; to *A History of Persia*, by Sykes; and to *The Persian Gulf*, by Wilson.

around the tomb of Darius in the cliff at Naskh-i-Rustam (after 515) mention is made of areas within the Panjab as part of his realm. Herodotus states that the Indian territories constituted the twentieth division of Darius's empire. Smith says: 'Arachosia (Kandahar), and Gandharia (Taxila and the north-western frontier) must have extended from the Salt Range to the sea, and probably included part of the Panjab to the east of the Indus.' This satrapy, 'which was considered to be the richest and most populous province of the Persian empire', paid tribute of at least a million sterling, constituting about one-third of the total bullion revenue of the Asiatic provinces. Darius sent Skylax to explore the Indus, an undertaking that could not have been carried out in a totally unsubdued country. Alexander's experiences two centuries later prove that. Herodotus, as well as the Platform and Tomb inscriptions, mentions a number of provinces and people on the Indian border which were subject to Darius.

Later Achaemenians continued to hold dominion in north-west India. Herodotus mentions Indian contingencies amongst the troops of Xerxes. Darius III summoned Indian troops when he prepared to make his final stand against Alexander.

Early western knowledge of India, which testifies to Persian-Indian intercourse, is reflected in Greek literature from the sixth century. By the middle of the fifth century Herodotus was able to offer considerable information about that distant land. Ctesias, while resident at the Persian court (415-397), picked up and transmitted information about the Indians.

Alexander, when he entered upon his eastern campaigns, did not approach a new world, but one well known through the mediacy of Persia. So far as India was concerned, when Achaemenian dominion gave place to that of Alexander, the boundaries on the east were extended but little. At the most he did not exceed the limits of substantial geographical knowledge possessed by his predecessors. And, for the area of his conquests, he was already in possession of exceedingly accurate information. He, no doubt, heard of the great kingdom of Magadha far to the east. His brilliant campaigns served but to intensify and extend influences from the East and West already of considerable proportions. In his descent of the Indus system he but expanded the exploit of Skylax. He made use of his retreat to learn more about both land and sea routes into India, and he laid out towns and planned wharfrage with a view to expanding commercial relations between India and other provinces of his great empire. Nearchus and Aristoboulos, companions of Alexander, brought back to Persia and Greece much information about the East. In other respects his invasion of India served to increase Indo-Persian interests. His intercourse with the ascetics at Taxila culminated in the presence of Kalanos in his company. That famous Indian finally caused himself to be committed to the flames in Persia. But the most significant single event of his Indian campaign had to do with his meeting with Chandragupta. Out of this incident grew the long period of intercourse between Greek rulers in Persia and the Mauryas.

The death of Alexander marks the beginning of new aspects of Indo-

Iranian relationships. While Seleucus was consolidating his power at Babylon, Chandragupta was creating the vast Maurya Empire. In due time Seleucus contested Chandragupta's dominion over old Persian border satrapies. In the end an alliance was formed, which left the latter in possession of his western provinces and established at the same time friendly and enduring relations between the two powers. Of the Seleucid ambassadors at the Mauryan court, Megasthenes did most for Indo-Persian relationships. He brought back with him the best accounts of India that the Greeks ever had. Furthermore, Patrocles, who held command in the eastern provinces of Iran under the two early Seleucids, used first-hand sources for his information about India.

In eastern Iran the effect of Alexander's campaigns was of long duration. Both Seleucus and his successors, and the Bactrian and Parthian Empires which were finally struck off from their dominions, were in touch with the Indian borderlands. Rulers of the Bactrian and Parthian houses long exercised authority in the Panjab and Sind; and petty states in the north-west under the rule of their descendents survived the dissolution of both of the upland Empires. Some of these rulers were partly affected by Indian culture. Demetrios styled himself 'King of the Indians', and Menander came under Buddhist influence. Some of the Bactrian coins show distinctively Indian characters. From the Parthians come the terms 'Satrap' and 'Great Satrap' once used by rulers in western India.

Before following further the course of events in the north-west from the point of view of the west, it will be well to turn for a space to the east, and to consider events from that direction. Chandragupta, taking advantage of the death of Alexander, revolted and then established himself on the throne of Magadha. His borders reached well into the uplands beyond the Indus. After he and Seleucus had come to terms, diplomatic relations were maintained between the two powers. Some of the ambassadors at the Indian court became famous for all time. They carried a knowledge of India to the West. Solid mutual commercial interests were maintained. Customs were imposed and passports required at the frontier. Bindusara continued the relationships established by his father.

The great Asoka, grandson of Chandragupta, was something of an internationalist. He included the West within his missionary aims. His inscriptions mention countries as far west as the eastern Mediterranean. The Maurya court was affected by Persian customs, and Asoka's personal cult or ceremonial shows some Magian practices. The pillared hall of Patna was modelled after the Achaemenian palaces. Asoka's pillars show Persian influence both in style and in finish. Even before the time of Asoka, coinage in the Panjab shows Greek forms and terra-cottas bear the impress of the West. And in the centuries just preceding the Christian era there is evidence of borrowing from the composite art and architecture of Greek, Scythian, Persian, and Mesopotamian cultures. The gateways of Sanci show Persian elements, and the artificial caves of the third century are but the expansion of Persian ideals.

Bactria and Parthai gave place in India to the Scythians by way of Siestan and Sind. The rulers bore the Persian title 'Great King of Kings'. Persian influence of the period may be seen, for example, in the architecture at Mathura, one of the Scythian capitals. The Scythians were superseded in the north-west by the Kushanas, the seat of whose power in India was not always the centre of interest for the early rulers of this tribe. For their campaigns reached into central Asia. Kanishka followed the practice of his Parthian predecessors in adopting a loose form of Zoroastrianism which freely admitted the deities of other creeds. The Scythian and the Kushana served as media for the interchange of Persian and Indian interests and influences.

While in India the Parthian was followed by the Scythian and the Kushana, in Persia he gave place to the Sassanian dynasty. This was the golden age in Iran, when Zoroastrianism was revived and the royal splendour shed its light over that great land. The founder of a new faith, Mani, is supposed to have found refuge for a time in India. Shahpur the Great and Bahram Gur were engaged with the Huns on their eastern border, and the latter is reported to have received certain territories on the lower Indus. The Huns were a problem both to the Sassanians and to the Guptas. Tradition has it that Bahram Gur introduced Gypsies from India into Persia. In the sixth century Noshirwan recovered Balk from the Huns, and Nestorian Christians carried their missionary activities into India. Indian fables were brought into Persian literature and chess was introduced from India.

Noteworthy of the Gupta era was the extensive intellectual activity carried on in India by the great emperors of the Dynasty, due to lively and constant exchange of ideas with foreign lands both east and west. The Ajunta frescoes, for example, record intercourse between India and Persia. Greek influence is seen in sculpture of the period. Trade routes were open through Persia from India to the Mediterranean.

It may be concluded with Smith that 'there can be no doubt that ancient India was largely indebted to Iranian ideas and practices'. On the other hand, the wealth of India, the land of mystery, must have yielded, over many centuries, vast treasures to the aggressive powers of the west, and her cultural influences on the Plateau and Western Asia must have been not inconsiderable. Intercourse over the great highways must have been practically continuous from remote antiquity. History reveals but a segment of an extensive and almost uninterrupted interchange of commodities and ideas.

The seventh century (A.D.) saw the rise of Islam in western Asia. Although the Arabs reached Sind early, their influence in that land was slight. But the Muslim power quickly overran Persia and thence extended itself eastward. In Persia the religion of the Crescent met Zoroastrianism. Followers of the ancient Prophet paid the poll-tax and retained their religion. But the conquerors held the Persians in contempt and life was hard; and early in the eighth century a company of Zoroastrians migrated to the west coast of India. In time Persian cultural influences asserted themselves over Muslim rulers in Iran. Then the rich qualities of Persian civilization travelled with the Muslims into India. In the tenth century Mahmud of Ghazni embellished his capital

with wealth and monuments from India, and with poets and literature and art from Persia. Sir John Marshall says:

‘At that time Persia occupied an all-important place in the world of Islamic art. Her genius was of the mimetic rather than of the creative order, but she possessed a magic gift for absorbing the artistic creations of other countries and refining them to her own standard of perfection. Situated as she was in the heart of the Middle East, she became the crucible in which the arts of Turkistan and China on the one side, and of Mesopotamia, Syria, and the Byzantine Empire on the other, were fused together and transmuted into new forms and from which they issued afresh with the indelible stamp of Persian beauty upon them. And the channel by which this stream of art flowed southward into India was Ghazni. Ghazni, however, was more than a mere medium for the dissemination of Islamic art. All the culture and magnificence which in the ninth and tenth centuries had belonged to the Samanid dynasty of North-Eastern Persia, had passed, as if by the natural right of inheritance, to the Ghaznavids, and under Mahmud the Great and his immediate successors, Ghazni became famous among all the cities of the Caliphate for the splendour of its architecture. . . .’

Early in the thirteenth century Genghis Khan entered Persia and pursued Jalalud-Din to the lower Indus, reaching Multan. Tamerlane included both India and Persia within the range of his power. He sacked Delhi. These men of central Asia were not unaware of the intimate relations that joined India with Persia. Not only was there this constant movement into India from beyond the passes, there was also an India outlook towards Persia. Taglakh Shah, early in the fourteenth century, attempted the conquest of Khurasan. Muslim dynasties in India were greatly influenced by Persia. The Janpur kings (1399-1476) were all patrons of Persian and Arabic literature. The great Moghuls were not simply India-minded. The most illustrious of Timur's descendents, Babar, founder of the Moghul Empire, was interested in dominions beyond the Indus as well. He lies buried in Kabul. His son Hamayun was a fugitive in Persia and it was from that country that he returned to re-establish himself upon the throne of Delhi. Babar was a cultured gentleman, interested in Persian literature. Lane-Pool says that this man was an accomplished Persian poet and continues: ‘To the daring and the restlessness of the nomad Tartar he joined the culture and urbanity of the Persian.’ Of Persian historians of the Moghul period at least one lived at Babar's court in India. Poets like Sadi were celebrated in India. Persian became and continued to be the language of the Moghul court. Babar formed an alliance with Shah Ishmail of the Safavi dynasty. At the same time the strife between India and Persia for possession of frontier strongholds was intermittent. But Kandahar was finally lost by Shahjehan to Shah Abbas. Of the Islamic influences reaching India through Persia, two are worthy of note; the extension of the Shia faith and the influences of the Sufis. Akbar was interested in Persian mysticism. Sufism was not uninfluenced by Indian thought. Art and architecture of the early period in India has been called Indo-Islamic.

Muslims brought their ideas and canons with them into India, but they came into contact with Indian craftsmen and in the end a blend was effected, in which the Indian was not lost, but in which he seems to have gained the mastery. The influence of Persia on Indian architecture has been constant.

Of late conquerors of note we find Nadir Shah, who won dominion in Persia and then turned his attention towards India. He was ignorant neither of her wealth nor of the weakness of the empire of the Moghuls of his day. He took and finally sacked Delhi and carried away with him loot valued at 50,000,000 pounds, and the famous Peacock Throne. He re-established the western bounds of the old Persian empire.

With the sixteenth century Persia enters a new sphere of interests and takes a new position both in commerce and politics. And from the days of Shah Abbas there has been struggle between Europeans for balance of power and control of trade. British influence seems to be paramount to-day. The base for negotiations and for campaigns from the beginning of the modern period has been India.

Thus far attention has been confined to Indo-Iranian contacts by land. There has been, however, from ancient times, contact with India by sea, from the Persian Gulf. Here trade has flowed continually. Persia has been interested in this commerce. Cities on the Gulf have been the centres of exchange where goods from India and the East have been trans-shipped for destinations in Egypt and the Levant either by way of the Red Sea or of Mesopotamia.

A great deal of this commerce was with the west and the south of India, but some of it belonged to the Indus valley. Interest in trade with the north-west may explain in part Darius's motives in sending Skylax on his voyage of exploration; it certainly was in the mind of Alexander in the expedition of Nearchus. Around the Christian Era there was undoubtedly trade between the upper Indus and the West by way of the river and the sea. In later times Noshirwan possessed on the Persian Gulf an important mart for commerce with India. Still later, when the Parsis migrated to India, they travelled via Ormuzd. In the struggle between the European powers for the trade of the east, India was the base of operations against the cities of the Persian Gulf. To-day British activities in Persia are directed by the Government of India.

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THREE NOTES ON AVESTA

I

IN the famous confession of faith of the Mazdayasnians two words occur, of which, as it seems, the precise grammatical value has, up to now, not been clear. Yasna xii. 8 runs: *mazdayasnō zaraḥuštriš fravarānē āstūtascā fravarə-tascā āstuyē humatəm manō*, &c., and cp. Vend. iii. 40: *yezi anḥaṭ āstūtō vā aivisravanō vā daēnəm māzdayasnīm*. The meaning of the words is clear, but how are the participles in *ta-* to be explained? They cannot have a passive meaning, and the remark of Bartholomae in his *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, column 1594, that they are used 'absol.', which means 'as absolutes', is rather incomprehensible. Now, it is a well-known fact, that of verba deponentia the participle in *-tas* (*-tus* in Latin) has active meaning, cp. Skt. *viśrabdha* (*viśrambhate*) 'confident', *anvārabdha* (*anvārabhate*) 'having taken hold of another who stands before him', Latin *oblītus*, *profectus*, *amplexus*, &c. The participles *āstūta* and *fravarəta* belong equally to deponentia media: *āstuyē* (*āstuvē*) and *fravarānē*. So the words mean simply: 'I confess myself as a Mazdayasnian and an adherent of Zarathuštra, swearing upon this religion and confessing myself to it. I swear upon good thought', &c.

II

There is a puzzle in the following passage of Yasna ix. 8: *yəm druḡəm fracā kərəntaṭ aṇrō mainyuš*, because everywhere else the compound is *frakərəntaiti*; only once more we find *fracā*, in Vend. vii. 12: *mazdayasna aētā vastrā fracā kərəntən nica kanayən*, but it is clear that here at least *fracā* is *frā ca*, just as *nica* is *nī ca*. So here there is no word *fracā*, which Bartholomae and Reichelt explain as an instrumental of *frqs*. How, then, is *fracā* in Yasna ix. 8 to be explained? The syllable *ca* cannot be missed, as eight syllables are wanted. There might be two possibilities: firstly we might surmise that the original reading was a pluperfect: *fra-cakərətaṭ*, which could easily be changed into *kərəntaṭ*, because this form was more current. But it might also be possible to say that *fracā* occurs here instead of simple *fra*, by influence of such passages as the one cited from the Vendidad.

III

The epithet in *upaštā.bairyāi* of the *jahikā* (the courtesan) in the passage Yasna, ix. 32: *paiti jahikāyāi yātumaityāi maodana.kairyāi upaštā.bairyāi . . . kəhrpəm . . . haoma zaire, vadara jaidi*, has found no explanation whatever. As four MSS., however, read not °*štā*° but °*sta*°, perhaps the original reading was *upaštā.bairyāi*. Now, as *b* and *v* are often interchanged, *upaštā.bairi*

might be equal to *upastāvairi*, fem. to *upastāvan* (cp. Skt. *ṛtāvārī* to *ṛtāvan*, Av. *ašāvairi* to *ašavan*, and *viṣpataurvarī*); in Skt. the word *upasthāvan* occurs several times in Baudh. śrs. (see the Index of words). If this conjecture is well founded, the meaning is: 'she who nears herself (to men)'.

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ANCIENT CONCEPTIONS OF KINGSHIP

RECENT discoveries in Egypt and Mesopotamia have added so much to our knowledge of ancient kings that it is permissible to re-examine the early conception of kingship. We are being taken back to a more and more remote past, and the interesting fact is emerging that in stories and traditions about the heroes of old which used to be regarded as pure myths and legends there is at least an historical kernel. Another arresting revelation is that in some cases kingship, so far from being regarded as a gradual development, is placed at the very beginning of civilization. For some peoples it seems to have been impossible to conceive of a time when there were no kings.

It is proposed here to consider in particular the conceptions of kingship current in ancient times among the Egyptians, Sumerians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Iranians, and Hebrews. The reason for beginning with the Egyptians is not that they necessarily represent the most ancient civilization, but that they have on the whole left us more records of their beliefs and practices. The question of priority of civilization is still a matter of controversy, and can hardly be settled until more archaeological discoveries have been made.

It has been pointed out that at all periods of Egyptian history and throughout all the cosmogenic religions of Egypt, it has been the outstanding characteristic of the king that in a literal sense he is either an incarnation of the god who made the world, or his son. He is never a mere representative or interpreter or vicar of the Supreme God; but is either the god himself manifest on earth in a human body or the god's own son.¹ The king is styled 'well-beloved son' of the gods, and the goddesses make him their true child by giving him milk from their breasts in token of adoption.² One of the most characteristic epithets applied to him is that of 'Good God'. The Pharaoh was thus 'the living image and continuation of that "Good Being", called Osiris, who was the first god reigning on the earth in human form'.³ He was known also as 'the great god' and 'the Horus'.⁴

Consecrated by various magico-religious ceremonies, it seems to have been felt that the king from time to time needed to be re-consecrated. This seems to have been the purpose of the Sed-festival, described by J. H. Breasted as probably the oldest religious festival of which any trace has been preserved in Egypt.⁵ Though the festival is in honour of, and under the patronage of, the god Amon, it is the king himself who is worshipped. Indeed, whoever the god is in whose honour the king celebrates a festival, the apotheosis of himself is always one of the chief objects of a Pharaoh. This is well shown in the sculptures and inscriptions of the Festival-Hall of Osorkon II. The sculptures represent the king as enclosed in a sanctuary, worshipped by

¹ G. Foucart in Hastings's *ERE*, vii, 1914, p. 712. Cf. J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, 1919, p. 74.

² Foucart, l.c., p. 712 b.

³ Foucart, l.c., p. 713 a and b.

⁴ Cf. the remarkable description of King Merenptah in the *Anastasi Papyrus* as given by Alfred Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1897, pp. 175 f.

⁵ *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, 1912, p. 39.

himself, receiving the homage of a god, and holding in his hands the emblems of Osiris. He is identified also with Horus in a sentence spoken by a priest: 'Horus rises and rests on his Southern throne, then happens the joining of the sky to the earth, four times'. Since the identification of the king on his throne with Horus is one of the ways by which the endowment with royal power, or the coronation, is expressed, there is reason to believe that Osorkon in celebrating the Sed-festival celebrates also the anniversary of his coming to the throne, that is to say, of his coronation.¹ The festival, which was connected with the calendar, and apparently with a period of thirty years, seems to indicate that the king took possession anew of the whole land.

In the Egyptian 'Romance of Sinuhe', which relates the adventures of a man who fled from Egypt to Palestine in 1970 B.C., Sinuhe describes himself as singing the praises of the divine king, the Pharaoh, 'the god who has none like him, before whom no other existed'. The same idea of the king is found in the Amarna Letters.² But the Pharaoh is not only a god. He is also a priest, and indeed, as Adolf Erman says, the priest of all the gods. 'Whenever we enter an Egyptian temple, we see the king represented offering his sacrifice to the gods.'³

Of the many things which represented the insignia of kingship in Egypt three in particular may be noted here: the crook, the horn, and the arm or hand. King Pepi, for example, is represented with the flail and the crook. The shepherd's crook denoted especially the kingship of Osiris, and the sign for it, *hek*, was used also as the ideogram of the word *hek* 'to rule'.⁴ The god Ra sometimes has the disk with ram's horns, and Osiris sometimes has a crown with horns.⁵ A more remarkable sign is that which has been identified by W. M. Flinders Petrie as the arms of Osiris. A sign consisting of the arms and shoulders of a man is represented frequently behind kings. Sometimes it has the *ankh*, or sign of life, hanging from each arm, sometimes two *ankhs* on each arm. This indicates that it is a potent agent, a possessor or giver of life. The sign is found in one of the pylon scenes in the Palace of Apries

¹ Edouard Naville, *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II*, Tenth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1892, pp. 10 b, 13, 18 a, 23 a.

² *Cambridge Ancient History*, i, 1929, p. 229.

³ *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 1894, p. 67.

⁴ Wiedemann, op. cit., p. 293.

⁵ J. A. McCulloch, in Hastings's *ERE*, vi, 1913, p. 792 a. The horn may be said to be a special mark of divinity. McCulloch notes that the Egyptian Hathor is represented with a cow's head and horns, or merely with horns. Isis is usually represented as having a pair of horns with the solar or lunar disk between. Nephthys has the horns and disk. Illustrations of these and other deities with horns will be found in Wiedemann's *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1897, pp. 15, 119, 130, 143, 169. In Babylonia the higher gods often have a head-dress with a double pair of horns or a crown of horns (Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i, 1920, p. 327, cf. p. 272). The goddess Nintu has a horn on her head. In an Assyrian inscription the god Sin is described as 'light-bearer (?) of heaven and earth, bearer of the lofty horns, who is clothed in splendour' (D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, i, 1926, p. 295). The king Narâm-Sin is also represented with horns (Meissner, op. cit., i, 51). In Buddhist mythology Yama, who is related to the Avestan Yima, has horns. The primary significance of horns has been explained to be that of protectors and givers of life. See M. A. Canney, *Givers of Life*, 1923, p. 50; *Newness of Life*, Calcutta, 1928, pp. 72, 81 f. Cp. F. T. Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, 1900, pp. 1-80. When Jesus was mocked by the Roman soldiers a crown of thorns was placed on his head. Was the idea: a crown of thorns instead of a crown of horns? See further below, p. 66.

(Memphis II), where, however, it has a cylinder seal hanging from one arm, a mark not of divinity but of royalty. It would seem to belong to a nome. Representing a human chest and arms, possessing authority and life, the object would seem to belong to a deified king and to be in fact the relic of the king Osiris preserved in the Metelite nome. At first the arms were perhaps the actual dried arms of Osiris which had been carefully preserved. 'In historic ages they were probably a cartonnage model of a chest and arms which were carried to the investiture, and laid on the shoulders of the new ruler to confer the virtues of the royal office.'¹

We find virtually the same conception of kingship among the Sumerians. The Sumerians were unable to picture a time when the kingship did not exist among them, and they thought of their early kings as gods. They preserve a tradition according to which several kings ruled before the Flood and a long succession of kings after it. One of the king-lists says: 'The Flood came. After the Flood came, kingship was sent down from on high.'² This suggests that after an interruption known as the Flood, the kingship was re-established by strangers, for strangers seem to have been thought of in ancient times as sky-folk.³ In any case, it is interesting to find in the list of kings names corresponding to some which were known already as those of divine heroes in myths and legends. The antediluvian Dumuzi, 'the shepherd', is Tammuz or Adonis, commonly regarded as a vegetation-god, and he figures also in the dynasty of Erech, where he is described as 'the fisherman'. Gilgamesh of Erech is the hero of the great legend which includes the story of the Flood. Lugalbanda 'the shepherd' is described as a god. Mes-ki-ag-ga-se-ir is a son of the Sun-god. Etana, 'the shepherd', is a divine hero who flew to heaven on the back of an eagle.⁴ The hero of a Sumerian version of the Deluge-story, Ziusud, is described as 'the king . . . priest of the god'. This, as L. W. King has said, accords with the tradition that before the Deluge the land was governed by a succession of supreme rulers, just as it was after the Deluge, and that the hero of the Deluge-story was the last of the antediluvian kings.⁵ In the same document the foundation of the 'kingdom' in Babylonia is represented as an essential part of Creation.⁶ Thus the king is viewed in

¹ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The Palace of Apries (Memphis II)*, 1909. Petrie notes that Alexandria, with its great seat of Osiris-Serapis worship in the Serapeum, was in the Metelite nome; that each Christian patriarch there was consecrated by laying on him the dried hand of the first patriarch or bishop; and that the custom, with the title of patriarch, seems to have been taken over with the older worship of the Serapeum.

² Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, 1928, p. 122; C. Leonard Woolley, *The Sumerians*, 1928, p. 21.

³ See M. A. Canney, 'Sky-folk in the Old Testament', *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1923, p. 53.

⁴ Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 30. S. Langdon in a list of kings includes Etana, Tammuz, and Gilgamesh, adding in a note that their names are semi-historical. See 'The Early Chronology of Sumer and Egypt' in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vii, 1921, p. 151. A. T. Clay mentions that in an omen text Etana is called king. Adapa seems to have been a ruler. Zu of the so-called 'Legend of the Zu bird' seems to have been not a bird, but a king. Marad, 'a shepherd,' of the mythology appears later as Lugal-Marad, 'King Marad'. See A. T. Clay, *The Origin of Biblical Traditions*, 1923, p. 25 f.; *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*, 1922, pp. 33 f., 40, 42. ⁵ *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in relation to Hebrew Tradition*, 1918, p. 67.

⁶ L. W. King, *op. cit.*, p. 31; cf. p. 58.

the light of a special creation. He was either a god to start with, or, if he was not actually born a god, he was soon deified. The Sumerian king Dungi, the second king of the dynasty of Ur (c. the 25th cent. B.C.), had a long and prosperous reign. He was worshipped even in his life-time. 'Temples were built to the god Dungi, or chapels provided for him in the great city-temples.'¹ The son of Dungi, Bur-Sin, received divine honours from the date of his accession (2398 B.C.). In an inscription it is stated that he placed a statue of himself in a chapel at Ur.² The deification of kings is in fact, according to S. H. Langdon, one of the most important aspects of Sumerian religion, and harmonized with the belief in the priesthood of kings.³

The insignia of kingship among the Sumerians seem to have included in particular a turban or a horned mitre. The horned mitre, however, would seem to have been more often the mark of a deity.⁴ On inscription seals the deity who wears the horned mitre seems to be either the Moon or the Sun. This is interesting as we have already found the horn and the sun associated in Egypt.⁵

According to a tradition preserved in a Babylonian document, the god Anu made the heavens. Then Enki created Apsû or the Deep, his own dwelling-place. After this he created of clay the Brick-god, and reeds and forests for building material. From the same clay he proceeded to form other deities and materials, including the Carpenter-god, the Smith-god, and a deity described as 'the High priest of the great gods'. Next he created the King, for the equipment, according to L. W. King, of a particular temple, 'and finally men, that they might practise the cult in the temple so elaborately prepared'.⁶

An interesting side-light on the investiture of a Babylonian king is provided by the ritual of the New Year Festival. The festival took place at Babylon, and one of the items in the proceedings consisted of the ceremonial deposition and re-investment of the king.

'The king came to the door of Marduk's shrine and was met by the priest, who took from him the regalia consisting of sceptre, ring, toothed sickle, and crown, and laid them before Marduk. He then struck the king on the cheek and pushed him into the shrine, and taking hold of his ears made him kneel before the god. The king then made confession and received absolution from the priest. He was then re-invested with the regalia and was again smitten on the cheek by the priest. If the blow produced tears the omen was favourable, if not Marduk was angry with the land and disaster would follow.'⁷

Sidney Smith thinks that the essential part of this ceremony is in the stroke from the hand of the priest as the representative of the god. He notes that

¹ *Cambridge Ancient History*, i, 1923, p. 456 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 457 f.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

⁴ T. Fish, 'A Sumerian Administration Tablet of the Third Ur-Dynasty', *Journ. of the Manch. Eg. and Or. Soc.*, xiv, 1929, p. 64.

⁵ See above, p. 64.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 109 f.

⁷ S. H. Hooke, 'The Babylonian New Year Festival', *Journ. of the Manch. Eg. and Or. Soc.*, xiii, 1927, p. 32.

the formulas used by early kings of Semitic speech in Babylonia show that this practice was derived from very early custom. 'Kings of the second half of the third millennium continually referred to themselves as "touched by the hand" of a god, meaning thereby that they had been appointed by the favour of their city-god, had duly passed through the ceremony described in the late ritual.'¹ It seems a rather violent example of the laying-on of hands, but it certainly seems to provide a parallel. We seem in fact to have here something equivalent to consecration by the arm of Osiris.²

The Assyrian kings speak of themselves as favourites of the great gods and worshippers of the great gods. They do not apply the term god to themselves, but they describe themselves in such ways as to imply the claim to be superhuman. They frequently describe themselves as priests. Adad-nirâri I describes himself as 'the viceroy of the gods' and 'the exalted priest of Bêl'. His great grandfather Assur-uballit is described as 'the mighty king, whose priesthood in the temples was glorious'.³ The priesthood of Assur-rêsh-ishi is said to have been blessed by the gods of heaven and earth.⁴ Tiglath-pileser I speaks of himself as 'the exalted priest'.⁵ Assur-nasir-pal is described as 'the priest of Assur'. He speaks of 'Ninib and Nergal, who love my priesthood', of 'the lady Ishtar, who loveth my priesthood', and calls himself 'the exalted priest'.⁶

This association of kingship and priesthood explains the close connexion between temple and palace. Morris Jastrow notes that in Babylonian and Assyrian sanctuaries temple and palace adjoined one another. 'The temple is the palace of the deity, and the royal palace is the temple of the god's representative on earth.' In Babylonian the word *êkallu* (Sumerian *e-gal* 'great house') designates more specifically the palace; but in Hebrew the corresponding word *hêkhâl* denotes either palace or temple, and it is sometimes difficult to know which.⁷

Among the titles claimed by Assyrian kings are King of the Universe, Shepherd of all peoples, and the Sun of all peoples. Shalmaneser I (c. 1280 B.C.) is Shepherd of all peoples, Shepherd duly appointed.⁸ Tukulti-urta I (c. 1250 B.C.) is King of the Universe, the Sun of all peoples, Lord of Lords, True Shepherd.⁹ Tiglath-pileser I (c. 1100 B.C.) is King of the Universe, Lord of Lords, King of Kings, the Exalted Priest on whom a shining sceptre was bestowed through the command of Shamash, the Shepherd of Assyria.¹⁰ Adad-nirâri II (911-891 B.C.) is Mighty King, the Sun of all peoples.¹¹ Assur-nâsir-pal is King of the Universe, King of the whole of the four quarters (of the world), the Lord of Lords, the King of Kings, the King of Glory, the King of Hosts, the Sun of all peoples, the Wonderful

¹ *The Early History of Assyria*, p. 121.

² See above, p. 64.

³ E. A. Wallis Budge and L. W. King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, i, 1902, p. 5.

⁴ Op. cit., pp. 18, 24, 25.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 32; cf. pp. 31, and 103, ll. 34 and 36.

⁶ Op. cit., pp. 158, 205, 266 f., 182.

⁷ *Aspects of Religious Beliefs and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, 1911, p. 268 f.

⁸ D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, i, 1926, p. 38.

⁹ Op. cit., pp. 50, 54, 56, 62, 63, 65.

¹⁰ Op. cit., pp. 73, 88.

¹¹ Op. cit., p. 109.

Shepherd who fears not opposition, the Wonderful Shepherd who fears not the battle, the Wonderful Shepherd, ruler of all peoples.¹ Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.) is King of all peoples, Sun of all peoples, Ruler of all lands, King of the Universe.² Shamshî-adad V (823-810 B.C.) is King of the Universe, Guardian (Shepherd) of Sanctuaries, Sceptre-bearer of Sacred Places.³ Adad-nirâri III (805-782 B.C.) is King of the Universe, whose rule (*lit.* shepherding) he (Assur) made beneficial (*lit.* good) as the food (*lit.* plant) of life for the people of Assyria.⁴ Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.) is King of the Universe, King of the four regions (of the world).⁵ Shalmaneser V is King of the Universe, Most precious scion of Assyria, Seed of Royalty.⁶

Sargon (724-705 B.C.) is King of the Universe, King of the four regions (of the world), Rightful Ruler (*lit.* Shepherd), Ruler (*lit.* Shepherd) of Assyria.⁷ Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.) is King of the Universe, the Wise Ruler (*lit.* Shepherd), Guardian of the right, Prayerful Shepherd (Ruler), Shepherd of peoples, the Almighty.⁸ Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.) is King of the Universe, Rightful Ruler (*lit.* Shepherd),⁹ Assurbanipal (668-626 B.C.) is King of the Universe, King of Kings.¹⁰ Assur-etil-ilâni (626-621 B.C.), who has left only a few historical inscriptions, is King of the Universe.¹¹ Sin-shar-ishkun (620-612 B.C.) is King of the Universe.¹² Kingship is said to belike 'the plant of life'. Esarhaddon says: 'My kingship, may it bring bodily comfort (*lit.* comfort the flesh) to the people, like the plant of life.'¹³

In both ancient and modern Irân the deference due to kings has been strongly emphasized. Indeed, it has been claimed that nowhere has royal power ever been more exalted or more absolute.¹⁴ This appreciation of kingship may well be taken as one of the examples of Assyrian influence upon Persia. Spiegel has shown that such an influence is discernible not only in the sculptures and inscriptions of the Achaemenians, but also in many Persian myths, legends, and doctrines.¹⁵ 'The great King, the King of Kings, the King in Persia, the King of the Provinces', it has been well said, was heir in far more than mere style and title to the king with whose might Rabshakeh threatened Hezekiah, 'the great King, the King of Assyria'.¹⁶

¹ D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, i, 1926, pp. 139, 140, 158, 169, 171, 173, 177, 184, 188, 190, 193 f.

² Op. cit., pp. 201, 212, 227.

³ Op. cit., p. 254.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 262; cf. p. 263.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 280; cf. p. 282. He is said to be 'attentive to the beck (*lit.* lifting of the eyes) of Enlil'. Elsewhere we read of 'the most precious nod of Shamash' (Sargon: Luckenbill, ii. 93). The nod of the god is referred to also in Egyptian texts. See A. Moret, 'Les Statues d'Égypte: Images Vivantes', in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, xli, 1916, p. 57. The expression reappears in Syriac writings, reference being made to the beck or nod of the Christian God. See 'The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai' in *Texts and Studies*, viii, 1916, pp. 5, 13, 36, 46, 49, 50, 68, 71; W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, ii, *ET.*, 1871, pp. 14, 24.

⁶ Op. cit., p. 297.

⁷ Op. cit., ii, 1927, pp. 29, 39, 45, 48, 50, 51, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 67, 68, 71, 73, 80, 101, 113.

⁸ Op. cit., ii. 115, 128, 140, 147, 149, 150, 153, 173, 178, 179, 183, 188, 189, 191, 194 f., 196.

⁹ Op. cit., ii. 203, 211, 224, 242, 244, 255, 271, 277, 278, 280, 282, 284, 286.

¹⁰ Op. cit., ii. 323, 356, 369, 370, 372, 374, 375, 391 f.

¹¹ Luckenbill, ii. 408.

¹² Op. cit., ii. 413.

¹³ Op. cit., ii. 248, 254.

¹⁴ L. C. Casartelli in Hastings's *ERE*, vii, 1914, p. 721.

¹⁵ Fr. Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, 1873, i. 446-85.

¹⁶ E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 1902, p. 66; cf. p. 36.

Here again the traditions speak of ancient heroes who, if largely mythical, may prove to be semi-historical. The progenitor of the ancient Iranians is said to have been Gaya Maretan. He was succeeded by the first king, Haosh-yanga, in whose reign metals are said to have been discovered and worked for the first time. Takhma Urupa followed, and in his reign is placed the introduction of clothing, hunting, domesticated animals, and the art of writing. He was succeeded by Yima Khshaēta, who in the Avesta corresponds to Noah as well as to Adam. He is the hero of the 'Great Winter', which has been compared with the Biblical Flood. He was overthrown by a usurper, Zohāk, who was succeeded by the famous hero Thraētona, known later as Farīdūn. Thraētona is spoken of as 'king of the earth'.¹ At the end of a later dynasty, that of the Kianians, reigned Gashtāsp, the Avestan Vishtāspa, in whose time the prophet Zarathushtra appeared.

Yima in the Avesta is described as 'the fair Yima of goodly flocks'. The Iranian king was thought of as a shepherd, and a new king received the name *hvanthwa*, 'provided with a good flock'.² Kai-Khosrav is said to have been reared among shepherds, and we are told that Cyrus was a shepherd-boy.³ According to the Shāhnāma Yima was a great king who reigned for 700 years, and ruled not only over men, but also over demons, birds, and fairies. Like Solomon in the Muhammadan legend, he is said to have been able to transport himself wherever he wished. The great national festival of the Nawrūz, or New Year's Day, held at the vernal equinox, when the sun enters the sign of Aries, is said to have been his creation. Firdausi makes also the definite statement that he claimed to be a god, and says that this was the cause of his downfall.⁴ The Avesta however says that his failure consisted in yielding to lies, and that his punishment was the loss of the Kingly Glory or Majesty, an endowment which was the special mark of kings.⁵ The claim to be a god was too common a claim to be regarded as a sin.

L. C. Casartelli says there is no certain trace of king-worship or of divine genealogies in any of the ancient dynasties, whether historical or legendary.⁶ But there are various indications that the kings claimed or were credited with divinity. Eugen Wilhelm says there can be no doubt that the Achaemenians and the Sasanians made such a claim. Aeschylus does not hesitate to use the term *Θεός* of Persian kings.⁷ The divine king stands in close personal relationship with Ahura Mazda, and needs no priestly mediator. If the Avesta represents that the king is not the first in the state, but the second, being subordinate to the high-priest, this is because the ideal of the Avesta is a hierarchy, with Zarathushtra or his representative at its head.⁸ The Dīnkarṭ makes a

¹ L. C. Casartelli, l.c.; cf. M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization*, 1922, pp. 3, 8 f.

² Fr. Spiegel, op. cit., iii. 597.

³ Spiegel, *ibid.*, p. 599.

⁴ E. G. Browne, op. cit., p. 114.

⁵ J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, 1913, p. 149. On the Kingly Glory or Majesty, see further, below, p. 70 f.

⁶ L.c., p. 721.

⁷ 'Königthum und Priesterthum im alten Erān', *ZDMG.* xl, 1886, p. 108. For Aeschylus the references are: *Pers.*, v. 80, 150, 157, 633, 643, 644, 655, 658, 711, 856.

⁸ Eugen Wilhelm, l.c., pp. 105, 106.

distinction between the two powers. It says that the 'spiritual medicine' which depends upon the Mazdean religion is 'rendered more excellent by the rule of the Master of the Worlds, the King, and of the Spiritual Director of the worlds, the Zarathushtrōtema' (a title for the successors of Zarathushtra).¹ If the kings in their inscriptions do not as a rule call themselves gods, nevertheless they give themselves titles which imply a more than human dominion over the whole earth. In the Behistūn inscription Darius describes himself thus: 'I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of Persia, the king of the provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achaemenian'.² Xerxes says of himself: 'I am Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, king of the lands which consist of many tribes, king of this great earth, and from afar, Son of King Darius, the Achaemenian'. The two Artaxerxes call themselves: 'Artaxerxes, the great king, the king of kings, king of lands, king of this earth'.³ The title 'Great King', it has been suggested, is an unmistakable parallel to Ahura Mazda's title 'Great God'.⁴ Ardashīr Bābegān in his inscriptions and on his coins actually calls himself a god. The fanatic Yezdegerd II claimed to be in personal touch with heaven. Shapur called himself 'companion of the stars' and 'brother of the sun and the moon'. Khusru Parviz, than whom, according to P. M. Sykes, no monarch looms larger in Persian literature and art, claimed to be 'the immortal man among gods' and 'the most illustrious god among men'.⁵ If we ask who the god was from whom the Persian kings claimed descent, we can hardly doubt that it was Mithra.⁶

The Avesta ascribes to the king an endowment called *qareno*, which Spiegel would translate 'Majesty'. This seems to have been conceived as a ray of light which played round the head or shoulders, a kind of halo. It belonged to gods, but also on earth to kings, and to priests who are themselves of royal lineage.⁷ When the king loses this Majesty, it is time for him to be deposed.⁸ The same idea is found in the *Shāhnāma*. The *qareno* is ascribed also to the sun and moon.⁹ It is a term which would seem to be identical with the Arabic *ḡarn*, the Hebrew *ḡeren*, and the Aramaic *ḡarna*, which mean primarily 'horn'. The idea of a horn denoting power we have found already among the Egyptians and Sumerians.¹⁰ When the horn came to be associated with the sun or

¹ L. C. Casartelli, l.c., p. 722 b.

² L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, *The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistūn in Persia*, 1907, pp. 1 and 2.

³ Eugen Wilhelm, l.c., p. 104.

⁴ Fr. Spiegel, op. cit., iii, 1878, p. 608.

⁵ M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization*, 1922, p. 307; P. M. Sykes, *A History of Persia*, 1915, i, 527.

⁶ So Spiegel, l.c., p. 601. For Mithra, see Clément Huart, *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilization*, 1927.

⁷ Clément Huart notes that the kings of Persia declared themselves of divine race; and that when they invested the memory of their kings with imperishable glory, they imagined this glory in material form, believing that the kings were surrounded by the aureole which painters rightly call a 'glory' (op. cit. pp. 73, 157).

⁸ Spiegel, l.c., p. 598. It is not ascribed to usurpers. See ii, 42 f.

⁹ Spiegel, op. cit., 1873, pp. 275 ff. Cf. J. H. Moulton, op. cit., p. 149, who translates the word, Glory. He mentions that passages in the *Dinkart* 'tell of the Glory descending from the eternal light to enter the house where the mother of Zarathushtra is to be born, uniting with her until at the age of fifteen she brings forth her son'.

¹⁰ See above, pp. 64, 66.

with the moon, it was natural to identify it with a ray of light.¹ Then the ray of light or halo would be thought of as an endowment independent of a horn.² In some cases the Majesty or Glory or Serenity would pass over into a mere title. For example, A. M. Hocart notes that in Ceylon the king is called Effulgence. The royal title Śrī means 'splendour, prosperity, glory, majesty', being derived from a verb meaning 'to diffuse light', so that when a Sinhalese is styled Śrī Parākrama, this means in effect His Effulgence Parākrama.³

When we try to envisage the conception of kingship formed by the ancient Hebrews, we meet at once with great difficulties. The records are scanty and the traditions conflicting. Evidently the ancient traditions have been edited and adapted to the point of view of a much later age. What happened in the earliest times can only be inferred from certain survivals the significance of which was overlooked by the editors. The institution of the monarchy is represented in the much-edited historical records as having taken place at a comparatively late date. If the Hebrews were the unique folk they are so often supposed to have been, this might not be surprising. If they were not, as history seems to be proving, the late institution of the monarchy would be very remarkable in face of what happened among surrounding peoples. This, however, is not the only puzzle. The accounts of the institution, of which there are two, are conflicting.⁴ And from the beginning to the end of the history the kings are represented for the most part as being little more than the puppets of the prophets—an impossible situation. The truth indeed seems to be that what happened in the days of Samuel was not the institution of the monarchy, but its re-institution after a break.⁵ Another surprising thing is that some of the more important kings are dismissed in a very summary fashion.⁶

Thus the much-edited Hebrew records seem to reflect, on the one hand, a conflict between prophets and kings, and, on the other hand, a general antipathy to the kings of history. This antipathy can be explained psychologically by the circumstances which deprived the nation of its earthly king and suggested that for the Hebrews the only king could be Jehovah.⁷ The history of

¹ In Hebrew and Arabic the word *k-r-n* acquired the meaning 'ray of light'. In Hebrew a verb was formed from the same consonants with the meaning 'to shine'. It is said that when Moses came down from the mountain on which he received the two tables of the testimony, the skin of his face shone (*kāran*) or sent forth beams (Exodus xxxiv. 29, 30, 35).

² The Persian successor, Alexander the Great, still retains the horns, according to one of the legends. He is described as the Two-horned. E. A. Wallis Budge in his book, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, 1896, N., says: 'The most natural explanation of the title is obtained by assuming that one of the attributes of Amen-Rā has been applied to Alexander, and as the legend makes Amen-Rā his father, this assumption is a fair one'. The horns of Amen-Rā curl round the ear. See Wiedemann, op. cit., p. 118 f.

³ Kingship, 1927, p. 43.

⁴ 1 Samuel ix. 1-x. 16, and 1 Samuel viii. 1-22, x. 17-24. See C. F. Kent, *Israel's Historical and Biographical Narratives*, 1903, ad. loc.

⁵ Cf. 1 Samuel xi. 14: 'And Samuel said to the people, Come and let us go to Gilgal and renew the kingship there.'

⁶ For instance, Abijah (1 Kings xv. 3, in face of 2 Chronicles); Omri (in face of the Inscription of Mesha, and the Assyrian name for the Northern Kingdom 'the house of Omri'); Jeroboam II of Israel (in face of 2 Kings xiv. 25); Uzziah or Azariah of Judah (in face of 2 Chronicles).

⁷ Cf. S. A. Cook, who speaks of 'the Old Testament, which betrays a certain hostile attitude to the divinity of the king—God being king' (*The Cambridge Ancient History*, i, 1923, p. 213 f.).

the kings is history written backwards. If we read between the lines, we receive the impression, on the one hand, that the kingship was a more or less ancient institution, and on the other that the Hebrew kings enjoyed a full measure of respect and reverence. It is not impossible that some of the outstanding figures in the early Hebrew traditions, which have been regarded as more or less legendary, were in fact kings. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge has published recently the translation of a work in Syriac which states this to have been the case. The work is on the whole of a legendary character; but Budge thinks that some of the statements are reliable, or, at any rate, are not to be rejected offhand.¹ According to this work, Adam and his outstanding descendants were antediluvian kings.² Adam, we are told, was created and ruled in Jerusalem! There he was made king and priest and prophet. There the angels all bowed the knee before him, and worshipped him.³ As regards later figures, which are more generally regarded as historical, in the opinion of Budge, the work throws new light on the history of Terah and Abraham. Whatever may be said of Adam, when these are represented as kings, there is good reason to believe that the tradition may be well grounded.

'It is quite clear', says Budge, 'that Terah and Abraham were great, powerful and wealthy shékhs, and their large flocks of sheep and goats and herds of camels suggest that they were owners and breeders of cattle on a large scale, and masters of caravans. The three hundred and eighteen trained men, born in his house (Gen. xiv. 14), whom Abraham armed and sent forth to rescue Lot, his nephew, were probably the armed guards who marched with his flocks and herds and caravans and protected them. Up to the present no person mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions can be identified with either Terah or Abraham, but all the facts which the recent excavations at Ur have brought to light show that in Abraham's day the inhabitants of the city were given up wholly to idolatry, their chief object of worship being Nannar, the Moon-god. Not only did Abraham smash his father's idols, but under the divine guidance he freed himself from the custom of offering up his first-born to devils. Further, when he saw his city attacked by hosts of enemies from the north and from the low-lying lands to the south, there was nothing left for him to do but migrate to the country which God promised to give him. Putting all the evidence together, it is clear that Abraham was a great, strong, and independent chief in Babylonia, and that his power waxed greater when he established himself in Harrân. The rescue of Lot shows that his armed retainers formed an effective military body, and the greatness of his might and influence is proved by the fact that he compelled Ephron the Hittite to sell him the

¹ *The Book of the Cave of Treasures.*

² If Adam was not a deified man, he may be presumed in any case to have been a god. The name Eve suggests that she also was a deity.

³ E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures*, 1927, p. 53. The book was attributed to Ephraem Syrus (b. c. A.D. 306; d. 373). In any case, Budge thinks the book contains information which can only have been derived from pre-Christian Hebrew works, or from post-Christian chronologies and histories written in Greek.

cave of Machpelah. And the Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who seized Sarah, would hardly have listened to Abraham's objections unless he knew that Abraham had a following strong enough to make his restitution of Sarah a necessity.¹

It might have been added that in Genesis xiv, where the title 'king' is applied to the rulers of the city-states of Palestine such as Sodom and Gomorrah, Abraham is represented as being on an equal footing with kings.

But whether Adam, his antediluvian successors, and Abraham were real kings or not, there is reason to suspect that the kingship was an ancient institution among the Hebrews. The kingship seems to be implied in the two dreams of Joseph. In the first dream his brothers' sheaves bow down to his sheaf, and his brothers say to him, quite naturally, 'Wilt thou indeed be king over us or wilt thou indeed rule over us?' In the second dream even the sun and the moon and the eleven stars bow down to him, and his father says, 'Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren come to bow down to thee to the ground?' In view of the exalted position attained by Joseph afterwards, this might be another example of history written backwards. But the new light thrown on early history in Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia suggests that Joseph's dreams and hopes of kingship were not impossible. The kingship seems to be implied again in the old song in Genesis xlix, where we read: 'Departs not the sceptre from Judah, nor staff from between his feet' (verse 10). The word *shēbet* suggests a royal sceptre.² The king seems to be pictured as sitting on a throne. Moreover, in verse 8 it is said: 'Bow down to thee shall thy father's sons (*yishtahwū*).'³ This is a natural way of expressing the homage due to a king or to a god.

Was the king invested by the Hebrews with more than human attributes? There are hints that he was. He was a Messiah. He was like an Emissary of God. He was permeated with the Breath of God. Hebrew kings, prophets, and priests were anointed with oil, and it has been noted that fat, being, according to ancient thought, one of the great seats of life, was peculiarly fitted for imparting living virtue to persons to whom it might be applied.⁴ Dr. A. J. Wensinck has pointed out that life does not exhaust the significance of oil. In the Oriental conception, life and light are ideas that cannot be separated, and oil unites the two ideas. Indeed, the tree of Paradise is sometimes conceived as an olive-tree. A remarkable passage in the *Qur'ān* reads: 'God is the light of the heavens and the earth. His light is as a niche, in which is a lamp; the lamp is in a glass; the glass is as a shining star, receiving light from a blessed tree, an olive, neither Eastern nor Western, the oil of which would give light, although no fire touched it.' According to the Jewish mystical work, the *Zohar*, the tree of life is the sustenance of all living beings on the earth, and from it emanates a light containing all colours.⁴ Of those who were

¹ Op. cit., p. 273 f.

² The word *mēhōkēk* might mean 'commander', but the meaning 'staff' which it has in Numbers xxi. 18, Psalms lx. 9 (= cviii. 9) gives a suitable parallel to 'sceptre'. Cf. John Skinner, *Genesis*, in *ICC.*, p. 520.

³ G. B. Gray, 'Anointing', *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, i, 1899, col. 175.

⁴ A. J. Wensinck, 'Tree and Bird as Cosmological Symbols in Western Asia', *Verhandelingen*

anointed with oil among the Hebrews God's Anointed One (*māshiah*) in particular was the king. Samuel the prophet was told by Jehovah to take a horn (*keren*) of oil and anoint (*māshah*) David king, and we are told that the breath of Jehovah penetrated David from that day and onwards. In the case of Solomon, it was Zadok the priest who took the horn of oil and anointed (*māshah*) him king.¹

Every king is a Messiah, and at times the hope is expressed that the king will introduce a new Golden Age, for the Hebrews shared with the Egyptians, Sumerians, and Babylonians the belief in a Golden Age in the past, as well as in the future.²

In 1 Samuel xxix. 9, Achish describes David as good (*tōbh*) in his eyes 'like an emissary of God' (*ke-mal'ak 'elōhīm*). If this passage stood alone, it might mean simply that he was dazzling in appearance. But in 2 Samuel xiv. 17, 20, the woman of Tekoa says of the king, 'for as an emissary of God, so is my lord the king to hear good and bad'; and in 2 Sam. xviii. 13, it is said that 'there is no matter hidden from the king' (cf. 1 Kings x. 3).³ The word here translated 'emissary' (*mal'āk*) is translated almost universally 'angel'. In a note elsewhere it is suggested that, as far as the earlier literature is concerned, this is a mistake. The *mal'ākīm* or 'emissaries' of God are sky-folk who are equally at home on earth and in the sky. They are more than angels; and 'the emissary of Jehovah' is even identified with Jehovah himself (e.g., Genesis xvi. 13; Judges xiii. 22).⁴ When a king is said to be like an emissary of God, he is said to be virtually an incarnation of the deity. In another passage blasphemy against God and blasphemy against the king are spoken of in the same breath (1 Kings xxi. 10).

When a prophet is stirred or possessed by the power of the deity it is said, according to the English versions, that the spirit of God is upon him, or comes upon him, or comes mightily upon him. It is rather the 'breath' which comes upon him, the creative, re-creative, and life-giving breath of the deity.⁵

der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, 1921, pp. 3, 21 f., 27, 29. W. A. Jayne notes in *The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations*, 1925, p. 110, that in a Babylonian incantation to Ea oil is spoken of as 'pure oil, shining oil, brilliant oil; oil which makes the gods shine'. It is described also as 'healing oil' and 'oil of life'.

¹ 1 Samuel xvi. 1, 13; 1 Kings i. 39. The *horn* of oil is spoken of only with reference to these two kings. Has it significance here as another giver of light and life? See above, p. 64. Hebrew kings are not literally endowed with a horn. In 1 Samuel ii. 10, however, we read: 'And he (the Lord) shall give strength unto his king, and exalt the horn of his anointed'.

² In Dungi, the Sumerian king, 'the people supposed that a champion had arisen to restore the Paradise among men which had existed before the Flood, and had been lost through the transgression of an ancient king, the divine Tagtug' (*Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, i. 1923, p. 456 f.). An Egyptian papyrus, The Prophecies of an Egyptian Sage, sees the only remedy for the demoralization and disorder of the times in a wise and good king. It depicts such an ideal ruler as 'the shepherd of all the people, who has no evil in his heart' (G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, 1914, p. 178). Cp. J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, 1912, pp. 212, 215.

³ Cf. in late books, 'Where the word of a king is, there is power' (Ecclesiastes viii. 4), and, 'My son, fear thou the Lord and the king' (Proverbs xxiv. 21).

⁴ See my note in the *Journ. of the Manch. Eg. and Or. Soc.*, 1923, p. 53.

⁵ Cf. Genesis i. 2. The worship of the Sumerian king Dungi is reflected in such proper names as 'Dungi is the plant of life', 'Dungi the breath of life has given', 'Dungi is the breath of life of the land' (*Camb. Anc. Hist.*, i, 1923, p. 456 f.). In the scenes depicted in the tomb

The king is said to be stirred in the same way after his anointing. The word translated 'come upon' or 'come mightily upon' is with few exceptions *tsālah*. It is a strong word, and it is suggested elsewhere that it means properly to penetrate or to permeate.¹ The meaning of the whole phrase is that the breath of God penetrated and permeated the prophet all over, the construction being pregnant. That the same expression, and similar expressions, should be used of heroes and kings is remarkable. In Genesis xli. 38, the Pharaoh describes Joseph as a man in whom is the breath of God. In Judges vi. 34, it is even said that 'the breath of Jehovah clothed itself with Gideon', which surely means that the deity took possession of Gideon's body.² In Judges xiii. 25, it is said of Samson, 'and the breath of Jehovah began to impel him' (*wat-tāhel ruah yehovah le-pa'āmō*), but in xiv. 6, 19, xv. 14 the phrase 'the breath of Jehovah permeated him all over' is used. In this connexion the story of the anointing of Saul is very instructive. Samuel took a flask of oil, poured it on Saul's head, and kissed him (1 Sam. x. 1). Then he spoke of Jehovah having anointed him (*māshaḥ*) as a prince (*nāgīd*). After this Saul meets a band of prophets, and the breath of God permeates him to such an extent that he behaves like a prophet, and is changed into a new person (1 Sam. x. 6). It is explained further that God transferred to him another heart (1 Sam. x. 9).³ So long as the breath of God is in Saul, he is strong. When it leaves him, and an evil breath enters into him, he becomes weak.⁴ It is interesting to note that when Saul is chosen as king he is physically powerful as well. Among other peoples, kings have been chosen often for their physical beauty and power, because the vitality of land and people is supposed to depend upon the vitality of the king.⁵

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and coffin of Egyptian kings we find a human-headed bird with human arms, 'hovering over the mummy and extending to its nostrils in one hand the figure of a swelling sail, the hieroglyph for wind or breath, and in the other the so-called *crux ansata*, or symbol of life' (J. H. Breasted, op. cit., p. 55 f.). In Genesis i. 1 the wind or breath (*ruah*) of God is described as hovering (like a bird) over the face of the waters.

¹ *Journ. of the Manch. Eg. and Or. Soc.*, 1918, p. 65.

² A less strong expression for this kind of experience is 'the breath of Jehovah was upon' (Judges iii. 16, xi. 29).

³ I have suggested elsewhere that he received a new name, and that in fact Saul was his second name. See the *Journ. of the Manch. Eg. and Or. Soc.* ix., 1921, p. 28.

⁴ This is characteristic of the Hebrew way of regarding the matter. The breath of God does not always make its abode in the prophet or the king permanently. It comes when occasion demands it. It comes like a gust of wind. The merit of the prophet or the king is that he is a fit and proper person to receive again and again the dynamic impetus of the breath of God.

⁵ For the anointing of David, see above, p. 74.

BEITRÄGE ZUR INDOIRANISCHEN ETYMOLOGIE

I. Altind. (altpers.) 'padāti'

IM Altindischen kommt vor ein Wort *padāti*-, teils adjektivisch in der Bedeutung 'zu Fusse gehend, zu Fusse seiend',¹ teils substantivisch als 'Fussgänger, Fussknecht'. Ableitungen finden sich in *padātika*- m. 'Fussknecht', *padātiya*- m. dss. und *padātin*- teils m. dss., teils adjektivisch in *senā padātinī* MBh. v. 5703.² Daneben mit *vrddhi* ein *pādāta*- in derselben Bedeutung aber auch in dem kollektiven Sinn von 'Fussvolk' (= *padātisam-ūhaḥ*, AK. ii. 8, 2, 35) sowie wohl auch *pādātika*- m. dss. Die wirkliche Bedeutung des Wortes steht ohne Zweifel fest; es bedeutet 'Fusssoldat, Fussknecht' und ist ganz gewiss von Anfang an ein reiner, der Militärsprache gehöriger terminus technicus.³

Dass das Wort zu *pada*- 'Fuss' gehört, daran hat man wohl nie gezweifelt; doch über die wirkliche Erklärung ist man nicht ins Reine gekommen. Schon im Altindischen selbst begegnet uns die Auflösung in *pada*- + *ati*:- *at*- 'gehen', die auch in neuerer Zeit wiederholt worden ist.⁴ Daneben ist auch die Möglichkeit angedeutet worden, dass das Wort in seiner Bildung mit lat. *pedes*, *ped-it-is* und mit dem altind. *pat-t-i*- zusammenhänge. Ferner hat man das Wort mit dem neupers. *piyādāh* 'Fussgänger' gleichgesetzt,⁵ wozu wohl als Lehnwort gehört kurd. *peiyā* dss.⁶ Und endlich hat Tedesco⁷ vermutet, dass das altindische Wort überhaupt persischen Ursprungs sei, und dass wir es in der Tat mit einem altpersischen **padāti*- 'Fusssoldat, Fussknecht' zu tun haben.

Letzteres ist, soviel ich sehe, das einzig richtige. Die Bildung des Wortes *padāti*- ist nämlich offenbar eine dem Altindischen fremde. Diese Sprache kennt wohl Ableitungen auf -*ati*-, die jedenfalls z. T. sekundär sind; man findet bei Lindner, *Altind. Nominalbild.*, p. 77 f. Wörter wie *aṃhati*- 'Bedrängnis', *vasati*- 'Nest', *ramāti*- 'Ort angenehmen Aufenthalts'—offenbar Primärbildungen, also *aṃh-ati*- u.s.w.—neben den sicher sekundären *khalati*- 'kahlköpfig'⁸ und *vrkāti*- (vgl. Pāṇ. v. 4, 41) 'Mörder, Räuber'.⁹ Sekundäre Bildungen auf -*āti*-, wie dies *padāti*- ist, kenne ich aber im Altin-

¹ Eine solche Bedeutung wird im Petersburger Wörterbuch angesetzt; mir scheint es aber ein bisschen zweifelhaft, ob sie sich wirklich aufrecht halten lässt. Sie mag einfach aus Stellen wie: *svayaṃ hi rathena yātiḥ upādhyāyam padātiṃ gamayati* (Pān. viii. 1, 60 Schol.) geschlossen sein, die doch nichts beweisen.

² Ein *padāta*-, das an einigen Stellen gelesen wird, gibt es wohl überhaupt nicht (vgl. *Petersb. Wb.* iv. 452).

³ Aus den neuindischen Sprachen gehört hierher z. B. *mārāṭhī payāi* 'Fussknecht'.

⁴ Vgl. z. B. Pott, *Etymol. Forsch.* iv. 504 f.; *Petersb. Wb.* iv. 452.

⁵ Vgl. z. B. Horn, *Neupers. Et.* p. 77; *Grundr. Iran. Phil.* i. 2, 24. Dazu gehört auch pehl. *payābak* 'Läufer im Schachspiel', vgl. Salemann, *Grundr. Iran. Phil.*, i. 2. 268 f.

⁶ Vgl. Socin, *Grundr. Iran. Phil.* i. 2. 264.

⁷ *Zeitschr. f. Indologie*, ii. 41.

⁸ Ein *khalā*- 'kahlköpfig', das diesem Worte zu Grunde liegen würde, scheint es nach den Wörterbüchern nicht zu geben; doch steckt dasselbe m. E. wohl in *khalā*- 'Bösewicht'.

⁹ Unklar ist mir *vratāti*- 'Schlangpflanze, Kriechpflanze, Ranke', das man gewöhnlich mit *vart*- verbindet, ohne doch schlagende Bedeutungsparallelen anführen zu können. Mir wäre

dischen kaum, jedenfalls wohl nicht in der von diesem Worte geforderten Bedeutung. Das im Veda belegte *addhāti-* 'Weiser' (= *medhāvī*, Naigh. iii. 19) scheidet natürlich ganz aus, da es einfach eine *-ti*-Ableitung von *addhā* 'fürwahr, gewiss' ist, was wiederum eine mit dem avest. *azdā* identische Instrumentalbildung vorstellt. Sehr zweifelhaft scheint mir *vasāti-*, das wegen eines Zitats in Nir. xii. 2 als 'Morgendämmerung' gedeutet wird;¹ daneben kommt aber *vasāti-* (*vasāti-*) im Mahābhārata mehrmals sowie im Gaṇa zu Pāṇ. iv. 2, 53 als Name eines Volkes vor, das aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach dem nordwestlichen Indien angehörte.² Iranischer Einfluss oder sogar Ursprung ist bei einem derartigen Namen nicht ausgeschlossen.

Das altpers. **padāti-* bedeutet m. E. eigentlich 'Fussvolk' und gehört zu den kollektiven *-t*-Bildungen, die zum grossen Teil den mittel- und neuiranischen Pluralformen zu Grunde liegen. Eine parallele Bildung aus dem Altiranischen scheint mir in dem zweimal im Nīrangastān belegten *gaḍō-ti-* m. 'Räuber, Bandit' vorzuliegen, das m. E. eigentlich **gaḍāti-* zu lesen wäre und ursprünglich eine kollektive Bedeutung, etwa 'Räuberschaft', hatte. Unklar ist mir avest. *čarāiti* f. 'junge Frau',³ das man gewöhnlich aus einer maskuliner Form **čarāt-* herleitet; möglich wäre aber auch ein maskulines **čarāti-*. Dagegen sind äusserst zweifelhaft und wahrscheinlich nicht hierher gehörig Fälle wie neupers. *sārvāḍ* 'Erzählung, Lied', das bisweilen auf ein älteres **sraṇāti-* zurückgeführt wird.⁴ Zudem würde, auch wenn der Ansatz eines älteren **sraṇāti-* richtig wäre, ein solches Wort nicht mit *padāti-* zusammengeführt werden können, da es sich hier um ein Abstraktum, dort um ein Kollektivum handelt.

Mit der Annahme, dass *padāti-* ein Lehnwort aus dem Altpersischen sei, stimmt auch am besten das Auftreten des Wortes in der altindischen Literatur. Der vedischen Literatur ist das Wort fremd; es tritt aber zuerst in zwei Sūtren des Pāṇini (iv. 2, 135; vi. 3, 52) auf und kommt dann besonders im Mahābhārata vor. Nun habe ich schon früher vermutet, dass Pāṇini älter sei als er es nach der gewöhnlichen Annahme war und eigentlich der früheren Achämenidenzeit, etwa um 500 v. Chr., gehöre;⁵ damit würde ganz gut stimmen, dass ein Wort wie *padāti-* mit der anfangenden persischen Herrschaft in Punjab und Sindh in das Land eingedrungen wäre. Aus der Stelle vi. 3, 52 bekommen wir nur zu wissen, dass das Wort ein dem Pāṇini geläufiges war. Dagegen gibt das Sūtra iv. 2, 135: *apadātau sālvaṭ* die nicht unwichtige Auskunft, dass der Stamm der Śālva (Śālva) auch Fussvolk ins Feld führte.

im Grunde wahrscheinlicher, dass ein ursprüngliches **vard(h)ati->*vrad(h)ati->vratati-* umgebildet worden wäre, das dann zu avest. *varəda-* N. einer Pflanze ('Rose?'), *varəḍā* 'Strauch' gehören würde.

¹ Daneben *vāsātya-* adj., angeblich 'zur Morgendämmerung gehörig' in Taitt. *Ār.* i. 10, 2.

² Vgl. Lassen *Ind. Altertumsk.* i². 760 A. 2. Sie werden u.a. mit den *Kekaya* (vgl. Pāṇ. vii. 3, 2) zusammen genannt, die im Punjab nördlich von der Vipās sassen (über die Sprache jener Gegend gibt Pāṇ. iv. 2, 74 eine interessante Notiz), vgl. *CHI.* i. 124, 127. Ihr König heisst *Aśvapati*, was unzweifelhaft an iranische Namenbildung anklängt.

³ Zur Etymologie vgl. Solmsen *KZ.* xxxiv. 548; Brugmann, *IF.* xii. 26 a. 2; xix. 213. Grundriss² ii. 1. 425 sowie vor allem Johansson, *WZKM.* xix. 237. Das hierher gestellte griech. *κέλης* 'Rennpferd' gehört wohl in einen anderen Zusammenhang.

⁴ Vgl. z. B. Horn, *Grundr. Iran. Phil.* i. 2, 168 wo nicht Zusammengehöriges durcheinander geworfen ist.

⁵ Vgl. *Zeitschr. f. Indologie*, ii. 147 ff.

Diese Śālva gehörten aber offenbar dem westlichsten Indien¹ und standen wohl unter dem direkten politischen Einfluss der Perser. Es handelt sich hier dann offenbar um die unter einem König (Häuptling) stehenden gesetzmässig lebenden Śālva, nicht um ihre räuberischen Stammverwandten.

Noch ein Wort muss in Zusammenhang mit *padāti*- kurz behandelt werden, nämlich das mittelind. *pāikka*- 'Fusssoldat', das in Mar. *pāika*, fortlebt.² Hemacandra, ii. 138 scheint das Wort einfach mit *padāti*- gleichzusetzen, was ja offenbar gar nicht angeht. Ebenso verkehrt ist es natürlich, wenn Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prakritspr.*, p. 141 seiner verkehrten Akzenttheorie zu gunsten das Wort aus *pādātika*- herleiten will. Formell richtig, obwohl sonst sehr wenig glaublich war jedenfalls seine eigene frühere Deutung des Wortes aus altind. *pādika*-,³ das nach dem Gaṇa *vetanādi* zu Pāṇ. iv. 4, 12 *pādena jīvati* bedeuten soll; ob aber *pāda* in diesem Zusammenhang 'Fuss' oder 'Viertel' bedeuten soll bleibt mir vorläufig unklar. Lautgesetzlich möglich wäre wohl auch eine Ableitung aus **pādatka*-;⁴ es gibt aber keinen stichhaltigen Grund, eine derartige Bildung anzusetzen. Einzig richtig ist natürlich die zuerst von S. Goldschmidt⁵ angenommene Ableitung aus einem mittelpersischen Worte, das dem neupers. *paik*, *paig* 'Fussgänger, Bote, Fusssoldat'⁶ entsprechen würde, eine Erklärung, die nachher von Weber, *Saptaśatakam des Hāla*, p. xvii und Jacobi *Ausgew. Erzähl.* p. 129 gutgeheissen und von Pischel mit Unrecht in Abrede gestellt worden ist.

Lautlich ist die Verdoppelung *-kk-* natürlich nicht mit Pischel⁷ als die Folge eines nachfolgenden Hochtons aufzufassen, sondern ist einfach hypochoristischer Natur und kommt ja in den Volksdialekten—natürlich nicht nur den indischen—ganz häufig vor. Eine gewisse Schwierigkeit möchte wohl das *-ā-* in *pāikka*- in Vergleich mit *paig* bereiten; wahrscheinlich ist diese Vokalsteigerung aber nicht anders zu beurteilen als in den von Pischel, l.c., § 78 gegebenen und in einigen anderen Fällen.⁸ Zeitlich kommt das Wort, soviel wir jetzt wissen, zuerst im Setubandha xii. 96; xiii. 24, 71 vor. Der Setubandha ist aber ziemlich sicher ein Werk des kaschmirischen Königs Pravarasena II oder seiner Umgebung, gehört also in die zweite Hälfte des sechsten Jahrhunderts n.Chr. Es scheint also deutlich, dass das persische *paik*, *paig* während der Sassanidenzeit in Indien heimisch geworden ist in eben solcher Weise wie *padāti*- während der Herrschaft der Achämeniden sich im

¹ Über die Śālva vgl. besonders Lassen, *Ind. Altertumsk.* i. 760 ff. (vgl. auch *CHI.* i. 121); sie werden dort der Tradition gemäss in solche getrennt, die ein Räuberleben führten, und solche, die einen König gehorchten. Mit ihnen scheinen in irgend einer Weise die *Udumbara* in Verbindung gestanden zu haben, über welche vgl. die scharfsinnigen aber nur z. T. annehmbaren Ausführungen von Przyluski, *J.A.*, 1926, i. 1 ff.

² Dagegen ist wohl das von Pischel, *Hemacandra*, ii. 80 aus dem Urdū angeführte *paika* direkt aus dem Persischen genommen. Skt. *pāyika*- ist natürlich nur ein bedeutungsloser Hypersanskritismus.

³ *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1881, p. 1321.

⁴ Vgl. Bildungen wie *ejatka*-, *vicimvatka*- u.s.w., Lindner, *Altind. Nominalbild.*, p. 130 f.

⁵ *Monatsber. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1879, p. 922; vgl. auch Weber, *ibid.*, p. 810 ff.

⁶ Zur Bedeutung vgl. auch Nöldeke, *Tabari-Übers.*, p. 442. Vgl. auch die Materialien, die man bei Hübschmann, *Armen. Gramm.* i. 220 zusammengeführt findet.

⁷ L.c., § 194 ff. wo viel nicht Zusammengehöriges durcheinander geworfen ist.

⁸ Über derartige Verhältnisse im Pāli vgl. Geiger, *Pāli*, p. 53 f.

Sanskrit eingebürgert hat. Wir müssen uns dabei auch erinnern, dass die früheren Sassaniden sich—ganz wie ihre grossen Vorgänger—unzweifelhaft des nordwestlichen Indiens bemächtigt hatten.¹ Dass unter derartigen Umständen verschiedene persische Wörter, die mit Militärwesen u.s.w. in Verbindung standen, in Indien aufgenommen wurden scheint nicht besonders bemerkenswert zu sein.²

2. Avest. '(pairikā yā) xṇaθaitī'.

In Vend. i. 9 wird als Verführerin des Kərəsāspa eine *pairikā* genannt, die den seltsamen Beinamen *xṇaθaitī* führt; und in Vend. xix. 5 führt Zarathustra den Bösen Geist u.a. mit den Worten an: *janāni pairikam yam xṇaθaiti* 'ich werde vernichten die *pairikā* (genannt) *xṇaθaiti*'. Sonst ist m.W. das Wort im Avesta nicht weiter belegt.

Die heikle Frage über Ursprung und Etymologie des Wortes *pairikā* und dessen Verhältnis zum neupers. *parī* (pehl. *parīk*) soll hier nicht weiter gestreift werden.³ Nur so viel mag gesagt werden, dass trotz aller Versuche nichts überzeugendes geleistet worden ist. Völlig misslungen ist sowohl die eigene Erklärung Günterts wie seine Polemik gegen Wackernagel; aber auch Wackernagel überzeugt hier nicht. Am ehesten kommt man auf den früheren Vorschlag Bartholomae zurück, das Wort bedeute eigentlich 'die Fremde' und sei das Femininum eines **paraka-* (vgl. altind. *parakīya-*).⁴ Die Schwierigkeit, die darin liegt, dass die neupersische Form auf **parikā* deutet, scheint mir nicht unüberwindlich, denn Suffixwechsel *-ika-*: *-ika-* ist doch nicht unerhört. Absolute Sicherheit kommt auch dieser Etymologie nicht zu.

Das Wort *xṇaθaitī* hat man m.W. nur einmal zu etymologisieren versucht. Güntert⁵ nämlich verbindet es mit griech. *κνήθω* 'schaben', ein Wort, dessen Sippe ziemlich weitverbreitet und schlecht begrenzt zu sein scheint. Eine derartige Zusammenstellung eines alleinstehenden avestischen Wortes, dessen eigentliche Bedeutung zudem nicht weiter bekannt ist, mit einem griechischen Worte, dessen Verwandtschaft mindestens etwas verschwommen scheint, überzeugt natürlich nicht. Nur indisches Wortmaterial kann m.E. hier in erster Hand herangezogen werden.

Der Form *xṇaθaitī* würde im Altindischen offenbar ein **knanthatī* entsprechen; denn es kann kaum zweifelhaft sein, dass es sich hier um eine feminine Partizipialform handelt. Nun gibt es ja im Altindischen eine

¹ Vgl. V. Smith, *Early History of India*,³ p. 275; *JRAS.* 1920, p. 221 ff. Dazu kommt ferner das direkte Zeugnis der grossen, von Herzfeld behandelten Inschrift von Paikuli. Wahrscheinlich lassen sich noch andere Beweise hervorziehen, was aber hier nicht weiter diskutiert werden kann.

² Vgl. besonders Weber, *Monatsberichte*, 1879, p. 810 ff.; *Saptaśatakam des Hāla* p. xvii, sowie Tedesco, *Zeitschr. f. Indologie* ii. 40 f.

³ Darüber vgl. u.a. Spiegel, *Kommentar*, i. 29; Geiger, *Ostiran. Kultur*, pp. 81 ff., 339; Bartholomae, *Bezz. Beitr.* xv. 9; *Z. Air. Wb.* 189 f.; Richter, *Kuhns Zeitschr.*, xxxvi. 120; Wiedemann, *Bezz. Beitr.*, xxviii. 35; Wackernagel, *Festschr. E. Kuhn*, p. 161; Güntert, *Kalypso*, p. 259 ff.; Thurneysen, *Indog. Forsch.*, xlii. 143 ff.

⁴ Das afgh. *pəraī* setzt wohl am ehesten ein **parikā-* vor. Nichts von Bedeutung bei Morgenstierne, *Etym. Dict.*, p. 58.

⁵ *Kuhns Zeitschr.* xlv. 200.

Dhātupāṭhawurzel (xix. 38) *knath-*, dessen Bedeutung als 'töten, verletzen' angegeben wird. An deren Existenz zu zweifeln gibt es m.E. keine Veranlassung;¹ da die Bedeutung ganz gut zu passen scheint, findet sich vielleicht hier für das rätselhafte avestische Wort eine Anknüpfung.

Von diesem *knath-* wird nun im Dhātupāṭha nur ein Präsens *knathati* angeführt, was also zu der hier vorausgesetzten Partizipialbildung nicht stimmt. Von den spärlich Wurzeln, die in *-th-* endigen, finden sich ziemlich zahlreiche derartige einfache thematische Präsensbildungen wie *snāthati*, *pāthati*, *mathati*, *vyathati*, *-te*, *krathati*, *grathati*, *prathati*, *-te*, *srathati*, *slathati*, *kvathati*, *-te*, *prothati*, *methati*.² Im Avestischen sind die Verhältnisse weniger klar. Doch scheinen hierher zu gehören Präsensstämme wie *āṇa-*: *āṇ-*,³ *dāṇa-*: *dāṇ-*⁴ und vor allem *snāṇa-*: *snāṇ-* und *zgaṇa-*: *zgaṇ-*, *zgaṇ-*.⁵

Nun ist es aber auffallend, dass wenigstens drei der verbreitetsten indischen *-th-* Wurzeln eine andere, ursprünglichere Präsensbildung aufweisen, nämlich *grathnāti*, *mathnāti* und *srathnāti*. Mit den Präsensbildungen auf *-nā-*: *-nī-* wechseln aber bekannterweise solche, die thematisch sind und in der Wurzel einen Nasaleinschub aufweisen.⁶ Man vergleiche z.B. die Paare *grathnāti*: *granthati*, *mathnāti*: *manthati*, *srathnāti*: *sranthate* und weiter Fälle wie *badhnāti*: *abandhat*, *ubhnāti*: *umbhati*, *subhnāti*: *sumbhati*,⁷ *skabhnāti*: *skambhate*, *stabhnāti*: *stambhati*. Vielleicht finden sich in den Prakritsprachen auch Reste einer ursprünglichen Präsensbildung **sprmṣati*,⁸ woneben dann auch ein **sprśnāti* existiert haben kann. Im Avesta liegen—wohl hauptsächlich wegen der Spärlichkeit des Sprachmaterials—parallele Verhältnisse nicht vor. Es gibt im Avesta eigentlich nur zwei klare *-nā-* Bildungen, die mit Wurzeln auf aspiriertes *t* zusammenhängen. Die eine ist *miṇnā-*: *maēṇ-* 'mittlere'; wichtiger ist für uns ein *manā-*, das zu *mant-* = altind. *ma(n)th-* 'rühren' gebildet zu werden scheint (*Air. Wb.* 1135). Denn *manā-* kann wohl doch nur aus **mantnā-* erklärt werden⁹ und wird solchenfalls eine Mischbildung sein aus **maṇnā-* und **mant/ṇa-*.

In Betracht der hier angeführten Tatsachen hege ich kein Bedenken, eine ursprüngliche Präsensbildung **knathnāti* anzusetzen, mit der dann ein **knanthati* gewechselt haben kann. Mit einer dazu gehörigen Partizipialform **knanthati* wäre dann eigentlich das avestische *χναθαιτι* identisch. Dann

¹ Die daneben liegenden Wurzeln *krath-* und *klath-* sind anderen Ursprungs und anderer Bedeutung und kommen heir nicht in Betracht.

² Bei *kuth-* ist wahrscheinlich *kothayati* die ursprüngliche Bildung (zu dieser Wurzel vgl. Franke, *WZKM.* viii. 331), ebenso bei *puth-* die Form *pothayati*. Ganz unklar ist die Wurzel *katth-* (: *katthate*). Eigentlich denominativ ist *nāthati*, *-te*.

³ *Air. Wb.* 322. Das Wort ist etymologisch unklar, vgl. Geldner, *Kuhns Zeitschr.* xxx. 514.

⁴ Etymologisch und der Bedeutung wegen nicht klar.

⁵ Zur Etymologie dieses Wortes vgl. Tedesco, *Zeitschr. f. Indol.* ii. 40; Morgenstierne, *Ety. Dict.*, p. 101 (Charpentier, *Acta Or.* vii. 196).

⁶ Dazu vgl. z. T. Brugmann, *Grundriss*², ii. 2, 303 ff.

⁷ Zur Wurzel *subh-* vgl. u.a. Johansson, *Indog. Forsch.* iii. 237 ff.; Charpentier, *Monde Or.*, xiii. 15 ff.; Geiger, *Pāli*, §§ 60. 135, 3; Scheffelowitz, *Zeitschr. f. Indol.*, ii. 278. Bei Gauthiot, *Gramm. Sogd.*, pp. 110. 157 findet sich eine soghdische Wurzel **sumb-* 'percer', die hierher gehören muss.

⁸ Vgl. auch Johansson *Monde Or.*, ii, 85 ff.

⁹ Zum Lautlichen vgl. *būna-* 'Grund, Boden, Tiefe', das doch aus **bundna-* erklärt werden muss (vgl. altind. *budhnd-*) und *sinā* 'scissura' aus **sindnā*.

wäre die ursprüngliche Bedeutung der Wortreihe *pairikā yā xṇqḍaitī* etwa diese: 'die Hexe, die verletzende, tötende', was mir nicht gerade unpassend scheint.

3. Avest. 'fšū-ša(n)-': altind. 'Pūṣan-'

Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* 1030, setzt einen avestischen Stamm *fšū-šan-* Adj. 'der Vieh in sein Besitz bringt, Viehbesitzer' an. Eine derartige Zusammensetzung ist etymologisch völlig klar; sie besteht aus *fšū-*, einer langvokalischen Nebenform von *fšu-* 'Vieh' die auch in *fšūmant-* 'wer sich Vieh hält' belegt zu sein scheint,¹ und aus *°šan-* = *han-* 'erlangend, in seinen Besitz bringend'; als Kompositionsglied kommt im Altindischen *°san-* vor in *go-śan-* 'Rinder gewinnend', RV. iv. 32, 22, woneben *°sā-* in *go-śā-* dss. und *śva-sā-*.²

Sieht man sich nun aber die von Bartholomae angeführten Belegstellen etwas näher an, so wird man, glaube ich, in Bezug auf den angesetzten Stamm *fšū-šan-* von leisem Zweifel angefochten. Zuerst finden wir in Y. lviii. 4: *fšumā astī ašavā vərəθraja vahištō fšūš carakərəmahī* eine Form *fšūš*, die laut Bartholomae ein von dem Verbum abhängiger Genitiv sein soll; der Satz soll also bedeuten: 'Wer sich Vieh hält, erwirbt sich das (höchste) Ašaanrecht, ist siegreich, der frommendste; den Viehbesitzer rühmen wir.'³ Das ist nun schlechthin unmöglich, denn vom Stamme *fšū-šan-* könnte der Genitiv nur **fšūš(a)nō* lauten; zu beachten ist, dass das Kapitel 58 des Yasna in gāthisierender, grammatisch fast durchgehend korrekter

¹ Als absolut gesichert kann jedoch die Länge des Vokals wohl nicht gelten.

² Dies alles gehört ja weiter zu altind. *sanoti* 'gewinnt, erbeutet' und dessen indischer Verwandtschaft. Überblickt man nun die Verwendung dieses Verbums—ich beschränke mich hier auf den Rigveda—so gewinnt man, glaube ich, einen ganz bestimmten Eindruck der ursprünglichen Bedeutungssphäre derselben. Das am häufigsten vorkommende Objekt desselben ist unzweifelhaft *vāja-*, ein Wort, dessen Bedeutung ganz einfach 'Beute, Kriegsbeute, Siegespreis' ist (dass es auch 'Ross' bedeuten kann scheint mir trotz *Ved. Stud.*, i. 10 ganz deutlich); ursprünglich bestand bei den vedischen Indern sowohl Kriegsbeute wie Siegespreis in Vieh und Pferden. Bezeichnend ist nun die Menge von Stellen, wo als Objekt zu *san-* gerade 'Ross', 'Vieh' u.s.w. steht; man vergleiche z.B. viii. 46. 22: *ṣaṣṭim sahasrāśvy-asyāyūtāsanam iṣṭrāṇām viṣṭatim śatā[dāsa śyāvīnām śatā dāsa tryaruṣiṇām dāsa gāvām sahasrā]*; v. 61. 5: *sānat sāsvyam paśūm utā gāvyaṁ śatāvayam*; vi. 47. 23: *dāśāśvān . . . divodāśād asāniṣam*; viii. 25, 22: *rātham yuktām asanāma*; x. 119. 1: *gām dśvam sanuyām iti*; x. 97. 4: *sanēyam dśvam gām* u.s.w. Vgl. weiter auch i. 126, 3; 130, 3; iii. 34, 9; viii. 37, 17; Vāl. i. 10; 3, 2 u.s.w. Für das avestische *han-* kommt in diesem Zusammenhang unmittelbar nur in Betracht Yt. xiii. 88; sonst dient als Objekt dieses Verbums einmal (Y. viii. 2) *myazda-* 'Speiseopfer', sonst aber durchgehend *mišda-* 'Lohn'. Worin nun dieses *mišda-* eigentlich bestand zeigen Stellen wie Y. xlv. 18 ('Zehn Stuten sammt einem Hengst und ein Kamel') und Y. xlv. 19 ('zwei trächtige Kühe' u.s.w.); zudem ist das Wort etymologisch mit dem altind. *miḍha-* identisch, dessen Bedeutung etwa 'Kampfpreis' ist und somit dem oben erwähnten *vāja-* sehr nahe kommt. Diese Umstände zeigen alle darauf hin, dass in *san-*: *han-* ein alter indoiranischer Fachausdruck vorliegt, der etwa 'Rinder, Pferde erbeuten, gewinnen' bedeutet. Dazu stimmen natürlich auch am besten die Zusammensetzungen *fšū-šan-*, *pašu-śā-* (RV. i. 127. 10; v. 41. 1; die Bedeutung ist natürlich 'Viehwinner', nicht 'Viehspender', wie man im allgemeinen übersetzt), *go-śā-*, *śva-sā-*. Somit verfällt absolut die beliebte, semasiologisch aber m. E. schon vorher unmögliche Zusammenstellung mit griech. *ἀννυ, ἀννω*, die man seit Brugmann, *Kuhns Zeitschr.*, xxiv. 271 ff. fast überall citiert findet (vgl. z. B. den unvollständigen und verworrenen Artikel bei Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterb.* ii. 493 f.). Auch andere Zusammenstellungen—worüber vgl. z. B. Meillet, *De indoeur. radice men*, p. 26; Thurneysen, *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, xi. 308 ff.—werden somit hinfällig.

³ Zitiert aus Wolff, *Avesta, die heiligen Bücher der Parsen*, p. 80.

Sprache geschrieben ist. Unmöglich ist auch der Vorschlag von Geldner, *Der Rigveda*, i. 161 *fšūš* wäre mit *pašuše* (RV. i. 127, 10) identisch. Vielmehr ist *fšū-š* einfach ein Nom. Sing. (statt **fšūšō*)¹ eines thematischen Stammes *fšū-ša-*; der Satz soll also in Übersetzung lauten: 'Wer sich Vieh hält ist ein gläubiger, dämonenbesiegender, frommster Viehbesitzer—(ihn) loben wir.'

Ebenso zweifelhaft ist der Ansatz eines Stammes *fšū-šan-* für den an den übrigen Stellen vorkommenden Ausdruck *fšūšō māθra*, zu dem wir uns jetzt wenden. Damit wird bezeichnet der Abschnitt Y. lviii. 4–7—eigentlich trägt das ganze 58. Kapitel die Überschrift *fšūšō māθrō*—der nach Y. lix. 33 zu dem *hadaoxta* genannten Nask gehört hat. Auch hier ist die Auffassung Bartholomae's nicht wohl möglich, der gemäss *fšūšō* ein Gen. Sing. des Stammes *fšū-šan-* sein soll; und zwar aus dem oben angeführten Grunde, dass ein solcher Genitivus niemals diese Form hätte erhalten können. Es kommen hier jedoch andere Möglichkeiten in Betracht. Am einfachsten scheint es mir jedenfalls vorauszusetzen, dass *fšūšō* gleich dem oben behandelten *fšūš* ein Nom. Sing. eines thematischen Stammes *fšū-ša-* sein würde; dann würde natürlich *fšūšō māθrō* nicht gerade 'der Spruch vom Viehbesitzer' bedeuten, wie Bartholomae's übersetzt, sondern vielmehr 'der viehgewinnende, vieherbeutende Spruch'. An sich möglich scheint es mir aber, dass *fšūšō* der Gen. Sing. eines Stammes **fšū-šā-* sein könnte und somit dem RV. v. 41, 1 belegten Gen. *paśuśah* so nahe wie nur möglich entsprechen würde.²

Zu der ersten Auffassung passt am besten die G. ii. 6 belegte Akkusativform *fšūšamča māθram*, dagegen aber nicht die Formen *fšūšō māθram* in Y. lix. 33; Vīsp. ii. 10 und *fšūšō māθrahe* in Vīsp. i. 8; N. 22. Es könnte sich hier einfach um Entgleisungen oder schlechte Formen handeln, was wohl den meisten Forschern am glaublichsten erscheinen wird. Es möchte aber auch sein, dass es sich um eine Zusammensetzung handelt, dass wir also eigentlich *fšūšō.māθra-* zu lesen hätten. Dabei könnte natürlich das erste Glied der Zusammensetzung am ehesten ein **fšū-ša-* sein, denn *-a-* Stämme, die in der Kompositionsfuge ein *-ō-* statt *-a-* zeigen, sind ja im Avesta wohlbekannt. Auch um einen *-an-* Stamm (also *fšū-šan-*) könnte es sich aber handeln; denn wir finden da Parallelen in Formen wie *asmō-χvanvant-*: *asman-*, *spō-pad-* und *spō-bərata-*: *span-*, *zrvō-dāta-*: *zrvan-*. Zu einer völligen Klarheit kommen wir also hier nicht.

Diese Prüfung der Belegstellen lässt es gewissermassen im dunkeln, falls überhaupt ein Stamm *fšū-šan-* anzusetzen wäre. Der Etymologie halber scheint jedoch ein solcher Stammansatz in höchstem Masse glaublich.

Ich glaube nämlich behaupten zu dürfen, dass mit einem avestischen Stamme *fšū-šan-* eigentlich identisch ist der Name des indischen Gottes

¹ Nominative auf *-š* statt *-ō* gibt es ja im jüngeren Avesta, vgl. Reichelt, *Avest. Elementarbuch*, pp. 33, 196.

² Von Genitiven derartiger Komposition bietet das Avestische wohl nur *raθaē-štā*, Gen. Sing. des Stammes *raθaē-štā-*. Ein solcher Genitivus, der mit dem Nominativ formell identisch ist, kann aber keineswegs ursprünglich sein; er ist, wie z.B. Reichelt, *Avest. Elementarbuch*, p. 186 richtig hervorhebt, den femininen Genitiven auf *-ā* (*daēnaya*, *ciθā*) nachgebildet. Einzig richtig wäre doch eine dem altind. *-as* entsprechende Form, die avestisch nur auf *-ō* ausgehen können würde.

Pūšan-, ein Wort, das ich somit aus einer ursprünglichen Form **pšū-šan-* herleite, worüber weiteres sogleich unten.

Über die Natur dieses Gottes ins Reine zu kommen scheint mir nicht besonders schwierig; die vedischen Götter bieten der Forschung öfters ungelöste und vorläufig unlösbare Probleme dar, bei *Pūšan* scheint mir aber die Sache weit einfacher zu stehen. Doch gehen die Ansichten der bisherigen Forschung so ziemlich auseinander.¹ *Pūšan* ist in der späteren indischen Auffassung eine Sonnengottheit, und davon scheinen schon im *Rigveda* Spuren vorhanden zu sein, die aber m. E. von keinerlei Bedeutung sind; doch haben sich dadurch derart bedeutende Forscher wie z.B. Hillebrandt irreleiten lassen.² Oldenberg sieht in *Pūšan* einen 'Gott der Wege', was an sich richtig aber viel zu blass ist. Es kann nämlich keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass ja *Pūšan* eine ausgeprägte und typische *bukolische* Gottheit darstellt; er ist der Hirtengott, der vergöttlichte Hirt, Erwerber und Pfleger der Heerden, einmal wahrscheinlich die besondere Schutzgottheit der Viehzüchter, die im *Avesta* unter der Benennung *vāstryō fšuyas* wohlbekannt sind, in Altindien jedenfalls z. T. die uralte Kastengruppe der *vaiśya* ausmachen.³ Deswegen ist er mit dem Ochsenstachel (*aśtrā*) ausgerüstet, dessen Beiwort *paśusādhanī* (vi. 53, 9) natürlich 'Vieh verschaffend' bedeutet.⁴ Wer die kleine *Pūšan-Samhitā*, RV. vi. 53–58, durchliest, braucht da m. E. nicht in Zweifel über die ursprüngliche Natur des Gottes zu bleiben. Als höchster Beschützer der Hirten und ihrer Heerden hält er den räuberischen Wolf fern; als solcher ist er auch der Feind und Besieger der räuberischen *Paṇi*, die sehr gut einen Stamm nomadischer Viehräuber von historischer Existenz darstellen können.⁵ Die auf die Weide zu treibenden Kühe befiehlt man dem Hirtengotte—er soll sie schützen sowie auch die Pferde (vi. 54, 5–6), kein Vieh soll abhanden oder zu Schaden kommen (vi. 54, 7) u.s.w. Deutlicher kann eigentlich die Beschreibung einer rein *bukolischen* Gottheit nicht ausgedrückt werden. Dass er von diesem Ursprung aus sehr gut auch ein 'Gott der Wege', sogar ein *ψυχοπομπός* geworden sein kann braucht m. E. nicht weiter entwickelt zu werden.

Wenn also *Pūšan* ursprünglich der Gott der Hirten und Viehzüchter par *préférence* ist, wäre es natürlich sehr passend, wenn sein Name, gleich einem *avestischen fšū-šan-*, eigentlich 'Vieherbeuter, Viehbesitzer' bedeuten würde. Man beachte in solchem Zusammenhang den Namen der *avestischen*

¹ Vgl. u. a. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.*, iii. 362 ff.; ² i. 8 f.; ii. 326 ff. Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 35 ff.; Oldenberg, *Rel. d. Veda* ², p. 234 ff. Eine erschöpfende Monographie über *Pūšan* gibt Flensburg, *Bidrag till Rigvedas mytologi* (Lunds Univ. Årsskrift, N.F. Afd. 1 Bd. v. 4, 1 ff., 1909), die aber wenig beachtet worden ist.

² Flensburg, der doch im ganzen eine richtige Auffassung dieses Gottes hegt, lässt sich auch durch die Sonnenhypothese vom Ziel wegführen. Mit Siecke, *Pūshan. Studien zur Idee des Hirtengottes* (1914) in ihm einen Mondgott erblicken zu wollen ist leerer Wahn. Doch sieht ja die Schule, zu der Siecke gehört, in allen göttlichen Wesen gerade Mondgötter.

³ Vgl. Kauṭilya i. 3: (*svadharma*) *vaiśyasya* . . . *kṛṣipāśupālye vāṇijyā ca*.

⁴ So richtig Bergaigne, *Rel. véd.* ii. 424; weniger richtig Oldenberg, *Rel. d. Veda* ², p. 234 n. 1

⁵ Soweit stimme ich mit Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* ², i. 499 ff., ganz überein. Nur in Bezug auf die Identifikation mit den von Strabo erwähnten *Πάρονοι* bin ich nicht sicher; doch wäre es ja möglich, dass eine Abteilung dieses Volkes auch im östlichsten Iran ihre Wohnsitze gehabt haben könnte.

Gottheit *frādat-fšu-* 'das Vieh fördernd'; diese Gottheit, die mit *Rapiṭwina* und mit *Zantuma* in Verbindung steht,¹ gilt als besonderer Schutzherr des Kleinviehs (*pasu-*, *fšu-*). Sehr wichtig ist es auch, dass, wie Trubetskoy² aufgewiesen hat, gewisse kaukasische Völker von den Iranern die Benennung einer weiblichen Gottheit **fšušanī* entlehnt haben; denn wir haben hier eine genaue feminine Entsprechung zu dem von mir vorausgesetzten indischen **pśūšan-*, **pśūšan-*, also eine Namenform, die meinetwegen im Altindischen **pūšanī* oder eventuell **pūṣṇī* lauten würde.

Die Deklination des Wortes *pūšan-* bietet kaum besondere Merkwürdigkeiten. Dass der Akkusativ regelmässig *pūśānam* lautet³—und nicht **pūśānam*—ist in Anbetracht von *ukśānam* und *vṛśānam* wohl nicht sehr bemerkenswert, könnte doch—wenn man die Zusammensetzung *ṛbhu-kśānam* zum Vergleich heransieht—eine Reminiscenz der ursprünglichen Zusammensetzung **pśū-śan-* sein. Wenn auch der Vers RV. i. 181, 9 nicht ganz klar ist⁴, so scheint es mir jedoch deutlich, dass an einen Akkusativ **pūśām* kaum zu denken ist.⁵ Verfehlt scheint mir auch die von Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* i. 193, vorgeschlagene Form **paviśan* (**paviśā*) und die darauf aufgebaute Etymologie, die jedoch nicht dort ausdrücklich ausgesagt worden ist; wäre irgendeine dreisilbige Form—und nicht einfach eine mit geschleiftem Vokal,⁶ wie es doch der Fall sein muss—einzuführen, dann wäre m. E. **paśuśā* das einzig mögliche. Sicher scheint es auf jeden Fall, dass in RV. x. 5, 5; 93, 4, eine in Anschluss an Akk. *pūśānam* gebildete thematische Form *pūśāna-*, resp. *pūśand-* vorliegt, obwohl man diese unnötigerweise wegzu erklären versucht hat.⁷

Ich leite also das wort *pūšan-* zunächst aus **pśū-śan-*, dann weiter aus **pśū-śan-* her. Dass in einem derartigen Worte der eine *s-* Laut—und zwar natürlich hier der erste—wegdissimiliert wurde ist ganz selbstverständlich; ich zeige auf die Parallele hin, die sich in *pāmsu-* 'Staub, Sand' findet, das ich früher, wie ich noch immer glaube richtig, aus **psāmsu-* habe herleiten wollen,⁸ was dann natürlich weiter zu *psā* und *bhas-* gehören würde. Eine gewisse Schwierigkeit bereitet aber die Behandlung der Lautgruppe *pś-*, von der wir überhaupt nichts wissen. Osthoff⁹ hat wie bekannt einmal zu erweisen gesucht, dass der indogermanische Name des Hundes (**kūen-*, **kūn-*) eigentlich 'Viehhund' bedeutet und eine *-n-* Ableitung von **pekū-* 'Vieh' wäre, also ursprünglich von einer Form **pḱūen-*, **pḱūn-* ausgegangen wäre. Aber dieser geniale Einfall lässt sich nicht durchführen. Erstens würden

¹ Vgl. *Air. Wb.* 1014.

² *Mém. Soc. Lingu.*, xxii. 248.

³ Vgl. auch Hirt, *Indog. Forsch.*, xxxii. 246.

⁴ Unmöglich ist auf jeden Fall die Übersetzung von Pischel, *Ved. Stud.*, i. 28.

⁵ Vgl. Bartholomae, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.*, xxix. 574; Foy, *ibid.*, xxxix. 264; Hillebrandt, *WZKM.* iii. 192; Oldenberg, *RV-Noten*, i. 181.

⁶ Ziemlich gleichgültig bleibt es jedenfalls, ob in RV. i. 89, 6; x. 26, 3, mit Pischel, l.c., das *-ā* in *pūśā* oder mit Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 178 f., das *-ū-* geschleift werden soll. Meinetwegen am ehesten das *-ū-*.

⁷ Vgl. darüber Lanman, *Noun-Inflection*, p. 526; Bartholomae, *Ar. Forsch.*, i. 29, 95; Collitz, *Bezz. Beitr.*, vii. 379; Macdonell, *Ved. Gramm.*, pp. 204, 205 n. 15; Oldenberg, *RV-Noten*, ii. 201, 299 f. Andere, mir unannehmbare Auffassungen bei Ludwig, *Rigveda*, iv. 400; v. 634; Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 467.

⁸ Vgl. *Monde Or.*, vi. 158 ff.

⁹ *Etym. Parerga*, i. 199 ff.

wir im Altiranischen solchenfalls nicht ein *span-*, *sün-* erwarten, sondern vielmehr ein **fš(p)an-*, **fšün-*; die historisch belegte Form würde somit entweder **fšan-*, *fšün-* lauten oder möglicherweise **špan-*, *šün-*. Zweitens hat Conrady¹ nachgewiesen, dass das chinesische Wort *k'uan*, *č'uä*, *č'ien*, *hün* 'Hund' von einem urchinesischen **k'üen* ausgeht, das unzweifelhaft dem indogermanischen **k(u)uēn-* **k(u)uōn-* entlehnt sein muss. Es ist mir ganz unbekannt, wie sich das Urchinesische zu einer Lautverbindung **pḱ-* stellen würde; es scheint mir aber, dass sich doch irgendeine Spur einer derartigen Lautverbindung würde entdecken lassen.

Bloomfield² wiederum hat nachweisen zu können geglaubt, dass einerseits in dem vedischen *kṣu-* eine Entwicklung von **pśu-* = avest. *fšū-* vorliegt, andererseits dass die 'Wurzel' *vi-rapś-* nichts anderes ist als eine missverständene Entwicklung von **vīra-pś(u)-*.³ Ersteres lässt sich wohl zur Not behaupten; die zweite Vermutung ist aber sicher unrichtig. Aber auch wenn *kṣu-* wirklich aus **pśu-* entstanden wäre, lässt sich daraus nichts für die wirkliche Entwicklung von *pś-* gewinnen. Mir kommt es am glaublichsten vor, dass sich *pś-* in genauer Übereinstimmung mit avest. *fš-* < *ps-* am nächsten zu *pṣ-* entwickelt hat.⁴

Wenn meine hier vorgeschlagene Etymologie von *pūšan-* das richtige trifft, werden dadurch natürlich die bisherigen Deutungen des Wortes hinfällig. Am beliebtesten ist wohl die Zusammenstellung mit *pus-*, die aber nichts besagt und zudem für das *-ū-* keine Erklärung abgibt. Wichtig ist auch die Herleitung Bergaignes⁵ von *pū-* 'reinigen'. Schliesslich haben einige Forscher die Idee gehabt, *pūšan-* gehöre mit *Πάν* zusammen⁶, dessen ältere Form im Arkadischen inschriftlich als *Παων* belegt ist. Schon Oldenberg, *Rel. d. Veda*,² p. 237 n. 1 hat diese Etymologie angezweifelt. Mir kommt sie als ganz übereilt vor, zumal die beiden Wörter nicht einmal formell identisch wären.

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¹ Ber. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 77. 3 (1925).

² Indogerm. Forsch., xxv. 185 ff.

³ Über *vi-rapś-* unbrauchbares bei Scheftelowitz, Zeitschr. f. Indologie vi. 108 f.

⁴ Dass sich in *a-psu-*, RV., vii. 4, 6, ein *psu-* 'Kuh' (< **pśu-*) verbirgt hat man jedenfalls früher geglaubt, vgl. Rosen, *Rigveda*, i. 49, 1; Burnouf, *JAs*. 1840, 327 ff.; Pictet, *Origines*, i. 341; ii. 764. Obwohl nicht unglaublich lässt sich das natürlich nicht genau beweisen.

⁵ *Rel. véd.*, ii. 425. 428. Vgl. auch Pischel, *Ved. Stud.*, i. 193.

⁶ Vgl. v. Bradke, *Theol. Lit. Zeitung*, 1895, 581; Döhring, *Etymol. Beitr. zur griech. u. deutsch. Mythologie*, p. 11 (= Programm d. Kgl. Friedrichskollegiums, Königsberg i. Pr., Ostern 1907); Schulze, *Kuhns Zeitschr.*, xlii. 81. 374.

KÖNIG YIMA UND SATURN

I. Einleitung

ES gab eine Zeit—und sie liegt noch nicht weit hinter uns, falls sie überhaupt schon der Vergangenheit angehört—wo man es für angemessen hielt, die Gottheiten der alten Religionen durchweg als Personifikationen von Naturobjekten oder Naturerscheinungen anzusehen. Hand in Hand mit dieser Anschauung ging die Vorliebe für die Annahme einer reichlichen Anzahl von Sonnengöttern. Auch Yima ist—im Verein mit dem altindischen Yama—dem Geschick, für einen Sonnengott gehalten zu werden, nicht entgangen. Insbesondere wurde diese Annahme von J. Ehni verfochten in den beiden Schriften: *Der Vedische Mythos des Yama verglichen mit den analogen Typen der Persischen, Griechischen und Germanischen Mythologie*, Strassburg, 1890, und *Die ursprüngliche Gottheit des Vedischen Yama*, Leipzig, 1896. Dass sich die Sonne dabei in eine Nachtsonne (wer hat sie je gesehen?) verwandeln muss, macht die Theorie zwar mehr grotesk, aber schwerlich annehmbarer. So bleiben denn Ehnis Monographien für das Indische und Iranische nur noch als Materialsammlungen brauchbar. Als solche können sie zur Ergänzung früherer Darstellungen (z. B. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, Berlin, 1863, S. 19–43; Spiegel, *Iranische Alterthumskunde*, i, Leipzig, 1871, S. 439 u. 522–30) dienen.

Den Anfang einer richtigeren, über die Gleichsetzung mit dem indischen Yama hinausgehenden Beurteilung der Mythen von Yima hatte kurz vor den beiden Monographien Ehnis der schwedische Gelehrte und Dichter Viktor Rydberg in seinen *Undersökningar i Germanisk Mythologi*, 2 Bde., Stockholm, 1887–9, gemacht, insbesondere Bd. i, S. 289–92 u. Bd. ii, S. 203–95. Rydberg erkannte die Identität Yimas mit dem germanischen Gotte Balder, und sah in der iranischen und der germanischen Überlieferung Reste des Mythen-schatzes der indogermanischen Urzeit. Mit der völlig zutreffenden Gleichsetzung Yimas mit Balder und des Unholds Aži Dahāka mit Loki, der für den Tod Balders verantwortlich ist (a. a. O. ii. 205–6), verbinden sich freilich bei Rydberg zwei weniger überzeugende Identifizierungen. Nach der germanischen Überlieferung wird Balder auf Veranlassung Lokis von seinem Bruder Hödr getötet, wie nach der iranischen Überlieferung Yima von seinem Bruder Spityura auf Veranlassung Aži Dahākas. Die Übereinstimmung ist nicht zu verkennen. Auch ist nichts dagegen einzuwenden, wenn Rydberg darin einen Beleg für den der Götter- und Heldensage geläufigen Typus der feindlichen Brüder sieht. Aber wenn er weiter, einer Vermutung Müllenhoffs folgend, einen uralten Zusammenhang des Baldermythus mit dem Mythos von den Dioskuren (Kastor und Pollux) und den Aṇvins des Rigveda d. h. von Morgen- und Abendstern sieht, so werden wir schwerlich geneigt sein, ihm zu folgen. Es könnte sich doch wohl höchstens um eine nachträgliche Vermischung zweier ursprünglich getrennter Sagenkreise handeln. Wenigstens ist in unsrer ältesten Quelle, dem Rigveda, von der Identität Yamas mit einem der Aṇvins

nichts zu spüren. Die zweite Annahme Rydbergs, die wir ausscheiden möchten, besagt, der Burg (*vara-*) Yimas entspreche in der nordischen Mythologie der Hain Mimirs mit dem heiligen Brunnen (dem Quell der Weisheit), aus welchem Mimir jeden Morgen Meth trinkt (a.a. O. i. 256–63). Gehört nicht Mimir eher dem Sagenkreise des Haoma als dem des Yima an? Und liegt es nicht näher, den *Var* des Yima zunächst mit der 'Halle' oder 'Wohnung' Balders, d.h. mit seinem königlichen Palast zu vergleichen, von dem die *Grimnismäl* (Str. 12) in einer Aufzählung der Götterwohnungen berichten:

Breidablick¹ ist die siebente: dort hat Balder sich
 die hohe Halle erbaut;
 kein andres Land in aller Welt
 ist so von Freveln frei.

Rydbergs Untersuchungen dürfen wohl, trotz einiger Fehlgriffe, nächst Jacob Grimms *Deutscher Mythologie* als die hervorragendste Leistung auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Mythologie gelten. Aber ein Unstern hat über dem Werke gewaltet. Eine englische Übersetzung des ersten Bandes von R. B. Anderson folgte zwar der schwedischen Ausgabe auf dem Fusse (*Teutonic Mythology*, by V. Rydberg, London, Swan Sonnenschein, 1889). Aber die Aufnahme entsprach wenig den Erwartungen des Verlegers. Rydberg war seinen Zeitgenossen zu weit vorausgeeilt. Seine Methode trat nicht nur in Mitbewerb mit der althergebrachten Mythendeutung, sondern auch mit einer neuen Theorie, die den kunstvollen Teppich der germanischen Mythologie als ein aus Lappen mittelalterlicher Gelehrsamkeit und christlicher Theologie zusammengenähtes Flickwerk ansah. Das Prinzip der Entlehnung erschien einstweilen noch einleuchtender als Rydbergs Versuch, mit Hülfe der altindischen und der germanischen Überlieferung die Sagenwelt der indogermanischen Urzeit wiederherzustellen. So blieb es denn bei der Übersetzung des ersten Bandes, die der Verleger im J. 1891 (nach dem Abschlusse des zweiten Bandes der schwedischen Original-Ausgabe) mit einem neuen Titelblatte ausgehen liess, aus welchem nicht zu ersehen war, dass diese Übersetzung sich auf den ersten Band beschränkte. Infolge dessen liegt noch manches von den Aufstellungen Rydbergs in dem zweiten Bande der schwedischen Ausgabe als ungehobener Schatz verborgen, vor allem auch die systematische Zusammenfassung seiner Ansichten am Anfange dieses Bandes (S. 1–202).

In den vierzig Jahren, die inzwischen vergangen sind, hat die mythologische Wissenschaft keineswegs brach gelegen. Dabei hat namentlich auch die mit der Erforschung der Volksüberlieferung (*folklore*) zusammen arbeitende allgemeinvergleichende Mythologie eifrige Pflege gefunden. Das Ziel ist hier freilich ein andres als es Rydberg vorschwebte. Die mythologische Wissenschaft will nicht der Erkenntnis kultureller Entwicklung—sei es eines Volkes oder einer Gruppe eng zusammengehöriger Völker—dienen, arbeitet nicht in erster Linie mit der Philologie zusammen, sondern sucht gleichartige Anschauungen bei verschiedenen Völkern aufzufinden und Typen festzu-

¹ d.i. die weithin glänzende.

legen, die sich im Laufe der Zeit stetig wiederholen. Ein Zusammenhang also besteht hier, ausser mit dem 'folklore', vorzugsweise mit der Völkerpsychologie. Beide Arten der mythologischen Forschungsind gleichberechtigt und auf gegenseitige Förderung angewiesen. Besonders anregend und förderlich hat auf dem Gebiete der allgemeinen Mythologie das bekannte Werk des englischen Gelehrten James Geo. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* gewirkt, das zuerst vor nahezu nunmehr Jahren (London, 1890) erschien, und jetzt in der 3. Auflage auf zwölf Bände angewachsen ist. Speziell interessieren uns hier die beiden Abteilungen, welche jetzt den Titel tragen: 'Adonis, Attis, Osiris' (part iv = vols. v and vi) und 'Balder the Beautiful' (part vii = vols. x and xi). Nach Frazers Annahme gehören die hier auf dem Titelblatte genannten Gottheiten demselben mythologischen Typus an. Typen dieser Art haben nun freilich an sich keinen Anspruch auf geschichtlichen Zusammenhang unter einander. Ebenso wenig ist ein solcher Zusammenhang von vornherein ausgeschlossen. Tatsächlich haben Frazers Aufstellungen über Balder, Adonis usw. etwa von Frdr. Kauffmanns Buche (*Balder*, Strassburg, 1902) ab die neuere Forschung über den germanischen Mythos von Balder stark beeinflusst, und haben dann während des letzten Jahrzehnts zu sehr wichtigen Untersuchungen über den geschichtlichen Zusammenhang dieses Mythos mit altorientalischen (und zwar vorwiegend nicht-indogermanischen) Mythen geführt. Es gehören hierher vor allem die beiden Schriften: Gustav Neckel, *Die Überlieferungen vom Gotte Balder*, Dortmund, 1920, und Franz Rolf Schröder, *Germanentum und Hellenismus*, Heidelberg, 1924. Neckel legt besonders Gewicht auf die Berührungen Balders mit dem babylonischen Mythos vom Gotte Tamuz und den kleinasiatischen von Attis oder Adonis, während Schröder hervorhebt, dass der ägyptische Osiris wohl noch grösseren Anspruch auf enge Verwandschaft mit Balder hat. Dass nach beiden die germanische Überlieferung auf späterer Entlehnung aus dem Oriente beruht, sei ausdrücklich bemerkt. Ob und wie weit sie darin Recht haben, ist eine andre Frage. Übrigens bedeutet ja auch Entlehnung einen geschichtlichen Zusammenhang. Von Yima (bezw. Yama), der dem germanischen Balder am nächsten steht, ist bei Neckel, so viel ich sehe, gar nicht die Rede, bei Schröder nur beiläufig. Wir glauben nicht fehl zu gehen, wenn wir in den Ergebnissen ihrer Arbeiten zunächst eine Bestätigung (wenn nicht durchaus, doch im wesentlichen) der Ansichten Rydbergs sehen, zugleich aber aus ihnen entnehmen, dass der Yimamythos sich zurückverfolgen lässt auf die babylonische Überlieferung von Tamuz und die ägyptische von Osiris.

Ehe wir auf Probleme dieser Art weiter eingehen, wird es nötig sein, zunächst bei der Stellung Yimas im Avesta zu verweilen.

II. Yima in den Gāthās

Es empfiehlt sich, wenn wir von Yima sprechen, die Gāthās und das jüngere Avesta getrennt zu behandeln. In den Gāthās ist von ihm bekanntlich nur einmal in der Strophe Ys. xxxii. 8 die Rede. Sie lautet in Bartholomae's Übersetzung (*Die Gatha's des Avesta übersetzt*, Strassburg, 1905):

'Zu diesen Frevlern gehört, wie bekannt, auch Yima, der Sohn des

Vivahvant, der, um die Menschen zufrieden zu stellen, den Unsrigen die Fleischstücke zu essen gab. Von ihnen werde ich, o *Maxdāh*, künftig von Dir geschieden sein.'

Offenbar haben wir es mit Worten zu tun, die auf Zoroaster selbst zurückgehen, deren Deutung aber den Erklärern und Übersetzern von der Zeit der Pehlevi-Übersetzung ab bis auf die Gegenwart nicht leicht geworden ist. Die Schwierigkeiten liegen vor allem in der mittleren Zeile der Strophe, die im Urtext lautet:

yē mašiyēng čixšnušō | ahmākēng gāuš bagā xvāremnō.

Die Interpretation dieses Relativsatzes hängt vor allem von der Auffassung des Wortes *čixšnušō* ab. Obwohl dasselbe nach M. Haug (*Die fünf Gāthā's . . . Zarathustra's . . .* i, Leipzig, 1858, S. 170) an sich eine fünffache Erklärung zulässt, so handelt es sich doch tatsächlich nur um die Wahl zwischen zwei verschiedenen Deutungen. Die Tradition (über die man sich in dem Werke von Laur. H. Mills, *A Study of the five Zarathushtrian Gāthās, with texts and translations*, Leipsic, 1894, S. 96 f., unterrichten kann) zieht *čixšnušō* anscheinend zu dem Verbum *xšnā-* 'kennen', 'kennen lernen'. Daher dann die Übersetzung 'welcher (uns) Menschen lehrte Fleisch in Stücken zu essen'. Das Wort *bagā* (ntr. plur.) 'Portionen' wird dabei näher bestimmt als 'Stücke des Opferfleisches von der Grösse der Brust und der Länge des Arms', oder, wie E.W. West bei Mills, *SBE*. xxxi. 61 n., gewiss richtiger übersetzt: 'in lapfuls and armfuls'. Dieser Auffassung haben sich z. B. Spiegel in seiner *Avesta-Übersetzung*, ii., Leipzig, 1859, S. 127, Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, Berlin, 1863, S. 26, und Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, Leipzig, 1864, s.v. *cikhshnusha* angeschlossen. Inzwischen aber hat sich herausgestellt, dass *čixšnušō* an unsrer Stelle wie überall sonst im Avesta (auch z. B. Ys. xlvi. 1, wo Spiegel und Justi es anders übersetzen) die Bedeutung 'zufrieden zu stellen suchend' hat. Wir haben es mit einem alten, zu dem Desiderativstamme *čixšnuš-* gehörigen Partizipium mit adjektivischer Endung zu tun. Hierin sind sich, so viel ich sehe, alle neueren Erklärer einig. Trotzdem ist die ehemalige Auffassung auch heute noch nicht völlig überwunden. Ihre Nachwirkung wenigstens liegt auch in Bartholomae's *Altiran. Wtb.* (s.v. 'x^{ar}, Sp. 1866) und in seiner Übersetzung der Gāthās (S. 33, Anm. 6) noch offen zu Tage und hindert demgemäss an dem vollen Verständnis der Strophe, auf die es uns hier ankommt.

Zunächst sei bemerkt, dass die traditionelle Auffassung ehemals und in neuerer Zeit mit einer von drei Annahmen Hand in Hand geht, in denen man leicht Versuche erkennt, den Sinn der vermeintlichen alten Überlieferung, Yima habe die Menschen gelehrt, Stücke Fleisch zu essen, genauer zu erfassen oder ansprechend auszulegen. Liest man die Darstellung von Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, S. 26 f., so mag es scheinen, als verträgen sie sich ganz gut mit einander. Tatsächlich aber besagen sie nicht dasselbe, obwohl sie sich nahe stehen und anscheinend auf die gleiche Interpretation der alten Gāthā-Strophe zurückgehen.

(1) Es soll sich bei den Stücken Fleisch um Opferfleisch handeln, und zwar

soll Yima die Menschen gelehrt haben, das Fleisch in Stücken beim Opfer zu essen (Dies nach Windischmann der Sinn der Überlieferung in Neriosenghs Übersetzung und in der Huzvarešh-Übersetzung von Ys. xxxii. 8).

(2) Nach Firdausi assen, wie Windischmann erwähnt, die Menschen zu Yimas Zeit noch kein Fleisch (Firdausis Darstellung mag aus der eben erwähnten Auffassung erwachsen sein, geht aber offenbar über sie hinaus).

(3) Aus der Bemerkung Neriosenghs zu Ys. ix. 4 entnimmt Windischmann a.a.O., 'dass die Unsterblichkeit der Menschen zu Yimas Zeit durch die Fleischspeise bewirkt wurde, die er ihnen reichte'. Ähnlich die Erläuterung der Pehlevi-Übersetzung zu Ys. ix. 1, die man in Bartholomaeus *Altiran. Wtb.* s.v. 'x^{ar}' (Sp. 1866) angeführt und übersetzt findet. Sie besagt: '... die, welche das Fleisch des Yam assen und in denen der Leib unsterblich gemacht wurde.'

(Die unter Nr. 1 und Nr. 3 angeführten Stellen lassen sich vermitteln, wenn man annimmt, dass die dem Yima als Opfer dargebrachten Fleischstücke dieselben waren welche er seinen Verehrern zu essen gab.)

Es wird nicht nötig sein, bei diesen Auslegungen länger zu verweilen. Wir dürfen sie sämtlich als Produkte der Avesta-Interpretation der Sassanidenzeit ansehen und können auf sie verzichten, wenn es sich darum handelt, uns die Strophe Ys. xxxii. 8 im Sinne Zoroasters klar zu machen.

In grammatischer Hinsicht ist nur zu bemerken, dass wir uns das zu *xvāremno* zu ergänzende Hüfszeitwort am natürlichsten in der Präsensform (d.h. als *asti*) denken werden. Dann heisst *yē . . . xvāremno* 'der zu essen gibt'. Die Erklärung wird auf Abwege geraten, wenn sie nicht eine stilistische oder rhetorische Eigenheit in der Ausdrucksweise Zoroasters berücksichtigt. Wie er in den Anfangsstrophen dieser Gāthā die Dēvs zur Rede stellt für die Taten, welche ihnen zugeschrieben werden, so macht er hier Yima verantwortlich für die Hoffnungen, welche der Volksglaube auf ihn setzt. Es ist das eine konkrete, bildliche Form der Darstellung, die den Zuhörern des Propheten ebenso natürlich und selbstverständlich erschien, wie ihm selber. Sodann müssen wir in Erinnerung behalten, dass Yima nach dem alten Volksglauben nicht nur ein irdischer König war, sondern auch, wie Yama bei den Indern, der mächtige Herrscher, in dessen Reich die würdigen Toten beim Verlassen des irdischen Daseins eingehen. Sie hoffen unter seiner Herrschaft ein Leben in Herrlichkeit und Freude zu führen, eine sorgenlose Existenz, bei der vor allem auch für Essen und Trinken reichlich gesorgt ist. Zoroaster drückt dies so aus, dass Yima ihnen Fleisch in Hülle und Fülle geben will. Also:

'Zu diesen Frevlern wird auch Yima, des Vivahvant Sohn, gerechnet, der um die Menschen zufrieden zu stellen [d.h., um ihre Erwartungen vom künftigen Leben zu erfüllen] unsren Leuten grosse Portionen Rindfleisch zu essen gibt.'

Einer Erörterung bedarf noch der Schluss der Strophe, der im Originaltexte lautet:

aēšqm cīṭ ā ahmā | θwahnī mazdā viciθōi aipi.

Das übersetzte Spiegel im J. 1859 (*Avesta-Üb.* ii. 127) der Tradition folgend: 'Von diesen will ich von dir unterschieden werden, Mazda', und ähnlich,

so viel ich sehe, alle neueren Erklärer und Übersetzer, mit Ausnahme etwa von Justi. Letzterer bemerkt in seinem *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, s.v. *vicitha* (S. 278): '*thwahnā vicithōi . . . aipī* in deiner Entscheidung bin ich, d.h. es steht bei dir, ob du mich zu den Guten oder Bösen rechnen willst.' Man mag sagen, die beiden Auffassungen ständen einander nicht notwendig im Wege. Auch scheint Justi sich der Spiegelschen Auffassung unter *ā* (S. 47) zu nähern, wo er sagt: '*aēshāmciť ā* unter, von ihnen (will ich unterschieden sein) Ys. xxxii. 8.' Aber lassen wir uns dadurch nicht abhalten, die Gegensätze, wie sie hier in grammatischer und lexikalischer Hinsicht unter den Erklärern bestehen, näher ins Auge zu fassen. Besonders lehrreich ist es auch hier wieder, Bartholomae's Altiranisches Wörterbuch heranzuziehen. Sein Werk ist in vieljährigem Ringen mit den Schwierigkeiten entstanden, welche die Erklärung des Avesta von je her geboten hat. Zu seinem Lobe muss vor allem gesagt werden, dass er keine Schwierigkeit zu umgehen oder zu vertuschen sucht und genaue Rechenschaft über seine Auffassung jeder einzelnen Stelle des überlieferten Textes ablegt. Im Streben nach Klarheit ist er ein gestrenger Richter nicht nur über die Vergehen andrer, sondern auch über Mängel in seinen eigenen Arbeiten. Wir würden schwerlich im Sinne des verstorbenen Forschers handeln, wenn wir glaubten, zum Danke für seine Bemühungen auf weitere Mitarbeit verzichten zu müssen.

Im vorliegenden Falle geht Bartholomae von der Voraussetzung aus, *vicitha* bedeute hier 'Scheidung', 'Sonderung' (Sp. 1437). Dieser Auffassung zuliebe legt er dem *ā* vor *ahmī* die Bedeutung 'von her-', 'weg' bei (Sp. 301). Das Wort *aipī* am Schlusse der Strophe fasst er (Sp. 83) in Übereinstimmung mit der Tradition als Adverb im Sinne von 'hernach', 'später', 'künftighin'.

Ich vermag mich, vorwiegend aus lexikalischen und grammatischen Gründen, keiner dieser drei Wortdeutungen anzuschliessen.

(1) Zunächst heisst *vicitha* an den beiden andren Stellen, wo es im Avesta vorkommt (Ys. xxx. 2 und Ys. xlv. 18; beide Stellen in den *Gāthās*) 'Entscheidung'. Es liegt kein Grund vor, ihm an unsrer Stelle, wo es sich um die Entscheidung zwischen Yima und Ahuramazda (bezw. der Rolle, welche ihnen in der Lehre vom Jenseits zugeschrieben wird) handelt, eine andre Bedeutung beizulegen.

(2) Die übliche Erklärung des *ā*, der ich mich anschliesse, geht dahin, es als Postposition zu dem pronominalen Gen. Pl. *aēšām* anzusehen. Weniger einleuchtend ist die Annahme, die sich meist damit verbindet, dieser Gen. Pl. stehe statt des Ablativs. Denn wenn sich auch im Singular bei den meisten Deklinationen der Form nach keine feste Grenze zwischen Genitiv und Ablativ ziehen lässt, so trifft dies doch für den Plural nicht zu. Hier berührt sich vielmehr der Ablativ in der Formenbildung aufs engste mit dem Dativ, während er sich vom Genitiv deutlich abhebt. Man würde also, wenn durch *ā* der Begriff 'hinweg von' ausgedrückt werden sollte, statt *aēšēm-ciť* vielmehr *aēibyas-ciť* erwarten. Anders wenn wir *ā* im Sinne von 'bei', 'in bezug auf', 'betreffs' fassen. Die Verwendung des Genitivs bei *ā* in dieser Bedeutung hat ja auch sonst Parallelen (ich würde dahin auch manche Formen rechnen, die Bartholomae als Ablative deutet, z. B. *nemanhō ā* Ys. xlv. 9). Es kommt hinzu,

dass *aśām* an unsrer Stelle dem Sinne nach zugleich von *viciḍḍi* abhängt: 'auch bei der Entscheidung hierüber' oder 'auch bei dem Schiedspruche hinsichtlich dieser Frevel'.

(3) In der Erklärung des Wortes *aipi* am Schlusse der Strophe scheint mir Hübschmann, *Zur Casuslehre* S. 251 den richtigen Weg eingeschlagen zu haben, wenn er *aipi* als 'Präposition' (im vorliegenden Falle 'Postposition') mit dem Locativ *viciḍḍi* verbindet. Eine andre Frage ist es, ob wir *aipi* hier mit Hübschmann als 'gemäss' fassen dürfen. Er beruft sich dafür S. 207 auf Gr. *ἐν τοῖς νόμοις* 'den Gesetzen gemäss'. Aber das ist ein spezieller Gebrauch, der leicht irre führt, wenn man von ihm aus die Bedeutung und die syntaktische Verwendung des Wortes zu bestimmen sucht. Es liegt näher, das vedische Sanskrit zum Vergleiche heranzuziehen, zumal dort mehrfach die unsrer Stelle genau entsprechende Konstruktion des Lokativs mit *āpi* bei dem Verbum *as-(mī)* begegnet. Z. B.

sārvā tā tē āpi dēvēṣu astu (RV. i. 162, 8, 9, 14): 'alles das sei dein eigen [wörtlich: bei dir] bei den Göttern'.

tāsya vayāṁ sumatai yajñtyasya | āpi bhadre saumanasē syāma (RV. iii. 1, 21—vi. 47, 13; vgl. x. 14, 6): 'mögen wir in seiner Huld, des heiligen, in seinem segensreichen Wohlwollen verbleiben.' (Weitere Beispiele ähnlicher Art gibt Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum RV*, unter *āpi* und *as* 1).

Wir dürfen also auch an unsrer Stelle *aipi* als Präposition (Postposition) in der Bedeutung 'bei' oder 'in' fassen, und gewinnen damit für den Schluss der Strophe die einfache Übersetzung:

'Auch in bezug auf sie verbleibe ich, o [Ahura] mazda, bei deiner Entscheidung.' In freierer Übersetzung: 'Auch hierüber, o Ahuramazda, will ich Dir die Entscheidung anheimstellen.'

Wie immer wir diese Strophe der Gāthās auffassen, ob im Einklang mit der Tradition oder in der hier vorgeschlagenen Weise: sie klingt wie eine Absage an Yima. Wir erhalten den Eindruck, dass Zoroaster es ablehnt, mit ihm gemeinschaftliche Sache zu machen. Der Grund der Absage ist leicht verständlich. Er liegt in der Stellung, welche Yima im Volksglauben als Herrscher des Paradieses im zukünftigen Leben einnahm. Wollte Zoroaster den leitenden Gesichtspunkten seiner eigenen Lehre getreu bleiben, so musste er die aus der indo-iranischen Zeit ererbte Eschatologie gänzlich verwerfen. Die Rolle, welche Yima in ihr spielte, vertrug sich zu wenig mit der strengen Vergeltungslehre des Reformators. Wurde doch Yima die Entscheidung über Fragen zugewiesen, in welchen, nach Zoroasters Lehre Ahuramazda selber das letzte Wort zu sprechen hatte. Auch vertrug sich das künftige Leben in Saus und Braus, unter der Führung Yimas, wie es die alte Mythologie sich ausmalte, schwerlich mit den Erwartungen, welche Zoroaster vom Leben im Jenseits hegte. So blieb ihm nichts übrig, als auf die Entthronung Yimas als König der Seligen zu dringen. Die Folgezeit hat ihm darin—wenn auch vielleicht schweren Herzens—unbedingt nachgegeben.

III. Yima im Jüngeren Avesta

Der Kampf um Anerkennung, den wir Zoroaster in dem Gāthās führen sehen, gehört für das Jüngere Avesta der Vergangenheit an. 'Die neue Lehre hat', wie K. Geldner¹ sich völlig zutreffend ausdrückt, 'bereits Länder erobert und die Gestalt ihres Stifters verschwimmt in dem Nebel einer fernen Vergangenheit.' Aber sie konnte den Sieg nur dadurch erringen, dass sie dem Volksglauben gegenüber eine versöhnliche Haltung einnahm und ihm in Dingen, die den inneren Kern der Zoroastrischen Lehre nicht zu berühren schienen, mancherlei Zugeständnisse machte. Diesem Umstande haben wir es zu danken, dass sich ein beträchtlicher Teil der altüberlieferten Sagen in verjüngter, der neuen Lehre angepasster Gestalt in das Avesta hinübergerettet hat. Dabei zeigt das Jüngere Avesta für Yima eine ähnliche Vorliebe wie für Haoma. Folgende Stellen kommen für uns hauptsächlich in Betracht²:

Ys. ix. 3-5: Vivahvant u. Yima als Verehrer Haomas. Kurze Schilderung des Goldenen Zeitalters unter der Regierung Yimas.

(Metrische Herstellung von Geldner, *Metrik des Jüngeren Avesta*, S. 123. Englische Übersetzung von M. Haug in seinen *Essays*, 1862, ed. by E. W. West, 3. ed, London, 1887, p. 176,—§ 5 im Original mit Umschrift und metrischer Übersetzung bei A.V.W. Jackson, *Avesta Grammar*, p. xxxvi.)

Vd. ii: Im Auftrage Ahuramazdas baut Yima seine Burg (*Var*).

(Übersetzung, mit Anmerkungen, von Geldner: *KZ.* xxv, S. 179-192.—Vgl. Hübschmann, *ZDMG.* xxviii. S. 83 u. *KZ.* xxvii. S. 93-95.—Br. Lindner, 'Die iranische Flutsage' im *Festgruss an R. v. Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, S. 213-216.)

Yt. xix (*Zamyād Yašt*), 30-38 u. 46: Yima gewinnt und verliert die königliche Herrlichkeit.

(Yt. xix, in rekonstruiertem Text, mit Übersetzung u. Anmerkungen von Bartholomae, *Arische Forschungen* i, Halle, 1882, S. 99-147; übersetzt und erklärt von Geldner, *Drei Yasht aus dem Zendavesta*, Stuttgart, 1884, S. 1-60. Vgl. über Spityura, den Bruder Yimas, R. von Stackelberg, *WZKM.* xii, 1898, S. 245 f.)

Yt. v (*Abān Yašt*), 25-27: Yima als einer der Anbeter und Schützlinge der Ardvī Sūra Anāhita.

(Yt. v, übersetzt von Geldner, mit Anmerkungen, *KZ.* xxv. 378-404.)

Yt. xvii (*Art Yašt*), 27-31: Yima als einer der Anbeter und Schützlinge der Göttin Aši-vanuhi.

(Yt. xvii in wiederhergestelltem Text mit Übersetzung u. Anmerkungen von Bartholomae, *ZDMG.* xxxvi, S. 560 ff.; übersetzt und erklärt von

¹ *Über die Metrik des Jüngeren Avesta*, Tübingen, 1877, S.W.

² Ich führe nur zerstreute Special-Literatur an, die ich benutzt habe, keine Ausgaben oder Übersetzungen des gesamten Avesta. Für die Originaltexte kommen ausser den Gesamtausgaben die Handbücher und Chrestomathien der Avestasprache in Betracht. Besonders reichhaltig ist in bezug auf Texte, die sich auf Yima beziehen, Geigers *Handbuch der Avestasprache*, Erlangen, 1879. Ys. ix, sicher der am häufigsten gedruckte Abschnitt des Avesta, ist fast in jeder Auswahl von Lesestücken zu finden.

Geldner, *Drei Yasht*, S. 93–123.—Yt. xv, der zunächst mit Yt. v und Yt. xvii auf einer Linie zu stehen scheint, übergehe ich hier, weil er offenbar jüngeren Datums ist.)

Yt. xiii (*Farvardin Yašt*), 130: Der Schutzgeist des Yima findet seinen Platz unter denen der heiligen Könige der Vorzeit.

(Yt. xiii ist die Allerheiligen-Litanei der Zoroastrischen Kirche. Eine Übersetzung mit Anmerkungen hat Geldner, *KZ.* xxv. 532–563, gegeben.)

Diese Texte sind vorwiegend in metrischer Form abgefasst, wollen also in erster Linie als geistliche Dichtungen, nicht als alltägliche Prosa gelten. Wir müssen ihren Verfassern das Vorrecht einräumen, das jeder Dichter beanspruchen kann: sich in bildlicher Sprache auszudrücken und auf unsre Einbildungskraft nicht weniger als unsren Verstand zu wirken. Mit Vorliebe wird namentlich abstrakten Fragen eine konkrete Form dadurch gegeben, dass sie zum Gegenstande eines Gespräches zwischen bekannten Persönlichkeiten gemacht werden. Statt z. B. zu behaupten, die Verehrung Haomas vertrage sich mit der Religion des Zoroaster, erzählt der Dichter (Ys. ix), wie Haoma sich eines Morgens bei Zoroaster einfindet und letzterer sich zunächst nach seinem Namen erkundigt, um ihn dann seines Wohlwollens zu versichern. Der Dichter durfte gewiss darauf rechnen, durch diese Art der Darstellung seine Zuhörer zu überzeugen und ihren Beifall zu gewinnen.

Eine ähnliche bildliche Einkleidung wie Ys. ix, zeigt Vd. ii. Es werden hier zunächst Zoroaster und Ahura Mazda, dann letzterer und Yima im Gespräche vorgeführt. Auf Zoroasters Anfrage bei Ahura Mazda hin, wem er sich zuerst ausser ihm geoffenbart habe, teilt der Gott ihm mit, es sei dies der treffliche, mächtige Yima gewesen. Ihn habe er in dem Glauben des Ahura und Zarathuštra unterwiesen und habe ihn aufgefordert, ihm ein Schüler und Sendbote des Glaubens zu sein. Yima aber habe ihm geantwortet:

‘Ich bin nicht geeignet noch erfahren
für einen Schüler und Sendboten des Glaubens.’

Daraufhin habe er Yima ersucht, sich seiner (des Ahura Mazda) Geschöpfe anzunehmen, um sie gedeihen und sich vermehren zu lassen und ihnen ein Hüter, Beschirmer und Aufseher zu sein. Yima nimmt diesen Auftrag an und führt—wie wir uns ausdrücken würden—das goldene Zeitalter herbei.¹ Ahura Mazda erzählt sodann dem Zarathuštra von dem weiteren Verlaufe der goldenen Zeit. Darauf folgt (von § 21 ab) ein Bericht darüber, wie Yima seine Burg (*vara-*) im Auftrage des Ahura Mazda baut, der ihm über alles Einzelne genaue Anweisung gibt.

Eine eingehende Prüfung dieses Kapitels, auf die wir uns hier nicht einlassen können, würde wohl zu dem Ergebnisse führen, dass wir es mit einer eigenartigen Dichtung zu tun haben, welche einen Teil der alten Sage von Yima der Religion des Zoroaster anpassen und einverleiben will, zugleich aber versucht, die einheimische (altiranische) Überlieferung durch Benutzung

¹ Man übersehe nicht, dass ein goldenes Szepter (oder Stab) und ein vergoldeter Ochsenstachel in Yima's Händen dabei eine Rolle spielen.

auswärtiger (anscheinend babylonischer) Quellen zu ergänzen. Im ganzen genommen bleibt das Kapital ein beachtenswertes Zeugnis für die wichtige Stellung, welche Yima im altiranischen Volksglauben einnahm. Wir dürfen dabei die Angabe, dass Yima die Aufgabe ablehnt, die später Zarathuštra übernimmt, dahin verstehen, dass ein Teil der Sagen von Yima sich beim besten Willen mit der Lehre Zoroasters nicht vereinigen liess. Man hatte hier nur die Wahl zwischen Yima und Zoroaster, und entschied sich natürlich für letzteren. Kann es sich hierbei um etwas anderes handeln, als um die Stellung, welche Yima vor dem Auftreten Zoroasters in der Lehre vom Jenseits einnahm? Über diese Seite des Yima gibt das jüngere Avesta keine Auskunft, teilt also die ablehnende Haltung, die uns in den Gāthās entgegentrat. Yima ist überall im Jüngeren Avesta nur der treffliche und mächtige König der Vorzeit. Hinsichtlich der Eschatologie, in der er ursprünglich die Hauptrolle spielte, ist er von jedem Anteile ausgeschlossen.¹ Dabei ward ihm auch im kirchlichen Kult keine hervorragende Stellung eingeräumt. Die einzige Auszeichnung, welche ihm verblieb, besteht darin, dass (vgl. Yt. xiii. 130) am Feste der Fravashis, das an den fünf Schalttagen und den fünf ersten Tagen des neuen Jahres gefeiert wurde (s. z. B. Spiegel, *Eran. Altertumskunde*, iii. 577 und 707) sein Schutzgeist zusammen mit dem andrer Könige der Vorzeit, in das Gebet eingeschlossen und etwa mit Spenden von Blumen, Früchten, Milch, Wein, Fleisch oder Backwerk bedacht werden durfte.

Wenn somit Yima in der Zoroastrischen Religion seit geraumer Zeit eine untergeordnete Stelle einnimmt, so ist doch die Erinnerung an ihn bei den heutigen Parsen, oder wenigstens bei den Gelehrten unter ihnen, auch jetzt noch nicht völlig verblasst. Einen interessanten Beleg dafür gewährt ein Aufsatz des Mannes, dem wir den gegenwärtigen Band darbringen, Dasturji Cursetji Erachji Pavry, über 'The Wonders of the Golden Age of Jamshid' in seinen *Iranian Studies*, pp. 130–57. Ich möchte auf diese Studie hiermit zur Ergänzung meiner obigen Darstellung nachdrücklich hinweisen.

IV. 'Yimō xšaētō' (*Djemšid*) und ved. 'kṣaitaḥ'.

Häufig begegnet im Jüngeren Avesta der Name Yima in Verbindung mit dem Worte *xšaēta-*, das wir der Grammatik nach als Substantiv oder Adjektiv ansehen können: *Yimō xšaētō* Ys. ix. 4; Vd. ii. 20 (späten Ursprungs); Yt. v. 25; xvii. 28, 31; xix. 34; *Yimem xšaētem* Yt. xix. 31; *Yimāi xšaētāi* Vd. xix. 39; *Yimaṭ haça xšaētāṭ* Yt. xix. 35 (vgl. Justi, *Handbuch*, S. 93; Bartholomae,

¹ Ich darf bei den Lesern Bekanntschaft mit der Zoroastrischen Lehre von den letzten Dingen voraussetzen, möchte aber doch, besonders auch der Literaturangaben halber, auf die Darstellung in A. V. W. Jackson's *Zoroastrian Studies*, New York, 1928, pp. 143–52 (auch z. B. Jackson in *The Biblical World*, vol. viii, Chicago, 1896, pp. 149–68) und die Monographie von Dr. Jal Dastur Cursetji Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, vol. xi, New York, 1929, verweisen. Letztere Schrift zeichnet sich nicht nur durch umfassende Heranziehung der Quellen aus alter, mittlerer und neuer Zeit aus, sondern namentlich auch durch die genaue Scheidung der verschiedenen Perioden und gesonderte Behandlung der einzelnen Schriften innerhalb jeder dieser Perioden. Nur auf diese Weise liess sich ein völlig zuverlässiges und klares Bild der gesamten Überlieferung geben. Wir sehen erwartungsvoll dem vom Verfasser in Aussicht gestellten zweiten und dritten Teil seiner Monographie entgegen.

Air. Wtb., Sp. 541). Es muss sich dabei um etwas handeln, was für Yimas Wesen oder Stellung fast selbstverständlich war. Denn das Beiwort verwächst im Laufe der Zeit mit dem Eigennamen so völlig, dass schliesslich die Zusammenrückung (*Djemsid* bei Firdausi) an die Stelle des einfachen Namens tritt.

Der Gebrauch dieses Beiwortes beschränkt sich im Avesta nicht auf Yima. Es wird zunächst auch in Verbindung mit andren göttlichen oder halb-göttlichen Wesen gebraucht, z. B. *Apam Napāt* und den *Ameša Spentas*, weiter auch z. B. von den Sternen und der Morgenröte. (Man sehe die Nachweise bei Justi und Bartholomae, a.a.O.)

Besondere Beachtung verdient die Zusammenrückung *hware-xšaēte-m* (ntr.) als Bezeichnung der Sonne (Justi, S. 333, Bartholomae, Sp. 1848). Hier steht zunächst nichts im Wege, *xšaētem* als ein dem Substantiv *hware* (ntr.) 'Sonne' beigeordnetes Adjektiv zu fassen. Aber es vollzieht sich hier schon im Avesta ein ähnlicher Wandel, wie wir ihn später bei *Yimō xšaētō* beobachten: das Beiwort verschmilzt mit dem Hauptworte zu einem einheitlichen Begriffe, der wesentlich mit dem des Hauptwortes zusammenfällt. Es genügt daher, die Flexion an nur einem der beiden ursprünglichen Bestandteile des einheitlichen Wortes zu bezeichnen, und zwar gibt das Hauptwort seine Flexion auf. Daher z. B. im Genitiv sg. *hwarexšaētahē* statt *hurō xšaētahē*.—Im Neupersischen entspricht *xuršēd* (oder *xuršid*) als gangbares Wort für Sonne (P. Horn, *Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymologie*, Nr. 506). Daneben begegnen *xur* (ebd. Nr. 505) und *šēd* (ebd. Nr. 801) in derselben Bedeutung.

In der einheimischen Tradition, von der wir zunächst Aufklärung erwarten, treten deutlich zwei verschiedene Auffassungen hervor. Gewöhnlich wird *xšaēta* als Adjektiv mit der Bedeutung 'glänzend' (Pehl. *rōšn* oder *šēt*¹), bei Nériosengh *tejasvin*) gefasst. Eine abweichende Erklärung wird nur an einer Stelle gegeben, nämlich Ys. xxvi. 3, wo *xšaēta* (im Gen. pl.) als Beiwort oder Titel der Ameshaspands dient. Hier weisen die Pehl.-Übs. mit *xutāi* (d.i. **xudāi*, vgl. Horn, *Neupers. Et.* Nr. 471) und Nériosengh mit *svāmin* gleichmässig auf die Bedeutung 'Herrscher'.

Man erkennt leicht, dass die Tradition unsystematisch verfährt und sozusagen mit sich selbst im Widerspruch steht. Weshalb soll die Stelle Ys. xxvi. 3 eine Ausnahme von den übrigen bilden? Und wenn *xšaēta* auf die Ameshaspands bezogen die Bedeutung 'Herrscher' hat, weshalb nicht diese Bedeutung auch da annehmen, wo es von andren göttlichen Wesen gebraucht wird?

Von neueren Übersetzern ist, so viel ich sehe, nur Spiegel (*Avesta . . . übersetzt*, 3 Bde., Lpz. 1852–63) bereit gewesen, die Inconsequenzen der

¹ *šēt* erscheint nur in Verbindung mit dem Namen Yimas. Offenbar stellt diese Verbindung den Übergang zu der späteren, namentlich aus Firdausi bekannten Weise dar, den Titel *xšaēta* mit dem Namen Yima zu einem Worte zu vereinigen. Von Interesse sind in diesem Zusammenhange zwei moslemitische Geschichtsquellen des 10. Jahrh.: Hamza von Ispahan (um 961 n. Chr.) und das sog. Mujmil. Beide berichten (vgl. Spiegel, *Er. Alt. k.* I, 522), Jamshed (= Djemsid) habe eigentlich *jam* oder *jem* geheissen; das beigefügte *shēd* bedeute 'glänzend' oder 'Glanz'. Damals also fasste man *šēt* in Übereinstimmung mit dem späteren Sprachgebrauch als gleichbedeutend mit *rōšn*; die alte Bedeutung war zu dieser Zeit längst in Vergessenheit geraten.

Pehlevi-Übersetzung mitzumachen, in Einklang mit seiner Absicht, sich in seiner Übersetzung streng an die traditionelle parsische Auffassung zu halten. Dieser Standpunkt konnte natürlich auf die Dauer nicht genügen. Schon Justi (a.a.O.) sah sich veranlasst, hier von Spiegel abzuweichen. Freilich gilt auch ihm Yima als der glänzende; aber er trägt kein Bedenken, *xšaēta* in allen Fällen, wo es als Beiwort des Apām napāo oder der Ameshaspands erscheint, als 'Herrscher' zu deuten.

Weiter als Justi entfernte sich M. Haug von der Tradition, indem er durchweg die Bedeutung 'Herrscher' oder 'König' in den Vordergrund rückt. Z. B. *An Old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary*, Bombay und London, 1870, p. 213: '*shēd* . . . splendor (according to the Pahlavi translation). Z. *khshaēta*. The proper meaning is, however, "ruler".' *Essays*, ed. by E. W. West, 3rd ed., London, 1884, p. 277: '*Yima* is identical with *Yama*, and *khshaēta* means "king", the same as *rājā*.' Ebd., p. 199: 'the sun is called in the Avesta *hware khshaēta*, "sun the king" (preserved in the modern Persian *khurshēd*, "sun").'

Neuerdings scheint sich die Wagschale mehr zu gunsten des Adjektivs 'glänzend' (shining) zu neigen, z. B. bei Darmesteter, Mills und Bartholomae. Es ist dabei freilich zuweilen, z. B. bei Darmesteter, die Idee im Spiele, für Yima als Sonnengott sei 'glänzend' ein passendes Beiwort ('"the shining Yima" being originally like the Vedic Yama, a solar hero' *SBE*. xxii, Oxford, 1883, p. 60). Die Heranziehung des Sonnengottes führt aber bei Yima stets in die Irre. Bartholomae legt anscheinend Gewicht auf neupersisch *šēd* 'Sonne'. Aber ein Substantiv *xšaēta* gibt es in dieser Bedeutung im Avesta nicht; nur die oben erwähnte unechte Zusammensetzung *hwarexšaētem* = np. *xuršēd*. Aus letzterem wird *šēd* gekürzt sein, nach dem bei Zusammensetzungen stets zulässigen Grundsatz: *pars pro toto* (z. B. engl. *bus* aus *omnibus*). Im ganzen gleicht Bartholomae's Artikel über *xšaēta* in seinem Altiran. Wörterbuch einem Teleskop, in welches man vom verkehrten Ende hinein sieht: er stellt die jüngsten Bedeutungen voran und sucht von ihnen aus die älteren zu verstehen, ohne deren Eigenart zu erkennen. Die eigentliche und in älterer Zeit vorwiegende Bedeutung des Wortes (= Lat. *rex* oder *regius*) findet in seiner Darstellung überhaupt keinen Platz.

Die sinngemässe Deutung des Wortes *xšaēta* werden wir für das Avesta zwischen den beiden Extremen 'König' und 'glänzend' zu suchen haben. Von Haus aus bedeutete das Wort als Substantiv 'Herrscher' oder 'König' oder 'Fürst', als Adjektiv 'königlich' oder 'majestätisch'. Mit dem Begriffe der Herrschaft oder Majestät verknüpft sich als augenfällige Äusserung der des Glanzes und der Pracht. Namentlich neigt das Adjektiv 'majestätisch' zum Übergange in die Bedeutung 'prächtig' und schliesslich 'glänzend'. Dieser Bedeutungswandel ist so natürlich, dass man nach Parallelen ausserhalb des Avesta nicht lange zu suchen braucht. Ähnlicher Art ist z. B. nhd. 'herrlich' neben 'Herr'. Ferner bedeutete das altgermanische Wort *berht-s* 'glänzend' (gotisch *bairhts*, mhd. *berht*, engl. *bright* usw.) von Haus aus 'hoch', 'erhaben'; es hängt zusammen mit nhd. *Berg* (masc.) und av. *berezant* 'hoch'.

Bei dieser Auffassung glaube ich mich in Einklang mit K. Geldner zu befinden, der sich wiederholt über den Gebrauch des Wortes *xšaēta* im Avesta

ausgesprochen hat. Da in Bartholomae's Altiran. Wörterbuch jeder Hinweis auf seine Übersetzungen und Erläuterungen dieses Wortes fehlt, möchte ich wenigstens hier nicht an ihnen vorbeigehen.

Geldner übersetzt *xšaēta* zunächst Ys. ix. 4 in seiner Metrik des Jüngeren Avesta (S. 123) mit 'Herrscher', wählt aber später dafür die mehr charakteristischen Ausdrücke 'Fürst' (KZ. xxv. 384 = Yt. v. 25; *Drei Yasht* S. 18, 19 = Yt. xix. 31, 34, 35) oder 'König' (*Drei Yasht* S. 110 = Yt. xvii. 17, 128).

Den Ausdruck *hware xšaētem* gibt Geldner in seiner Übersetzung von Yt. vi. 1 (KZ. xxv. 405) wieder mit 'die prächtige Sonne'.¹ Er bemerkt dazu: '*hware khshaētem* wörtlich das herrschende dominierende Licht, d.h. das Sonnenlicht *khshaēta* und die anderen Ableitungen wie *khshōithmi* bedeuten nie "glänzend", sondern stets mächtig, vornehm, fürstlich u.s.f.'

Zu *xšaēta*- lautet das Feminin *xšōiθmi*, gebildet wie altind. *pātnī*, gr. *πόρνια* zu dem Masc. *pāti-s*, gr. *πόσις*. Der Unterschied zwischen Substantiv und Adjektiv ist in diesen Fällen beim Femin. ebenso schwankend wie beim Masc. Geldner fasst es Yt. xvii. 1 (*Drei Yasht* aus dem *Zendavesta* übersetzt und erklärt, S. 94) als Subst. in der Bedeutung 'Herrin' und fügt in der Anmerkung hinzu: '*khshōithmi* ist das Feminin zu *khshaēta*. Eine Wurzel *khshi* "glänzen" ist apokryph. Die Sonne, die Morgenröte heissen im Avesta in demselben Sinne *khshaēta*, *khshōithmi*, wie im Veda *surya* und *agni: prabhu* genannt sind. Das deutsche "herrlich" kommt begrifflich beiden Worten am nächsten.'

Ein Wort noch, der Vollständigkeit halber, über das Adjektiv *a-xšaēna*- 'dunkelfarbig', das Bartholomae (*Wtb.*, Sp. 53 und vorher *IF.* v. 360 Anm.) mit *xšaēta*- verbinden möchte, indem er es als 'nichtlicht' deutet. Diese Etymologie ist nicht schlechter, aber auch schwerlich (abgesehen von der berechtigten Bedeutung) viel besser als die frühere Deutung (Justi, *Handbuch*, s.v. *akhshaēna*) im Sinne von 'nicht mager', 'dauerhaft'. Beide Erklärungen gehen von der Voraussetzung aus, der anlautende Vokal sei als 'a privativum' anzusehen. Dieser Auffassung aber steht die Tatsache entgegen, dass der Ausgang *-aēna* bei Adjektiven ein beliebtes sekundäres Suffix ist (vgl. Justi, *Handbuch*, S. 374, § 317; Jackson, *Avesta Grammar*, § 829). Es hat vorwiegend die Bedeutung 'gemacht aus', 'bestehend aus', z. B. *ayanīhaēna* ehern, *erezataēna* silbern, *zaranaēna* golden; diese Bedeutung berührt sich aber gelegentlich mit der von 'aussehend wie', z. B. *temanīhaēna* finster, neben *temah* 'Finsternis'.

¹ Dieser Ausdruck dürfte das avestische *hware xšaētem* so zutreffend wiedergeben, wie es im Deutschen möglich ist. Im Englischen würde etwa 'the glorious Sun' oder 'the gorgeous Sun' entsprechen. Wie man leicht sieht, passen diese Beiwörter auf das Adjektiv *xšaēta* auch in allen andren Fällen, z. B. als Beiwort der Morgenröte oder der Sterne. 'Pracht' schliesst gewissermassen den Glanz mit ein, besagt aber zugleich etwas mehr und macht auf unser Gefühl einen andren Eindruck. Man vergleiche etwa die folgenden Zeilen aus dem Zigeunerliede in der bekannten Oper 'Preciosa' von K. M. Weber:

Die Sonn' erwacht!
Mit ihrer Pracht
Erfüllt sie die Berge, das Tal.

Man lässt leicht ausser Acht (aber Geldner vergisst es nie), dass wir es in den metrischen Stücken des Avesta mit Poesie zu tun haben, und dass es nicht unsre Aufgabe sein kann, ihnen bei der Übersetzung alles, was an dichterische Eigenheit erinnert, abzustreifen.

Darnach liegt es am nächsten, *axšaēna* auf ein verlorenes Substantiv *axš-* von ähnlicher Bedeutung wie das eben genannte *temah* zu beziehen. Das Wort bleibt in jedem Falle problematisch, und ist wenig geeignet, etwaige Schwierigkeiten bei *xšaēta* zu beseitigen.

Erwünschte Aufklärung dagegen über die Herkunft und die ursprüngliche Bedeutung unsres *xšaēta* gewähren zwei vedische Wörter, die bisher anscheinend in diesem Zusammenhange unbeachtet geblieben sind,¹ nämlich *kṣaita-* m. 'Fürst', 'König' und *kṣaita-vant-* Adj. 'fürstlich', 'königlich'. Beide bezeugen nur an je einer Stelle, nämlich²

Rv. ix. 97, 3 (an Soma):

sām u priyó mṛjyate sāno ávye
yaçástaro yaçásām kṣaito asme

Auf wollnem Gipfel wird geklärt der liebe,
der Fürst bei uns beliebter als beliebte. (*Grassmann*)

Dear, he is brightened on the fleecy summit,
a Prince among us, nobler than the noble. (*Griffith*)

Rv. vi. 2, 1 (an Agni)

Tvám hi kṣaitavád yāçah
agne mitró ná pátyase

Du, Agni, hast, dem Mitra gleich,
zu eigen königliche Zier. (*Grassmann*)

Thou, Agni, even as Mitra, hast
a princely glory of thine own. (*Griffith*)

Das Adjektiv *kṣaitavat* lässt darauf schliessen, dass es neben dem Masc. *kṣaitah* 'Herrscher' früher (vor der Zeit des Rigveda) auch ein Neutrum *kṣaita-m* 'Herrschaft' gegeben hat. Denn das Suffix *va(n)t* hat, wie *ma(n)t*, possessive Bedeutung. Beide verhalten sich zu einander, wie im Rv. *kṣatriya-h* m. 'Herrscher' und *kṣatriya-m* n. 'Herrschaft'.

Wir haben es mit uralten Wörtern der Dichtersprache zu tun, die nur noch eben in die Zeit der Veden hineinragen; *kṣaita-* wurde als Ehrentitel für Götter bald durch *rājā* und *kṣatriya* ersetzt. Dass der Titel *kṣaita-* ursprünglich auch Yama, ja ihm vorzugsweise, zukam, lässt sich zwar aus den Veden nicht nachweisen, aber doch im Hinblick auf das Avesta mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit vermuten. Es ist dabei nicht gleichgültig, dass gerade der dem avestischen Haoma entsprechende Soma im Rv. den Titel *kṣaēta* erhält. Denn zwischen ihm und Yama (Yima) besteht von Alters her enge Freundschaft. So erklärt es sich, dass im Avesta (Ys. ix. 4, 5) die Schilderung des Goldenen Zeitalters unter Yimas Regierung dem Haoma in den Mund gelegt wird und

¹ Die beiden Wörter wurden ans Licht gezogen durch das Petersburger Wörterbuch und sind mit derselben Bedeutung wie dort in Grassmann's *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda* verzeichnet.

² Dem Originaltexte füge ich die Übersetzungen von Grassmann und Griffith bei. Es hätte vielleicht eine von beiden genügt. Aber es lag mir daran, zu zeigen, dass die Übersetzer unter sich einig sind.

im Rigveda (ix. 113, 7–11) das Paradies als Wohnsitz Yamas in ähnlicher Weise in einem an Soma gerichteten Hymnus geschildert wird.

Die Gleichung ved. *ḥsāita-* = av. *xšaēta-* verdient auch insofern Beachtung, als sie einen neuen Beleg für die von P. v. Bradke *ZDMG.* xl, 1886, S. 362 und A. V. W. Jackson, *Avesta Grammar*, p. 20¹ beobachtete Tatsache abgibt, dass in einer Reihe von Fällen dem altindischen *vr̥ddhi*-Diphthong ein avestischer *guna*-Diphthong zur Seite steht. Bekanntschaft mit der Terminologie der Sanskritgrammatik durfte dabei vorausgesetzt werden, und mit Hülfe der Ausdrücke 'Guna' und 'Vriddhi' liess sich der hier bestehende Unterschied zwischen Sanskrit und Zend knapp und unzweideutig hinstellen. Aber allerdings erhalten wir damit zunächst nur Formeln, die den Tatbestand ausdrücken und eine vorläufige Gruppierung des Materials ermöglichen, aber keine genügende sprachgeschichtliche oder auch nur phonetische Erklärung.

Es fehlt freilich nicht an Erklärungsversuchen. Aber sie sind teilweise auf Sand gebaut, sofern sie von der nicht zutreffenden Voraussetzung ausgehen, die Vriddhi-Stufe sei in den europäischen Sprachen nicht vorhanden und könne daher nicht aus der idg. Ursprache stammen. Streng genommen handelt es sich dabei um ein doppeltes Vorurteil, nämlich erstens das Axiom, wir seien nicht berechtigt, Erscheinungen, die sich nur in einer idg. Sprache (oder in unserem Falle: nur in einem Sprachzweige, nämlich Indo-Iranisch) nachweisen lassen, aus der idg. Ursprache herzuleiten (eine für die Methode der Sprachwissenschaft wichtige Frage); zweitens, die von der Beobachtung und Auffassung des sprachlichen Materials im Einzelnen abhängige, jetzt wohl allgemein aufgegebene Meinung, die europäischen Sprachen hätten nichts aufzuweisen, was sich der Vriddhi an die Seite stellen liesse. Unter Vriddhi im weiteren Sinne muss man dabei allerdings nicht nur die Diphthonge *āi* und *āu*, sondern auch die entsprechenden Lautgruppen *ār*, *āl*, *ām*, *ān* (bezw. *ēr*, *ēl* usw., sowie *ōr*, *ōl* usw.) verstehen.

Es wird nicht nötig sein, bei den Versuchen, die 'Vriddhi' als speziell indo-iranische Eigenheit zu begreifen, länger zu verweilen. Denn der richtige Weg zur Erklärung derselben ist längst von Paul Horn (dem bekannten, zu früh aus dem Leben geschiedenen Iranisten) eingeschlagen in dem auf der Deutschen Philologenversammlung in Strassburg (1901) gehaltenen Vortrage: 'Ablaut und Vr̥ddhi' (vgl. den Bericht von F. Sommer, *IF.* xii, Anz., S. 347–349). Ich kann den Ergebnissen Horns um so eher beistimmen, als die Grundlinien seiner Auffassung teilweise—nämlich soweit es sich um die *e/o-* Reihe handelt—vorgezeichnet waren in meinem reichlich 15 Jahre früher veröffentlichten Aufsätze: Die Flexion der Nomina mit dreifacher Abstufung im Altindischen und Griechischen (*BB.* x. 1–71). Dass bei mir hauptsächlich von Bildungssilben, bei Horn von Wurzelsilben die Rede ist, bedeutet keinen prinzipiellen Unterschied in der Auffassung des Vokalismus.² Im einzelnen möchte ich in der Annahme von Vriddhi vielfach weiter gehen

¹ Vgl. auch Bartholomae in der *ZDMG.* xlviii, S. 144 und im *Grundriss der Iran. Philologie* i, S. 44.

² Ich möchte z. B. erinnern an meine Erklärung von lat. *hūmānus* (aus* *hōmānus*) neben *homō* aus altlat. *hemō* (S. 54).

als Horn, vor allem im Griechischen. Ist es nötig, das Verhältnis von ἡμερόεις: ἄνεμος oder ἡμαθόεις: ἄμαθος in der Homerischen Sprache anders zu beurteilen als die Vriddhi bei sekundären Nominalbildungen im Altindischen?¹ Ferner: Eumelos, der Sohn des Admetos, wird als Enkel des Φέρης bei Homer (B 763, Ψ 376) mit dem Patronymikon Φηρητιάδης bezeichnet. Wir haben hier ein genaues Analogon zu den altindischen Namen *Bharatá-* und *Bhārata-*, wohlbekannt durch das Mahā-bhārata.

Sobald wir uns entschliessen, die langen Vokale der europäischen Sprachen den langen Vokalen des Indischen und Iranischen gleichzusetzen, wird die scheinbare Verschiebung der Vriddhistufe zur Gunastufe im Iranischen durchaus verständlich. Dass wir von *āi* und *āu* mit langem *ā* auszugehen haben, zeigt die sogenannte 'Auflösung' dieser Diphthonge vor folgendem Vokal, z. B. ai. *cyāvāya-* 'erschüttern' (Causativ von *cyu-*) neben *cyautná-* ntr. 'kräftige Tat' oder altpers. *xšāyaθiya* 'Herrscher', König' neben ai. *kšaita-*. In der Stellung vor Konsonant aber macht sich—in Einklang mit der wohlbekannten Regel: *vocalis ante vocalem corripitur*—sowohl im Indischen wie im Iranischen die Neigung geltend, die langvokalischen Diphthonge zu *au* und *ai* zu kürzen. Im Avesta erscheinen diese gekürzten Diphthonge als *aē* und *ao*, allen Anzeichen nach mehr in der Schrift als in der Aussprache von den entsprechenden altind. Vriddhi-Diphthongen verschieden, und auch der Schrift nach im Avesta mit den Guna-Diphthongen *aē* und *ao* identisch. Auch im Altindischen würden sie mit den alten Guna-Diphthongen zusammengefallen sein, wären nicht letztere davor durch den Übergang in lange Vokale (*ē* und *ō*) bewahrt.

Auffällig und unregelmässig sind im Avesta unter diesen Umständen nicht die kurzvokalischen Diphthonge *aē* und *ao* (wohlgemerkt: vor folgendem Konsonant), sondern die langvokalischen *āi* und *āu* in Fällen wie *āit* (3. sg. Prät.) und *gāuš* (Nom. sg.). Sie erklären sich, denke ich, zum Teil durch die Einwirkung benachbarter Formen, in denen *āi* und *āu* vor folgendem Vokal in *āy* und *āv* aufgelöst oder im Auslaute vor dem *-m* der Endung zu *ā* reduziert waren. So namentlich *gāuš* neben den Acc. sg. *gām* (= ved. *gām*) und dem Acc. pl. *gāo* (= ved. *gās*). Bei *upāit* und ähnlichen Formen des Verbums *i-* 'gehen' ist die häufige Verbindung dieses Verbums mit dem Präfix *ā* im Altindischen zu berücksichtigen. Das *ā* mag also hier auf Kontraktion beruhen (vgl. H. Reichelt, *Avest. Elementarbuch*, S. 94, § 187).

Es würde zu weit führen, wollte ich hier bei anderen Einzelheiten länger verweilen. Das Gesagte wird genügen, die Annahme zu rechtfertigen, dass avest. *xšaēta-* und altind. *kšaita-* ein und dasselbe Wort sind, und dass der Vokal der ersten Silbe auf indo-iranisches *āi* zurückgeht.

¹ Horn folgt hier der wohlbekannten Ansicht Jac. Wackernagels, die mich nicht überzeugt hat. Auf das Problem der sog. 'Vokaldehnung' im Griechischen näher einzugehen, muss ich mir auf eine andre Gelegenheit versparen.

V. *Yimō Xšaētō und Sāturnus*

Dem Yima des Avesta stellt sich im alten Italien als Herrscher des goldenen Zeitalters der König Saturnus zur Seite. Er wird herkömmlich zu den Göttern gerechnet, und wir brauchen ihm diese Würde nicht abzuspochen. Im Kultus jedenfalls konnte er es wohl mit ihnen aufnehmen. In Rom z. B. hatte er ein altes Heiligtum am Fusse des capitolinischen Hügels. Namentlich aber darf das Fest der Saturnalien, das ihm zu Ehren alljährlich sieben Tage lang (vom 17. bis 23. Dezember) gefeiert wurde, an Gepränge und Volkstümlichkeit geradezu als das wichtigste der religiösen Jahresfeste der alten Römer gelten. Andererseits wollen wir nicht übersehen, dass er der Sage nach (Ovid, *Fasti* i. 236; Vergil, *Aeneis* viii. 319 f.) von Juppiter aus dem Olymp verbannt war. Das kann doch wohl nur heissen, dass ihn die Olympischen Götter nicht als gleichberechtigt anerkennen wollten. Als Flüchtling kommt er nach der Landschaft Latium, wo ihn König Janus freundlich aufnimmt und die Herrschaft mit ihm teilt. Saturnus wählt als seinen Herrschersitz den *mons Capitolinus*.¹ Dort bewohnte er eine weitläufige Burg, von solcher Ausdehnung, dass sie zuweilen (z. B. von Varro, *Ling. Lat.* v. 42) als *oppidum* bezeichnet wird.² Seine Regierung bedeutet das goldene Zeitalter der Menschheit. Sie währte geraume Zeit, vielleicht Jahrhunderte lang, sicher mehrere Generationen hindurch.³ Jedoch nahm sie unerwartet ein Ende, als Saturn eines Tages nicht wieder zum Vorschein kam.⁴ Man erzählte sich (Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 113), er sei von Jupiter, der ihm in der Weltregierung folgte, in den finstern Tartarus geschickt.

Die Frage nach der Herkunft des Namens Saturnus hat schon die Alten beschäftigt. Die Sache schien nicht schwierig. Man leitete den Namen ab von dem Subst. *satus* (m.) 'die Saat' (*ab satu est dictus Saturnus*, Varro, *L. Lat.* v. 64) oder von *satio* (f.) 'das Säen' (Fest. p. 323), und erklärte demgemäss Saturn für eine agrarische Gottheit, und die Saturnalien für ein Erntefest. Das passt nun freilich weder der Sache noch den Lauten nach. Mag sein, dass

¹ Im Avesta wird als Wohnsitz Yima's mehrfach (Yt. v. 25; xvii. 28 u.s.w.) der Berg *Huka(i)rya-* erwähnt. Wir werden darunter mit W. Geiger (*Ostir. Kultur*, S. 49 f.) den Gipfel der Hara, am Südufer des kaspischen Meeres zu verstehen haben. Man wird bei derartigen Lokalisierungen keine Gleichheit der Namen in verschiedenen Ländern erwarten. Immerhin bleibt es eine bemerkenswerte Übereinstimmung, dass der Herrschersitz auf einem Berge gelegen ist.

² Varro, der gelehrte Antiquar, gibt an, es seien Spuren des *oppidum* noch zu seiner Zeit vorhanden.

³ Bei Vergil (*Aen.* viii. 324) heisst es:

Aurea quae perhibent, illo sub rege fuere
Saecula: sic placida populos in pace regebat.

Hier brauchen wir mit *saecula* keineswegs Jahrhunderte gemeint zu sein, obwohl dies ja gut zu der Angabe des Avesta (Yt. xvii. 30) stimmen würde, dass Yima tausend Jahre lang regierte. Denn unter *aurea saecula* ist hier wie *Aen.* vi. 793 offenbar nichts anders als das goldene Zeitalter zu verstehen. Aber die Tatsache, dass der Dichter das Wort *saeculum* im Plural gebraucht, ist nicht gleichgültig; *saeculum* bedeutet stets einen längeren Zeitabschnitt, mindestens eine Generation, oft einen Zeitraum von unbestimmter Dauer, der sich über mehrere Generationen erstrecken mag.

⁴ Der übliche Ausdruck im Lateinischen ist *non comparuit* oder *nusquam apparuit*. Z. B. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* i. 7, 24: *cum inter haec subito Saturnus non comparuisset* . . . (Vgl. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*², S. 84 f.)

Fruchtbarkeit der Herden wie der Feldfrüchte zu den Merkmalen des goldenen Zeitalters gehört. Aber dadurch wird der Herrscher dieses Zeitalters noch kein Ackergott. Und wie sollte es kommen, dass ein Erntefest im Dezember, statt nach Einbringung der Ernte im Herbst gefeiert wird? In lautlicher Hinsicht scheitert die Etymologie daran, dass das Partic. pass. *satu-s* 'gesät' und Substantive wie *satus* (Gen. *satūs*), *satio*, *sator* usw. stets kurzen Stammvokal haben, während das *a* in *Saturnus* stets lang gemessen wird.¹

Wenn auch die neueren Sprachforscher und Mythologen zumeist mit Zähigkeit an der alten Herleitung festgehalten haben, so dürfen wir uns darüber nicht wundern. Denn die anderweitigen Vorschläge, welche gelegentlich zur Erklärung des Namens *Saturnus* gemacht sind, sind nicht weniger bedenklich. Erwähnt sei nur die von H. Schweizer, *KZ.* iv. 68 vorgeschlagene Zusammenstellung mit dem altind. *Savitar*. Sie verbietet sich nicht sowohl aus lautlichen als aus sachlichen Gründen. Denn wir müssten uns entschliessen, da ja Saturnus den Römern als Gott des goldenen Zeitalters gilt, Savitar mit Yama und Yima zu identifizieren.

Jeder Versuch, das Rätsel des Namens Saturnus zu lösen, muss von der Tatsache ausgehen, dass dieser Name in altrömischer Zeit in zwei verschiedenen Formen vorliegt: *Sāturnus* und *Saeturnus*. Die letztere Namensform ist völlig sicher nur durch eine einzige archaische Gefässinschrift (etwa Mitte des 3. Jahrh. v. Chr.) bezeugt.² Man hat freilich mit gutem Grunde angenommen, dass dieselbe Form auch unter dem bei Festus p. 323 angeführten *Sateurnus* zu verstehen ist.³ Aber auch für sich allein würde das Zeugnis der alten Inschrift genügt haben, die Existenz der Variante *Saeturnus* zu erweisen.

¹ Als Belege mögen beispielsweise die folgenden Stellen dienen:

Hac ego Sāturnum memini tellure receptum (Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 235).

Inde diu genti mansit Sāturnia nomen (ib. 237).

Si genus aspicitur, Sāturnum primo parentem
feci, Sāturni sors ego prima fui.

A patre dicta meo quondam Sāturnia Roma est (ib. v. 29–31).

Postquam Sāturno tenebrosa in Tartara misso
sub Jove mundus erat, subiit argentea proles (Ov. *Metam.* i. 113–14).

Aureus hanc vitam in terris Sāturnus agebat (Verg. *Aen.* viii. 319).

Hanc Jānus pater, hanc Sāturnus condidit arcem;

Jāniculum huic, illi fuerat Sāturnia nomen (ib. 357–58).

² Saeturni pocolom, *CIL.*, i², 449 = xi, n. 6708, 9; Abbildung *PLME.* tab. X A a = Fr. Ritschl, *Opuscula* iv, tab. IX A a. Auch z. B. bei Eng. Schneider, *Dial. Lat. priscae et Fal. Inscr.*, Leipzig 1886, Nr. 28 und Herm. Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. sel.*, vol. ii, nr. 2966.

³ Kein Verlass dagegen ist auf das vermeintliche *Saet* im Eingange der sog. Dvenos-Inscription (vgl. neuerdings R. G. Kent, *Language*, ii. 207–22), wo man zu lesen pflegt *Jove Sat. deivos* oder *Jove Saet. deivos qoi med mitat*. Das *a*, bemerken die Herausgeber, sei aus *e* korrigiert. Dem Facsimile nach kann man in dem betr. Zeichen zur Not eine Ligatur aus *A* und *E* sehen. Beabsichtigt aber waren wohl die Buchstaben *I* und *E*, die so geschrieben sind, dass der Längsschaft des *E* schräg gestellt und mit dem oberen Ende des *I* verbunden wurde. Also lese man *S I E T*. Dann erhält der Hauptsatz ein Verbum, das ihm sonst fehlen würde, und der Sinn ist einfach: 'Dem Jupiter sei geweiht (*deivos* im Sinne von *sacer*), wer mich (d.i. das Gefäß) fortinmmt.' Dass die Erwähnung Saturns neben Jupiter hier an sich auffällig wäre, hat man längst bemerkt.

Nach F. Sommer, *Handbuch der Lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*², 1914, wäre die Namensform SAETVRNI in ihrem Verhältnis zu Saturnus unaufgeklärt. So weit es sich um die Erklärungsversuche handelt, die man bisher gewagt hat (vgl. z. B. Walde, *Lat. Etym. Wörterbuch*, s.v. *Saturnus*) wird man ihm beistimmen müssen. Aber die Erklärung liegt doch nahe genug und sollte bei Sommers Auffassung der 'Langdiphthonge' (a.a.O., S. 41)¹ keine erheblichen Schwierigkeiten machen. Wir haben es mit zwei dialektisch verschiedenen Formen zu tun, die sich gegenseitig ergänzen und auf eine gemeinsame Grundform **Säturnus* führen. In dem inschriftlichen Gen. sing. *Saeturni* ist der alte Vriddhi-Diphthong zum Guna-Diphthong gekürzt (denn man wird doch schwerlich annehmen wollen, das *a* sei hier noch als Länge zu sprechen), während in *Sāturnus* der zweite Bestandteil des Vriddhi-diphthongs von dem vorausgehenden, ursprünglich langen Vokal absorbiert ist. Eine einigermaßen entsprechende Parallele, freilich mit dem Unterschiede, dass es sich nicht um einen indogermanischen, sondern einen in uritalischer oder altrömischer Zeit entstandenen Langdiphthong handelt, gewährt ein anderer alter Göttername, der ebenfalls in verschiedenen Formen auftritt, und zwar in noch bunterem Wechsel als bei Saturn. Der Kriegsgott Mars² hiess bei den Römern in alter Zeit *Māvor(t)-s*. Noch die Dichter der Augusteischen Zeit entsinnen sich dieser uralten Form und verwenden sie nicht selten³ statt der ihnen geläufigen Form des Namens. Schon früh aber wurde *Māvort-* zu *Māurt* kontrahiert und der so entstandene Diphthong *āu* dann weiter nach Art der alten Vriddhi-Diphthonge behandelt. Entweder konnte der Diphthong zu *au* verkürzt werden (wie in *aurōra* aus **āus-ōs-a* neben hom. ἠώς, lesb. αῶws, vgl. Sommer a.a.O., S. 41). So in dem inschriftlich überlieferten Dat. *Maurte* (*CIL.* i. 2, 49 = *PLME.* t. xlix B., und Schneider, *Dial. Lat. Inscr.*, Nr. 119a), wenn man nicht diese Form als Beleg für den langvokalischen Diphthong rechnen will. Oder das *u* konnte in der Stellung nach langem Vokal unterdrückt werden, womit sich die übliche und keineswegs ganz junge Form *Mārs*, Gen. *Mārtis*, adj. *Mārtius* ergibt.

Hiernach dürfen wir wohl den Versuch, aus der Form *Saeturnus* einen 'Gott der Aussaat' **Sēturnus* zu entnehmen (Walde, a.a.O., unter *Saturnus*)

¹ Allerdings wird man Sommers Regel: 'Im Latein kürzen die Langdiphthonge normalerweise ihren ersten Komponenten und teilen dann die Schicksale der Kurzdiphthonge' dahin erweitern müssen, dass statt der Kürzung des ersten Komponenten auch Verlust des zweiten Komponenten mit Beibehaltung der Dehnung (wie in den von Sommer S. 116 f. besprochenen Fällen der 'Kontraktion') stattfinden kann. Deutlich ist z. B. der Verlust des *u* nach *ē* in *Diespiter* = ved. *Dyaṁś pitā*, Hom. *Zeṁs patēr*. Dagegen hat -*diūs* in *nu-diūs* nichts mit dem alten Nominativ **Dyēus* zu tun; es ist genau so zu erklären wie in *interdiūs*, nämlich als alter Acc. pl. = ved. *dyūn* aus **dyuns*. Das *nu-* der ersten Silbe ist nicht = griech. *νύ*, sondern Rest der Präposition *ānu* = aind. *ānu*, gr. *ἀνά* (umgeformt aus **āvv*).

² Zur Erklärung der wechselnden Formen vgl. man namentlich Solmsen, *Studien zur lat. Lautgeschichte*, S. 76–8, Kretschmer, *KZ.* xxxviii, 1905, S. 129–34 und Solmsen, ebd. S. 450–6.

³ Belege (nicht ganz vollständig) in Georges, *Lexikon der Lat. Wortformen*, s.v. *Mars*, z. B. *Māvors*, Ov. *Fast.* iv. 828; Verg. *Aen.* xii. 179 (voc. = nom., nicht bei Georges) und 332; *Māvortis*, Hor. *Carm.* iv. 8. 23; Verg. *Aen.* vi. 872 u. viii. 630. Dazu das Adj. *Māvortius* (an Stelle von *Martius*), z. B. Ov. *Metam.* viii. 437; Verg. *Aen.* vi. 777. Das *a* der ersten Silbe ist nach Ausweis des Metrums stets lang.—Inschriftlich begegnet der Dativ *Māvortei* auf einer alten in Rom gefundenen Urne, *CIG.* vi. 473 (auch in Schneider's *Dial. Lat. et Fal. Inscr.*, Nr. 120.)

auf sich beruhen lassen. So wenig Saturn ein Gott der Aussaat ist, so wenig hat das diphthongische *ae* in *Saeturnus* etwas mit dem langen Vokal *ē* in Formen wie dem Perfekt *sēvī* oder dem Substantiv *sēmen* gemein. Wir haben es bei derartigen Aufstellungen eben nur mit Nachwirkungen der hergebrachten Etymologie des Namens *Sāturnus* zu tun, die den neueren Etymologen und Mythologen nicht weniger den Blick zu trüben pflegt, sobald sie auf den Gott Saturn zu sprechen kommen, wie den römischen Altertumsforschern und den römischen Dichtern, die sich auf die Ansichten der *vetustatis periti* verliessen.

Auf den richtigen Weg kann die Heranziehung der oben besprochenen Wörter av. *xšaēta-* und ved. *kṣaita-* führen. Sie beweisen auch, dass dem Namen *Sāturnus* (*Saeturnus*) eine ältere Namensform **Sātu-s* (**Saetu-s*) vorausliegt, die sich zu ihm verhält, wie das Partizipial-Adjektiv *tacitus* (oder der Eigennamen *Tacitus*) 'schweigsam', 'stillschweigend' zu dem gleichbedeutendem Adjektiv *taciturnus*. Oder sind *tacitus* und *taciturnus* nicht ganz gleichbedeutend? Will man einen Unterschied machen, so kann es doch wohl nur der sein, dass in der volleren Form die dem Adjektiv anhaftende Bedeutung entweder mehr nachdrücklich oder als eine andauernde, bleibende Eigenschaft hingestellt wird. Also *tacitus* heisst 'schweigend', 'still', *taciturnus* entweder 'ganz leise' oder 'schweigsam'. Die Grenze zwischen diesen Begriffen ist fließend. Daher darf man keinen streng durchgeführten Unterschied erwarten. Aber wir können nachfühlen, dass die Endung *-urnus* eine Steigerung ausdrückt, die auf ständiger Wiederkehr oder steter Dauer beruht. Das passt nun auch auf andere Fälle, z. B. auf die Adjektive *diurnus* und *nocturnus*. Insofern Tag und Nacht in ständigem Wechsel stetig wiederkehren, ist die Endung *-urnus* hier am Platze. Die Bedeutung kann einfach sein 'bei Tage' und 'bei Nacht'; in andren Fällen 'den ganzen Tag über' oder 'die ganze Nacht hindurch'; ferner auch—und auf diese Bedeutung möchte ich besonderes Gewicht legen—"Tag aus, Tag ein", 'Nacht für Nacht' oder 'wiederholt bei Tag und bei Nacht', wie in dem bekannten Verse des Horaz:

vos exemplaria Greaca
nocturnā versate manu, versate diurnā.

So möchte ich glauben, dass *Saturnus* (*Saeturnus*) neben **Sātu-s* (**Saetus*) sich einstellte, um schliesslich die kürzere Form ganz zu verdrängen, weil die Endung *-urnus* den Titel 'Fürst' oder 'Herrscher' seinem Träger gewissermassen für alle Zeit verlieh, ihn als Herrscher *kar* *ἐξοχῆν* hinstellte. Diese Auffassung scheint ja im Widerspruche mit der Überlieferung zu stehen, dass der König des goldenen Zeitalters eines Tages sich nicht mehr zeigte. Aber wir dürfen nicht vergessen, dass seine Herrschaft in der Endzeit ihren Anfang nimmt, nachdem sein Königtum in der Urzeit zum Abschlusse gekommen ist. Im Sinne der alten Mythologie dürfen wir ihn, wenn nicht als einen der Unsterblichen, so doch als den guten König der Vorzeit ansehen, dessen Reich am Ende der Dinge nochmals wiederkehren wird.

In jedem Falle lehrt das Verhältnis von *tacitus* zu *taciturnus*, dass die Endung *-urnus* der Verbindung des Namens *Saeturnus* mit av. *xšaētō* nicht im

Wege steht. Es handelt sich somit nur noch um den Anlaut, wo sich für die hier vorliegenden Lautverhältnisse manche Parallelen bieten.

Während man früher kein Bedenken trug, in dem *kš* des Altindischen das *š* durchweg aus älterem *s* entstehen zu lassen, weiss man jetzt, dass wir es in dem *kš* mit einer vieldeutigen Lautgruppe zu tun haben.¹ Es macht z. B. einen wesentlichen Unterschied, ob in der Sprache des Avesta dem altind. *kš* ein einfaches *š* entspricht (wie in ai. *dákšīna-* = av. *dāšīna-*, gr. δεξιός u. δεξιτερός; ai. *kšētra-* n. 'Grundbesitz', 'Land' = av. *šōiθra-*, vgl. gr. κτίζω) oder die Lautgruppe *xš* (wie in ai. *kšatrá-* n. Herrschaft = av. *xšaθra-*; ai. *kšaita-* m. 'Fürst' = av. *xšaēta-*, vgl. gr. ἱ-φθίμος). Schon aus diesem Grunde darf man jetzt nicht mehr mit Grassmann (*Wörterbuch zum Rv.*, s.v. 1. *kšī*) die beiden Wurzeln *kšī* 'wohnen' und *kšī* 'herrschen' als ursprünglich identisch ansehen.

Weitere Aufklärung gewährt das Griechische, insofern es dem ai. *kš* bald ein *ξ*, bald ein *κτ* (auch *χθ*?),² bald ein *φθ* gegenüberstellt. Dem einfachen *š* des Avesta entspricht teils *ξ*, teils *κτ*, dem av. *xš* dagegen *φθ*. (Vgl. die vorhin erwähnten Beispiele). Es ergeben sich also drei Reihen:

- I. ai. *kš*, av. *š*, gr. *ξ*
- II. „ *kš*, „ *š*, „ *κτ*
- III. „ *kš*, „ *xš*, „ *φθ*

Wie man sieht, hat das Indo-Iranische in allen drei Fällen ein *š* (dem ursprünglich überall ein Guttural vorausging), das Griechische nirgends. Aber das *š* versteckt sich im Griechischen hinter den Dentalen *τ* und *θ*. Das *τ* hat eine Parallele an Fällen wie *τί* = ai. *cid.* oder *τε* = ai. *ca*, das *θ* an (*ε*)-*χθές* = ai. *hyás*. Man kann geradezu sagen, dass vorgriechische Palatale mit Einschluss der *š*-Laute im Griechischen als Dentale erscheinen.³ Somit darf auf Grund des Griechischen bei Reihe I idg. *ks*, bei der Reihe II idg. *kš*, bei der Reihe III eine dem av. *xš* ähnliche Lautverbindung als idg. Urform vorausgesetzt werden. Demgemäss behalte ich weiterhin für die dritte Reihe die Bezeichnung 'idg. *xš*' als annähernde Bestimmung des ursprünglichen Lautwertes bei.

Ein vom Griechischen durchaus verschiedenes Bild gewähren die westeuropäischen Sprachen: Lateinisch (bezw. Altitalisch), Keltisch, Germanisch. Von einem *š* keine Spur: an seiner Stelle steht überall *s*. Somit fällt denn die zweite Reihe völlig mit der ersten zusammen. Aber auch die dritte, die sich im Iranischen durch ihr *xš* und im Griechischen durch ihr *φθ* deutlich von der zweiten abhebt, verliert in den westeuropäischen Sprachen ihre Eigenart und lässt sich von den beiden anderen anscheinend nicht mehr sondern. Die

¹ 'Der etymologische Wert des ai. *kš* ist sehr mannigfaltig' bemerkt Bartholomae im *Gr. Ir. Ph.* i. 12 Anm.

² *χθ* = ai. *kš* anscheinend in *χθών* = ved. *kṣā-s*. Aber dieses Wort nimmt in den meisten idg. Sprachen eine Ausnahmestellung ein, und bleibt daher hier, wo es mir nur auf einen Überblick der hauptsächlichsten Kategorien ankommt, bei Seite. Mag sein, dass Bartholomae's Annahme eines ursprachl. *š* (*Gr. Ir. Ph.* i. 15) zur Beseitigung der Schwierigkeiten beiträgt. Weitere Erörterung des *š* und der von Bthl. vorausgesetzten aspirierten Zischlaute verbietet sich an dieser Stelle; ich möchte nur noch ausdrücklich auf die Literaturangaben bei Bthl. a.a.O. hinweisen.

³ Dass die Annahme eines idg. *š* nicht ausreicht, das Problem zu lösen, glaube ich in dem Aufsätze über *Saeculum* in der *Festschrift für Ad. Bezzenberger*, Göttingen, 1921, S. 11, gezeigt zu haben.

Gründe dafür liegen im Lateinischen—der Sprache, auf die es uns bei Saturn in erster Linie ankommt—klar zu Tage. Zunächst gilt vor *s* wie vor andren Konsonanten das Lautgesetz, wonach Velare vor folgendem Konsonanten ihren labialen Nachklang einbüßen (also z. B. *coxī*, *coctus* neben *coquere*; *tinxī*, *tinctus* neben *tinguere*).¹ Zweitens kommt in Betracht, dass alte Media und alte Spirans (sogen. Aspirate) vor *s* zur Tenuis werden. Es gleichen sich z. B. im Nom. sing. *lex*, Gen. *legis* und *pax*, Gen. *pacis*; ebenso beim *s*- Perfekt *traxi*: *traho* und *dixi*: *dico*.²

Infolge nachträglicher Verschiebungen also sind im Lateinischen (und ähnlich in den westeuropäischen Sprachen überhaupt) die drei aus der idg. Ursprache ererbten Lautreihen, die wir oben zu scheiden versucht haben, in eine einzige zusammengefloßen. Die Sache liegt ähnlich wie im Altindischen, nur dass die Verschiebungen sich in entgegengesetzter Richtung bewegen. Dem einheitlichen, aber in lautgeschichtlicher Hinsicht vieldeutigen *ks* des Altindischen stellt sich zunächst ein ebenso einheitliches und ebenso vieldeutiges *ks* zur Seite. Dieses *ks* aber erhält sich nur im Inlaute zwischen Vokalen (wobei dem ersten Vokal ein Nasal sich anschließen darf) und im Auslaute; das lateinische Alphabet verwendet dafür das Zeichen *x*. Im Anlaute und im Inlaute bei Konsonanten verliert es (und zwar nicht erst im Lateinischen, sondern schon in der westeuropäischen Vorzeit) den Guttural und erscheint demgemäss als einfaches *s*, das sich im Lateinischen später vor Nasalen oder *l* völlig verliert.

Die folgenden Beispiele mögen als kurze Erläuterung der Lautverhältnisse im Lateinischen dienen. Ich bezeichne mit (1) den Anlaut, mit (2) den Inlaut, mit (3) den Auslaut.

I. (Urspr. *ks*): (1) *sub*, *super* aus **(e)ks-up(o)*, **(e)ks-uper-(i)* = *ἐξ-υπ* (Hom.), *ἐξ-υπερ*-, (vgl. Osthoff, *Morph. Unters.* iv. 265).—(2) *axis* m. 'Achse', vgl. *ἄξων*, *ἄμ-αξα*.—*dexter* aus **dexiter*, vgl. *δεξιτερὸς* u. *δεξιός*.—(3) *ex* = *ἐξ*.—*sex* (idg. **sveks*) = *ἐξ*, dor. (Delphi) *ἑξς*.

II. (Urspr. *kš*): (1) *situs* gelegen, zu Hom. *ἐν-κλιτος* und *ἐν-κλίμενος*, ahd. *sidaljan* 'siedeln' (Froehde, *BB.* i. 198), av. *šitay*- 'Wohnstätte' (= *κτίσις*), ai. Wz. *kṣi* 'wohnen'.—Zu derselben Wz. *saeculum* = kelt. **sailto*- 'Menschenalter' (Stokes, *Fick's Wtb.* 4 ii. 294; Pedersen, *Vgl. Gramm. d. Kelt. Spr.*, i. 56), urspr. 'Generation', 'Ansiedlung' = av. *šōiθra*- n. 'Gau.' 'Wohnstätte' (*Verf. in der Festschrift f. Bezzenberger*, S. 8 ff.).—(2) *texo* 'verfertige', 'zimmere'

¹ Reiches Material bei Ph. Bersu, *Die Gutturalen und ihre Verbindung mit v im Lateinischen*, Berlin, 1885, S. 123–32. Der Verfasser lehnt mit Recht die Ansicht ab, es handle sich um ein indogermanisches oder allgemein europäisches Lautgesetz. Ob wir mit ihm annehmen müssen, der Verlust des *v* vor Konsonanten habe im vorhistorischen Sonderleben des Lateinischen stattgefunden, ist eine andre Frage. Einstweilen möchte ich nur geltend machen, dass nach Ausweis von Fällen wie urgerm. **laihni* n. 'Lehen' (Fick, *Vergl. Wtb.* 4, iii. 367) neben got. *leihtvan* 'leihen' oder urgerm. **sihtja*- 'seicht' aus **sinhtja*- (ebd. S. 429) neben got. *siggan* 'sinken' dieser Lautwandel auch den germanischen Sprachen in vorhistorischer Zeit nicht fremd war. Das *f* in dem Zahlwort *finfta* 'der fünfte' gegen lat. *quintus* aus **quintus* erklärt sich leicht durch Anlehnung an *finf* 'fünf'.

² Vom Lateinischen aus dürfen wir zunächst mit W. M. Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, Oxford, 1894, § 116 (p. 291) die einfache Regel aufstellen: 'A Latin Guttural, to whatever series it belongs, combines with a following *s* into *x*, e.g. *vexi* from *veho*.' Für die Wandlungen aber, denen dieses *x* in bestimmten Stellungen unterliegt, sind dann weitere Regeln erforderlich.

(z. B. *navem*, Verg.; *crates*, Hor.), 'webe'; *textor* m. (*x* erneuert, nach *texo*?) Weber, f. *textrix*; *textrinum* (Ennius) 'Schiffswerft'; gr. (Hom.) τεκταίνομαι, τέκτων, τέχνη (aus **teks-nā*), av. *taš-* 'zuschneiden', *tašan-* 'Schöpfer'.—*ursus* (aus **orcsos*) 'Bär', f. *ursa*, gr. ἄρκτος (kelt. *artos*, Stokes in *Ficks Wtb.* 4 ii. 19, wohl aus dem Griechischen entlehnt), av. *arša-* (vgl. Bthl., *IF.* ix. 261), ai. *ṛkṣa-*, m.—(3) scheint nirgends vorhanden.

III. (Urspr. *xš*, mit velarem *x*): (1) *siti-s* f. 'Durst' = gr. φθίσις 'Schwind-sucht', zu φθίω, φθίνω, φθινύθω 'hinschwinden', vergehen, 'abnehmen' und (trans.) 'vernichten', 'verderben', 'aufreiben' usw.; *situs* m. Moder, Rost usw. (Literaturnachweise in den Etym. Wtbb. von Prellwitz, Walde, Boisacq); av. *xši-* f. 'Not', 'Elend' (Bthl., *Air. Wb.* 554) und *xšayō* Inf. 'um zu verderben' (ebd. 550); ai. Wz. *kṣi* vernichten.—Gleichen Anlaut, aber andre Formenbildung haben ai. Wz. *kṣi* und Wz. *kṣa* 'herrschen', wozu Fröhde (*BB.* xxi. 329) wohl mit Recht lat. *satelles* 'Trabant' gestellt hat. Am nächsten stehen ai. *kṣatrā-* n. = av. *xšaθra-* 'Herrschaft', 'Reich' und ai. *kṣatriya-* m. = av. *xšaθrya-* 'Gebieter', 'Machthaber'. Man darf diese Wörter nicht (wie es Walde s.v. *satelles* tut) auf eine Linie mit κράομαι stellen.—(2) begegnet im Aind., Iran. und Griechischen in Zusammensetzungen wie ved. *á-kṣita-* = Hom. ἄφθιτος 'unvergänglich', av. *a-xšyamna-* 'ohnmächtig', ist aber im Latein. anscheinend nicht bewahrt.—(3) fehlt auch ausserhalb des Lateinischen.

Hiernach dürfte klar sein, dass von seiten der Laut- und Formenlehre und der Zusammenstellung des Namens *Saturnus* mit av. *xšaēta-* und ved. *kṣaita-* nichts im Wege steht. Im übrigen, denke ich, spricht die hier vorgeschlagene Etymologie für sich selber. Auch brauchen wir keinen Anstoss daran zu nehmen, dass der Königstitel, den wir im Avesta und Rigveda neben dem eigentlichen Namen gebraucht finden, im Lateinischen für sich allein als Eigenname erscheint. Ähnlich führt ja der dem Yima entsprechende Gott der germanischen Mythologie den Namen *Balder* (altn. *Baldr*), d.h. 'König' (oder 'Herrscher', 'Fürst'). Der Herrscher des goldenen Zeitalters erscheint als König in eminentem Sinne, denn sein Reich ist von grösserer Bedeutung und von längerer Dauer als das irgend eines andren Königs.

Diese Abhandlung über Yima geniesst den Vorzug, in einer Festschrift zu erscheinen, die einem der geistlichen und geistigen Führer der Parsen in Indien gewidmet ist. Sein Ehrentag ruft uns nicht nur seine eigenen Leistungen auf dem Gebiete der Zoroastrischen und Iranischen Studien ins Gedächtnis, sondern erinnert uns zugleich an die nachhaltige Förderung, welche die europäische (und mit ihr die amerikanische) Wissenschaft von den Zeiten Anquetil Duperrons bis auf die Gegenwart dem Entgegenkommen der Männer verdankt, welchen es vergönnt war, die Lehre und den Kult Zoroasters bis auf diesen Tag zu bewahren. Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Osten und dem Westen haben sich im Laufe der Zeit immer mannigfacher und intimer gestaltet. Wir rechnen auf weiteres fruchtbares Zusammenwirken, und bringen in diesem Sinne dem Jubilar unseren herzlichen Glückwunsch entgegen.

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URVAN AND THE DEVADŪTA SUTTA

THE greater creeds differ in the degree to which they show intelligent curiosity in and lay stress upon what our feeble imagination has called 'the last things', or eschatology. Feeble, I repeat, or we should have given the name 'next things', 'the next step,' or 'anchistology'. No greater creed ignores those things; none is so limited in purview as to do that. But the emphasis differs; the curiosity about them differs; the mandate about them differs. The original mandate in each has doubtless got more or less worsened in the several 'scriptures', hence I refer, under this term, less to what was 'original', inspired, and more to the surviving wording of each.

I am making here no inclusive comparative survey of this varying curiosity and emphasis; I would only, with respect to two of those greater creeds, dwell briefly on this difference, and link it, in passing, with the diversity within a third creed.

No one can even glance at the Avesta documents on the message of Zarathushtra without coming up against the appeal of him in prayer to the Most Holy for knowledge of a man's fate at death, and the not-withheld reply. And if we who read have but rid ourselves of the cloak of tradition on the one hand, and of the eye-dust of scepticism on the other, we may well wonder, not that the prayer was put up, but that there is but one great messenger who is recorded as having made it.

No one, on the other hand, can search carefully through the oldest surviving documents on the message of Gotama Sakyamuni without discovering in two places a saying, similar, but not identical, which records what he is alleged to have told of a man's fate when he leaves earth. And if we who read have learnt not to judge that writing at its face-value, we may well wonder why it is that the followers of the creed now called Buddhism seemingly ignore it altogether in what—so far as I have seen—they teach and write.

Thus in the former creed we have man's next step placed to the front, in books both old and new. 'Zarathushtra's pre-eminent concern', writes Dr. J. Dastur C. Pavry, 'with the bearing of eschatology on conduct can easily be seen from a study of the Gāthās.'¹ And he might have added, for he goes on to show it, 'and with the theory and revelation of eschatology itself,' both in the Gāthās, but chiefly in the later Avesta. In the latter creed we see the next step believed in as true in fact, but the how, and the attending circumstances are mainly ignored.

'As we sow, we reap' is taught in Sakya (early Buddhism) no less than in Christianity. And we who sow the earth do expect that by its nature a fertile seed will become a specific shoot. But there is much to determine the fate of the shoot beside its nature, and hence we need to be wise about soil, climate, and tending. When however, regarding man's next harvest, we seek for what has been uttered respecting the man *as* and *when* harvested, this in Sakya is not

¹ *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, 1926.

brought to the front, either in books old and new, or with the intelligent interest shown in much else by votaries.

Here then is a striking and deeply interesting divergence, and I wonder whether any one has yet inquired why it should have come about? The one creed is older than the other, we know; how much older we do not know. Both creeds contain, amid much aftergrowth due to temporary conjuncture, messages that are true for all time, though they were, for the many, new words when first uttered. Such as, that the Highest *is* the Good; that man aiming at the Highest *becomes* good. But to be wise as to the 'next step', the next things, was equally interesting, equally important for the man who heard Gotama as for the man who heard Zarathushtra, for the man who heard Jesus as for the man of to-day in the interim. What has pushed back the question and dimmed its importance for the compilers of Buddhist scriptures—to keep only to these? We need to ask these questions as students of religious history and also as ourselves historical subjects. We study the stream, but we are in it.

Here, anyway, is what the Saying referred to contains. It is entitled the Devadūta Sutta, or deva-messengers, and is No. 130 in the Majjhima Nikāya and No. 35 in the third section, Vagga IV, of the Anguttara Nikāya. The former is in the *last* section of the Nikāya and *may* hence be a later accretion. The latter is in the *early* part of its Nikāya. Two fairly patent glosses appear in the first named. I give a condensed translation of the last named.

'There are these three deva-messengers. . . . Some one acts amiss in deed, word and thought. When the body breaks up, after dying, he rises up (*uppajjati*) in a woeful way, in purgatory, warders grasping him and showing him to the Yama as one who, unfilial, without respect for the worthy and holy things, or for the head of his family, deserves punishment. Him the Yama admonishes: "See here, man (*purisa*)! Did you not see manifest among men the first messenger?" "I did not see, sir." "Did you not see among men any aged woman or man, feeble, tottering, grey?" "I did see, sir." "See here, man, to you ware and mindful of the aged one did not this occur:—I, even I too shall get old; come now, I will do the good in deed, word and thought?" "I will not have succeeded, sir; I will have been careless." "See here, man, by carelessness you did not the good in deed, word and thought. Verily, man, according to what was careless, so will they do to you. For lo! this evil action was done neither by mother, nor by father, nor by brother, nor by sister, nor by friends and colleagues, nor by kinsmen, but by you, yea, by you was that evil action done. It is you who experience the results thereof.'

Him the Yama admonishes again: 'See here, man, did you not see manifest among men the second messenger . . . a woman, a man ill, suffering, lifted up and dressed by others? . . . or the third messenger . . . a woman, a man just dead, dead one, two, three days?'

The man answered as before. The Yama too denounces him as before.

'The Yama was silent. . . .'

Then follows a fairly lurid account of tortures, such as men could and did

write of with flattened hair what time they would go forth to witness some woman or man so treated after sentence, as being one of life's diversions.

Then, of good men it is not stated that they too appear before the Yama—a curious omission—but they are just said, in verse, to have duly heeded the sign of the three messengers.

If we turn to the version in the latter Suttas of the other Nikāya or Collection we see, not three messengers, but *five*, the added features being (4) the man as new-born and helpless, and (5) the man as receiving legal punishment on earth. Moreover the purgatorial paragraphs are extended. And at the beginning of the saying is a simile, twice used elsewhere in this book, comparing man's life to two houses, and the intelligent man—'he who has eyes to see'—watching what goes on in both.

It may be known to some readers that this Sutta is not the only variant in the teaching of the other-world envoys. The three of the Anguttara have been incorporated into the Saga of the Founder's life, with a fourth messenger added, a monk, as typifying the heedful right-living man. And there may well have been a true incident in the Founder's life, bringing to him a threefold message of age, illness, death, not so much as warning—he was not heedless—but as revealing the way in which man was burdened by his ignorance of facts about whither he was going. People, we read, would come to him in his old age just to have that dark veil lifted. For it is no less recorded, nay, it is much more recorded, that he was psychically gifted and in frequent converse with inmates of unseen worlds. And in speaking of himself as being a mirror to the unseen for the many, it is probably an unworthy gloss that makes him suggest he might be weary and vexed with inquirers.¹ Or this might be, that old age hindered his ready will:

*When rolling back the cloaking veil
With pain gone by and weariness
He saw both this world and the next.*

—Dīgha, iii, 'Lakkhana'.

As to those three inserted messengers, two of them suggest the monkish hand, which taught that rebirth was 'ill' instead of being, as it is, a fresh opportunity, and that the recluse was the typical good man (the word 'careless', 'careful', is not used in the Saga²). And as to the earthly punishment, it has a plausible look, but it is not on a level, as the mandate of an inspired helper, with the nucleus of the three original messengers. It shows man as warned to heed what earth, at one time, in one land, legally bids him not to do. That code varies with time and place. But the three messengers are indexes to a code not of earth, but of the worlds, true of the man at all times and everywhere. They call to man as man. As such they belong to the mandate of an inspired helper.

And it is the conception which each of us forms of the nature of such a helper which must decide for each, whether Gotama may have spoken, or may not have spoken of the judgement and the why of it and the thereafter of it, as

¹ Dīgha, ii. 91 f.

² Ibid. 28 f.

he is said to have done. This is a very weighty question, not taken here into discussion. I have touched on it in the second chapter of 'Kindred Sayings on Buddhism: (2) The Man', *Calcutta*, 1930.

Here I will but suggest two reasons why it may have come about, that with so vivid a Saying as the Devadūta, comparable in its live terse intensity, as in its very different *ethical* outlook, with the Jesus-saying of the judging son of man,¹ Buddhism, old and new, should have shelved this teaching as Zoroastrianism did not. And I think that reasons are not very far to seek. I offer two.

We know that, apart from the question of its source and growth, the doctrine known as *an-atta*, one of three 'slogans' of monastic Sakya, had come so much to the front in orthodox tenets that, by the beginning of the A.D. era, in the important *Questions of Milinda*, it alone, and not the other two (*anicca*, *dukkha*), is first and fully dealt with. (There are historical reasons for this, of which no more here.²) This doctrine, that the very man (or self) is 'not got at' in an ultimate sense, that he is only found in *dhammas* or mental phenomena, that these go on in a *santati*, or continuum, in habitual sequences, naturally affected seriously the ability of even the cultured, let alone the average man to conceive personal survival at death. Much resort was had to ill-fitting analogies, ill-fitting because in them the psychical, the immaterial, is compared with the physical, the material. They often form the Buddhist monk's substitute for scientific reasoning. Nor is it discerned how entirely the whole business of an after-death judgement, no matter under whom, is by this *anatta* doctrine made irrational. Judging is valuing, worth-ing or holding-in-worth, rating, assessing. And the judgement is passed on a *some one who*, in certain cases on earth, might or might not have acted as he did. Now this is not judgement as at a cattle-show. It is not a question of judging about 'something which' was or is, but of some one who might or might not have chosen; some one therefore who was as we now say responsible. The cow judged is not held personally responsible for poor milk or a crumpled horn. The man judged *is* held responsible for the poor show revealed in his *dossier*, when, had he followed the drive, the urge in him which India called *dharma*, and we now call conscience (I prefer 'will'), he would have come with a better record.

(I am aware it is usual here to speak of 'free will', but to me it is an almost meaningless term, and I never use it—or hardly ever. It is the *man* who is free, or not free; his 'will' is his expressing that freedom or the reverse. And we *must not* lose sight of the 'man'. We, and not Buddhists only, do this far too much.)

Here we have no mere sequence of *dhammas*; here we have a valuer valuing one who is himself a valuer. Note how, in the Saying, it is the valuer who is indicted; the *purisa*, not the *dhammas*, the deeds are named only because of the doer (*kāraka*); not the mental states but 'you, you'. Like Philip II to the doomed Horn and Egmont:—*no los Estados ma Vos, Vos!*

Now the ancient Persian did not go astray here; he 'worthed' what was essentially 'the man', in calling him, as he went over to the judgement of the next step, *urvan*. That is, according to what Dr. Pavry gives us as Dr. Williams Jackson's interpretation of this obscure but momentous word: *var.*,

¹ Matthew xxv.

² Cf. my *Milinda Questions*, London, 1930.

the chooser. Chooser is choice-maker, worth-er, valuer, will-er. Zarathushtra may have found the word. Then he could not go far wrong. He may have received it in his mandate; he may have so taught man's nature that the word emerged, but is only *found* after the Gāthās:—I know not. The fact remains that, in its name for 'man-as-passed-over', Zoroastrianism is in an attitude, as Buddhism, with its dethroned *deva* for him, is not, and as Christianity with its semi-spectral term *soul*, is not, to appreciate rightly the belief *which all three hold* in a rating of the individual after death. The last-named creed is at odds on the belief. Reformed sections relegate the judging to an indefinitely remote term, and *tend* to interpose a (to me) dreadful notion of intervening sleep, as if the 'man', as well as the worn or ailing body, were reborn tired. But the Catholic church, maintaining with other creeds the purgatory doctrine, would *seem to imply* some arraignment when these other two creeds place it. It is only the teaching which sees in man-in-passing the *urvan*, and not soul, spirit or deva or not-self, that is in a right and rational position to uphold the important and rational tenet of another world concerned, as a group of *urvans*, to *safeguard its communal wellbeing* by a watchful selection among incomers.

For herein is surely a much overlooked feature of the next things. The next step is supremely important to the individual. But he does not therein cease to be of the many. His betterness, his worseness is never matter of importance to himself only. A somewhat overlooked saying ascribed to Gotama bears on this. 'You brahmans seek sodality (*sahavyatā*) with Brahmā and you allow he and his world are moral in conduct. Can you expect to win to him in sodality if here you are not shaping your conduct to fit with life in that?' (Dīgha, 'Tevijja'.)

There is another reason, I said, for the relative shelving of the Devadūta with its emphasis on the man (*purisa*) and the 'Thou art the man',¹ the doer, the chooser. This is what should be called the Arahan[t] theory. Man-in-general passed over—some-how, 'some-as'. But some, relatively a few, did not. The theory was that which Sakya came to set over against the brahman 'Thou *art That*'. No, it said, he can *become* That. And he can become That, to wit, the Highest or Best, on earth, or, just failing that, in one more sublime rebirth, as deva (for so the Commentary interprets the vaguer *opapātiko*, 're-birther'). We know that this perfectibility of man-on-earth involved as corollary the no more being re-born, the no further dying, the cessation of *itthatta*, or thusness, hereness. There is no shelving of this; the formulas are repeated again and again. And inasmuch as the worded teaching was almost wholly for monks, and the being Arahan was virtually a monopoly of the monk-life, it is not surprising that the absence of rebirth into life as conceived and as worded here, and *a fortiori* the cessation of all arraignment hereafter, should have greatly dimmed the emphasis on such an event. That was for the laity chiefly. The Saying is evidently a talk to men who are not monks, else we should not read of 'honouring the head of the family'. The monk-editors had edited it as a talk to monks, but they were often acting thus.

¹ 2 Samuel xii.

There was no asserting that the Arahan at death of the 'last body' was non-existent. He was only uncognizable, as is the outblown flame, unnoted by sense. I speak here of the earlier Sakya only, to whom annihilation (*uccheda*) was anathema. But in this, shall we say, negative vision of him in any future, it was inevitable that the idea of waiting assizes faded; and further, that the idea of the saint as being worthed among many, relatively honoured among many, when answering to such a tribunal summons, would die. That wise devas should acquit and acclaim him was held as of no account. There is a very touching Jātaka (Nimi) telling of such a welcome given to a man transported to heaven by the many he had helped who had preceded him. But then the Jātakas were laymen's diet. Too much had the Arahan been deemed to have won to the top as if independent of his fellowmen. It is little wonder he became so largely superseded by the world-compassionate bodhisattva of Mahāyāna:—the man who becomes the more through and with the many.

These two reasons, anatta and arahā, go far in my judgement to account for the slighting treatment accorded the Devadūta lesson. The weight in that (I think) very old utterance lies in this: that it sees, wayfaring from world to world, a very man, the same man yet one who was and is in a state of coming to be. It does not see in the man arraigned a new complex of attributes only. It sees a value assigned to him which is greater than that on earth, because it is assigned by those who have become more in a world of the 'more-men'.¹ The arahān was 'more', but he was not yet Most; it was not seen that he was only relatively more. In that he was held, in the *theory*, to be, as man, the Most a man could become, the way to an ever-growing conception of the ineffable Most was undergoing blockage. That way the creed had ceased to grow.

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¹ Super-men, plus-men is our present idiomatic tendency. Why not 'more-men'?

THE GATHIC HYMN YASNA XLVI

A new rendering with notes

STANZA 1

TO what land to flee, whither to flee shall I go?
They separate me from the nobles and the priesthood,
Nor does the peasantry seek to please me,
Nor those who are the evil rulers of the province:
How to thee, oh Ahura Mazda, am I to render satisfaction?

The crux in this stanza is the last word in the third line *hācā*, which Bartholomae has pronounced to be corrupt. I have ignored it in my rendering. Mills suggested *hācā*, but there does not seem to be MS. authority for this. It is unusual to find the vowel *ā* before *c*. *Xšnaošāi* in the last line is apparently an s-aorist (subjunctive) from the root *xšnav-*, from which the modern Persian word خوشنود is derived.

STANZA 2

I know (understand) that whereby, oh Mazda, I am ineffectual,
Through my possessing few cattle and because I have few men (to help me),
To thee I lament, do thou, oh Ahura, look to it,
Giving support, that which a friend gives to a friend;
Thou, oh Asa (righteousness), wilt teach the possession of good thought.

The most interesting words in this stanza are the compounds *kamnanā* and *Kamnašvā* in the second line, the first member of which occurs twice in the Behistun inscription, viz. *kamnaibīš martiyaibīš* (with few men) in i. 13 and *kamnam āha* (was few) in ii. 6, while the superlative adverbial form *kambistəm* is found in the Vendidad (iii. 15). The second members are philologically equivalent to the Sanskrit *nara* and *paçu* (Latin *pecus* and English *fee*). With *garəzoi* in line 3 may be compared *garəzē* in the Gathic hymn xxxii. 9, while *cagvā* in line 4 is from a root *cag-* (for which Bartholomae gives **kagh-*), which also gives rise to the words *cagəman* (a gift) in xxxviii. 3, and *cagədō* (giving) in li. 20 where it occurs with the same word *rafədrəm* = support, the only difference being in the length of the final vowel.

STANZA 3

When, oh Mazda, will those who are the shinings of the days
Arrive for the holding of the world to Righteousness,
The plans of the deliverers with powerful teachings?
To whom for help must the Good Mind approach?
That thou wilt accomplish it for me I have faith, oh Ahura.

With *uxšānō asnaqm* in the first line the similar phrase *asnaqm uxšā* in l. 10 must be compared. Other interesting words in this stanza are the infinitival

forms *ūtāi* (for help) and *sqstrāi* (to accomplish), the former being derived from the root *av-* (compare *avāmi* in xliv. 7) and being identical with the Vedic *ūtī-* (help), while the latter comes from a root *sand-*, from which we find an s-aorist form *sqs* in xliii. 11 and also in line 19 of the present hymn.

STANZA 4

And those who are the promoters of Righteousness the follower of the
Druj prevents
From causing to prosper the kine alike of the province and of the village,
Being ill-famed, offensive through his own actions:
Whoever, oh Mazda, deprives him of dominion or of life,
He going in front shall prepare those paths of the good teaching.

The chief difficulty in this stanza is the last word of the third line, which Bartholomae reads *ahamusto* and Mills *ahumusto*. No similar word occurs elsewhere and its explanation and derivation are both matters of conjecture. *Moiḃaṭ* in the fourth line appears to come from a root *mae-*, which may be equivalent to the Latin *mittere*.

STANZA 5

He who being able after bringing over should hold the comer (convert)
Being wise from (i.e. from breaking) his vows and contracts,
Living by the ordinance, a righteous man towards one who is un-
righteous,
Being sure let him proclaim this to the nobility,
In order, oh Ahura Mazda, to help him out from violence.

Drūtā in the first line is apparently an optative from *dar-*, the other three significant words in that line being all participles. *javqs* in the third line is a participle from the same root as *javāmahī* in xxxi. 2. *Vicirō* occurs also in xxix. 4. *Rašna* is derived from a root *raz-*, which may be equated with the Latin *rego* and the second syllable of the modern Persian verb افراختن *Uzūthyōi* is an infinitive from the same root *av-* which has occurred in the third stanza.

STANZA 6

But the man who being sought does not come over to him
He shall go to the abodes of the companion of the Druj,
For he indeed is a follower of the Druj who is most good to the Druj-
follower;
He is righteous to whom the righteous is a friend,
Since thou, oh Ahura, didst create the selves at the beginning.

The rendering of the first line is based on the reading *isəmnō* for *isamnō* which Mills translates 'having power'. *Haēḃahya* in the second line is derivable from a root *ha-* (to bind), derivatives from which occur in xxxiv. 10 and xlvi. 7 (*hiḃa* = a companion).

STANZA 7

Whom, oh Mazda, can a man appoint as a protector for one like me,
When the follower of the Druj has set himself to do me injury?
What other than thee apart from fire and (good) thought,
By the deeds of both of whom, oh Ahura, Righteousness will be made
perfect,
This doctrine do thou proclaim to me for myself.

Pāyūm (protector) in the first line occurs elsewhere only in the later Avesta. *Dīdarəsata* is a desiderative from *dar-*, the root which occurred in the fifth stanza. *Aēnanhē* in the second line is the Sanskrit *enas*. *Yayā* is the genitive dual of the relative pronoun. *θraostā* occurs also in xxxiv. 3.

STANZA 8

He who set before himself to injure my possessions,
Let not his destructiveness reach me through his deeds:
Recoiling may those things come upon him with hostility,
Upon his own body may they come, whatsoever things may keep him
from happy-living
And not from evil-living, oh Mazda.

Either *dazdī* or *dazdē* may be read in the first line. *Paityaogə* at the beginning of the third line is an adverbial form from the root *aoj-* (Sanskrit *ūhate*). *Pāyā* at the end of the fourth line is from the same root as *pāt* in the first line of the fourth stanza, vide also xxxii. 13 and *nīpānhe* (I will deposit) in xxviii. 11 and xlix. 10.

STANZA 9

Who is he who as a true man taught in the beginning,
So that we have a regard for thee as strongest (to help),
In action holy, a righteous Lord?
What Righteousness spake to thee, what the creator of the ox told to Asa,
These things they are seeking through thy good mind.

Mā in the first and in the fifth lines is an emphatic particle equivalent to the Sanskrit *smā*. With *uzəmohi* in the second line compare *uzəməm* in xlv. 7 (obedient). *Coīθə* in the first line is from the root *kaēθ-*.

STANZA 10

What man or woman, oh Mazda Ahura, for me
Shall perform what thou knowest as the best things for life,
The dominion through the good mind as the destiny for what is right,
And whom shall I impel for the worship of those like you,
With all these I will cross the bridge of the separator.

The word *ganā* in the first line is interesting, being the Greek γυνή and occurring in Vedic Sanskrit, e.g. *gnāspati* in RV. ii. 38. 10 and *gnāsv antar ny*

ānaje (hid himself among the women) R.V. i. 161. 14. *Haxšāi* in the fourth line is from the root *hac-* (to follow) = Latin *sequor*, while *frāfrā* in the fifth line is from *par-* (to go across), Gothic *Faran* and English *fare*. *Cinvatō* occurs again in the next stanza and also in xli. 11.

STANZA 11

The priests and princes through their dominions have joined
With evil deeds to destroy the life of mankind,
Whom their own souls and their own self bring into torment,
When they come near where there is the bridge of the separator (or
gatherer),
For all duration companions for the house of the Druj.

This rendering is based on Geldner's reading *xraodaṭ* for *xraoṣṭdaṭ* in the third line. *Astayō* in the fifth line occurs also in xxxi. 22, xxxiii. 2, and xlix. 11 and is akin to the Sanskrit *atithi* (guest).

STANZA 12

When Righteousness arises among the descendants and the grandsons
Of Fryana the Turian, amongst those who are laudable,
By the zeal of Aramaiti (Devotion) promoting the settlements,
Then the Good Mind shall admit them,
For them Mazda Ahura shall be a support at the fulfilment.

With *aōjyaēsū* in the second line compare *aōjī* in xliii. 8, *aogāda* in xxxii. 10 and *aōjāi* in l. 11. *Us* in the first line anticipates the preposition in *uṣjən* in the following line. *Hēm-moiṣṭ* is from the same root *maeθ-*, which occurred in the fourth stanza. The root in *uṣjən* appears to be *ghan-*, with which may be compared the Sanskrit *han* and the Greek *φόνος*.

STANZA 13

He who with willing service towards Spitama Zaratuštra
Among mortals is seeking to please him, that man is worthy to be re-
nowned,
And to him Mazda Ahura shall give life,
For him the Good Mind shall advance the settlements,
Him we have regarded as a good companion of your righteousness.

There is a typical instance of the use of the instrumental as a nominative in the fourth line. *Māhmaidi* in the last line is an s-aorist from the common root *man-* (Latin *mens* and *memini*).

STANZA 14

Oh Zaratuštra, who to thee is the righteous friend
For the great covenant or who wishes to be renowned?
He is the prince Vistašpa at the consummation (or crisis),

While those, oh Mazda Ahura, whom thou hast mixed together in the same house,

Them I call upon with the words of good thought.

Minas in the fourth line is an aorist from the root *myas*, which appears also in xxxiii. 1, though not in the text as given by Mills. *Yāhī* is a locative singular and the same word occurs in xlix. 9. *Frasrūidyāi* occurs again in the same sense and in the same position as in the preceding stanza, as the penultimate word of the second line, meaning 'to be heard of' in the sense of being renowned.

STANZA 15

Oh Haecat-aspa Spitamas, I will proclaim to you
That you may distinguish the prudent and the imprudent;
By these deeds you take unto yourselves righteousness
According to the primitive laws of Ahura.

There is one line missing in this stanza, either the fourth or fifth, probably the fourth. There is a dittography of *aθa* after *vicayaba* in some texts. *Dāθa* and its negative *adaθa* are derived from the root *day*, which is connected with the modern Persian دیدن = to see.

STANZA 16

Oh Frasaostra, thither do thou go with the devout,
Oh Hvogva, with those whom we two wish to be in bliss,
Where Devotion accompanies Righteousness,
Where the dominion is in the possession of good thought,
Where Ahura Mazda dwells in majesty.

Idi is imperative (Sanskrit *ihi*), while *uštā* and *ištā* are locatives of *ašti* and *ušti* respectively. *Usvahī* is first person dual. *Varədamam* is locative singular, the root *varəd* from which it is derived corresponding to the Sanskrit *vridh*.

STANZA 17

Where I will tell of your losses,
Not your successes, oh Dejamāspa Hvogva (thou who ownest thine own cows?)
Together with that obedience of yours the prayers of your servants,
To him who distinguishes the prudent and the imprudent
By means of Righteousness the wise counsellor, oh Ahura Mazda.

Mills in his rendering 'Where I in holiest metre chant the doctrines, never the measureless profane I'll utter,' has confused *afšmāni* and *anašmām* with *afsmāni* and *anašmām*. These latter words do not occur in the Gathas at all, though they are found in the younger Avesta, e.g. in Yast xix. 16 and lxxi. 4. The former words are akin to *afša*, which also means loss and is to be found in the Vendidad (xiii. 10).

STANZA 18

To him who is a companion for me the best things
 Belonging to me among my possessions I promise with good thought,
 Hostilities (I promise) to him who should bring hostilities against us:
 Oh Mazda, seeking through Righteousness to satisfy your will,
 That is the decision of my will and thought.

The difficulty in this stanza lies in the word *ascit* in the first line. If *as* be regarded as part of the verb to be, it is difficult to account for the addition of *cit* to it. It may be a pronoun agreeing with the following word *vahištā*. *Viciθəm* in the fifth line is a noun cognate with the verbal form *vīcinaoŋ* in stanza 17 and also with *viciθyāi* (to decide) in xlix. 6.

STANZA 19

Whoso in accordance with Righteousness shall make assurance for me
 Even for Zaratuštra, what is most wonderful according to his will,
 To him winning a reward of the next life
 Together with all the things on which his mind is fixed, with the pregnant
 cow,
 These things thou shalt accomplish for me, thou, oh Mazda, who knowest
 best.

The phrase *gavā azī* has occurred before in the accusative case in xliv. 6. *Frasotəməm* occurs again in l. 11. It may be compared with the Georgian word *pharša-mangi*, a peacock (literally, wonder-bird).

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THE PAHLAVI WORD *DAST PASAX*^v

THE Pahlavi text of Andarz-i Atrōpāt Māraspand contains this sentence:¹

سَو دَس مَازَو مَاسَو طَرَسَد دَل وَاوَاوَد سَاسَم سَم سَدَم سَرَسَد لَد سَطَسَووَس

The sentence is translated nearly alike by various scholars, thus:

- (1) *S. D. Bharucha*:² Break no promise in any way whatever, so that thou mayst not be dishonoured.
- (2) *P. B. Sanjana*:³ Break no kind of promise whatever so as to tarnish your good name.
- (3) *K. S. Irani*:⁴ نرسد (بروان) مکن کت خوره پسین i.e., Do not break promise in any way so that disgrace (*lit.*, low honour) may not reach thee (i.e. thy soul).
- (4) *C. de Harlez*:⁵ Ne viole un contrat en aucune manière, car il t'en viendra du déshonneur.
- (5) *F. Müller*:⁶ Brich in keiner Weise dein Versprechen, da dadurch dein Nachruhm vernichtet wird.

The first four translators assign the meaning of 'dishonour' or 'disgrace' to the phrase *gadman* (*Khūrah*)-*i pasin*, whereas Müller takes it in the sense of 'posthumous fame, or glory'.

In the text of the Andarz—collated with all available MSS.—as given by Jamasp-Asana (p. 68, § 115), the word *pasin* (𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬎) is found, but the note thereon shows that out of the eight MSS. collated two only give this word *pasin*, and five MSS. (including the oldest codex MK) give the word *pasax* (𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌) instead, which, as will be just shown, is the correct word, meaning 'answer', 'response'. It has been already noted that Sanjana's text gives the correct 𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌, which is read *pasin* by him. In his edition, Sheriarjee also notes that one of the variants is 𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌 (*pasax*). Again the word 𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬎, which is read *gadman* (*Khūrah*), and explained alike by all translators as shown already, is not the non-Aryan *gadman*, meaning 'glory', but it is the Huz. logogram (viz., *yadman*—cf. Ar. يَد the hand) for the Aryan 𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬎 (*dast*). The correct phrase, therefore, is *dast-i pasax*^v and not *gadman-i pasin*, as can be well ascertained

¹ *Pahlavi Texts*, by J. D. M. Jamasp-Asana (1897), p. 68, § 115.

² *Pand Nāmah-i Adarbād Māraspand*, by Herbad Sheriarjee Dadabhoy (1869). The Gujarati translation (p. 49) is here rendered into English. In the glossary (p. 82) 𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌 (*gadman-i pasin*) is explained as 'low majesty, i.e., disgrace, loss of honour'.

³ *Ganjeshāyagān, Andarze Atrēpāt* . . ., by Peshutan Dastur Behramji Sanjana (1885). Text, p. 7, § 114, gives 𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌, which is transliterated *gadman-i pasin* (p. 10 of transliteration).

⁴ *The Pahlavi Texts* . . ., by K. D. S. Irani (1899). In a marginal note on p. 8 of the Persian translation, the author says that the phrase is obscure.

⁵ *Livre des Conseils d'Atrēpāt i Mansarspendān*, by C. de Harlez (Louvain, 1887), p. 12, § 114.

⁶ *Beiträge zur Textkritik und Erklärung des Andarz I Atrēpāt I Māhraspandān*, von Dr. F. Müller (Wien, 1897), pp. 13 and 22. Müller changes 𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬎 to 𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌 (*an-bīnih*) and takes it in the sense of 'destruction' (p. 13).

IRANICA

I. راه نامه, le livre de la route

J'AI signalé, il y a quelques années, l'existence d'un élément persan dans les textes nautiques arabes des ^{xv}^e et ^{xvi}^e siècles.¹ J'en ai conclu que contrairement à l'opinion courante, les Persans ont pratiqué la navigation dans l'Océan Indien au moyen âge.

Le témoignage le plus décisif à cet égard reste toujours le راه نامه, *rāh nāmag* 'le livre de la route', passé en arabe sous la forme métathétique رهنماج, *rah-manāg*, que nous ont révélé les *Instructions nautiques* du mu'allim arabe Ibn Mājid.² *Rāh-nāmag* est heureusement un complexe qui porte date de façon relativement précise. Ce n'est pas un terme pehlvi archaïque: nous aurions dans ce cas, **rāh-nāmak* qui remonterait au plus tôt au ⁱⁱⁱ^e siècle de notre ère (c'est vers cette époque que se place le passage de la sourde à la sonore, de *k* à *g* dans cette position). La graphie arabe مانج > نامه avec gutturale sonore est ainsi très claire:³ il s'agit d'un terme moyen-persan qui se situe dans le temps entre le ⁱⁱⁱ^e et le ^{vii}^e siècle; postérieurement, on le sait, s'établit le persan moderne où pehlvi نامه *nāmag* passe à نامه *nāmeḥ*. Les études de linguistique iranienne sont arrivées dans certains cas, à un degré de précision chronologique tel que *rāh-nāmag* peut être daté de la période du ⁱⁱⁱ^e-^{vii}^e siècle de notre ère. La constatation est de première importance. S'il existe dès le haut moyen âge, un *rāh-nāmag* ou 'Livre de la route [maritime]', c'est que les navigations persanes ont été alors pratiquées dans le golfe Persique et l'Océan Indien. Pourrait-on les faire remonter plus haut? Incontestablement non, en l'état de nos connaissances. Les voyages maritimes, surtout ceux d'Alexandre le Grand, décrits par le *Šāh-nāmeḥ* de Firdawsī, n'ont aucune valeur historique et il ne saurait en être fait état.

M. Hādī Ḥasan, professeur de persan à l'Université musulmane de 'Aligarh, signale dans sa *History of persian navigation*,⁴ la découverte d'un

¹ 'L'élément persan dans les textes nautiques arabes des ^{xv}^e et ^{xvi}^e siècles', dans *Journal asiatique*, avril-juin 1924, p. 193-257, d'après les manuscrits 2292 et 2559 du fonds arabe de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris.

² Cf. mes *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des ^{xv}^e et ^{xvi}^e siècles*, t. i: *Le pilote des mers de l'Inde, de la Chine et de l'Indonésie* par Šihāb ad-dīn Aḥmad bin Mājid, dit 'le lion de la mer', texte arabe, Paris, 1921-3; t. ii: textes arabes de Sulaymān al-Mahrī, 1925; t. iii: introduction à l'astronomie nautique arabe, 1928. En cours de publication à la librairie Paul Geuthner à Paris.

³ C'est ainsi que j'ai transcrit le terme arabo-persan dans l'article du *Journal asiatique* précité. M. Hādī Ḥasan en a traduit plusieurs passages dans sa *A History of Persian Navigation*, Londres, 1928, Methuen and Co., mais a rectifié ma transcription et écrit *Rahmānaḡ*, ce qui est un pur contre-sens linguistique (p. 128).

⁴ P. 129-31, avec un facsimile de la page du manuscrit du British Museum où il est mentionné. Dans ce livre qui témoigne de recherches étendues, l'auteur n'a pas suffisamment contrôlé ses sources. On est étonné, par exemple, de voir utiliser le passage des *Buddhist Records of the Western World* de Beal où il est question des *Sa-poh merchants*, des marchands sabéens (p. 65), que Legge a malheureusement maintenus dans sa traduction de Fa-hien. M. Paul Pelliot a corrigé ce contre-sens depuis vingt-cinq ans et montré que le texte *sa-po* qui

passage de l'*Iskander nāmeḥ* de Nizāmī, daté de 587 = 1191, où il est question d'un رامة, (*sic*) *rah-nāmeḥ* dans les circonstances suivantes.

Il s'agit du pseudo-voyage maritime d'Alexandre le Grand en Inde et en Chine. A un certain moment, on arrive à l'endroit où les eaux de la mer se déversent dans le *muḥāt* 'l'océan environnant le monde'. Les vieux marins sont pris de terreur et consultent le *rah-nāmeḥ* où il est dit qu'il faut sans retard retourner en arrière. On se réfugie près d'une île où Alexandre fait ériger une statue magique à la main levée en guise d'avertissement, avec l'indication qu'on est arrivé au terme de toute navigation et que personne ne sait ce qui se trouve au delà. C'est un incident identique pour le fond, à celui que rapportent les *Mille et une nuits* lors du septième voyage de Sindbād le marin¹ et c'est, en outre, un thème de folklore bien connu.²

Sans doute, la date de composition de l'*Iskander nāmeḥ* est antérieure à celle des *Instructions nautiques* arabes où il est question du *rah-nāmag*, mais le *rah-nāmeḥ* de Nizāmī attesté à la fin du XII^e siècle, ne vaut que pour la date où l'*Iskander-nāmeḥ* a été composé et n'a pas l'importance des textes arabes, postérieurs, il est vrai, mais qui reproduisent sous une forme arabisée, l'antique *rāh-nāmag* des Sassanides.

II. المينح le Clou

J'ai indiqué déjà les noms d'étoiles qui ont été empruntés au persan.³ Dans la plupart des cas, Ibn Mājid qui les cite, nous prévient qu'il s'agit d'un nom persan arabisé. Ainsi, par exemple: والجاه اسم فارسي مُعَرَّب 'le Gāh (l'étoile polaire) est un nom persan arabisé'. Il en est de même pour الهيزان, التير (cod. الهيران), etc.⁴

Aux noms que j'ai cités et qu'il n'y a pas lieu de reproduire ici, s'en ajoute un nouveau: المينح 'le Clou', sur lequel mon ami le professeur J. J. Hess de Zürich m'a obligeamment fourni l'intéressante note suivante:

'Je voulais aussi vous écrire pour vous signaler une erreur dans les *Commentaires des Instructions nautiques* de Ibn Mājid et Sulaymān al-Mahri.⁵

reparaît assez fréquemment dans les textes bouddhiques, toujours à propos de marchands, est une transcription chinoise du sanskrit *sārthavāha* 'chef de marchands'; et les Sabéens de ce passage ne sont dûs qu'à la féconde imagination de Beal (cf. 'Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e siècle', dans *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, t. iv, 1904, p. 356).

¹ Cf. mes *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, t. iii: *Introduction à l'astronomie nautique arabe*, pp. 233-4.

² Sur ces statues magiques, cf. mes *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIII^e au XVIII^e siècles*, Paris, in 8°, t. i, 1913, pp. 141, 194; t. ii, 1914, p. 346-7, 371; et mon édition du *Tuhfat al-albāb* de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Garnāṭī, édité d'après les MSS. 2167, 2168, 2170 de la Bibliothèque Nationale et le MS. d'Alger, dans *Journal asiatique*, juillet-septembre 1925, p. 5, et les auteurs cités, 69-70; octobre-décembre 1927, p. 256, 281 et la planche I. Dans ce dernier texte, il s'agit de la statue magique de Cadix.

³ 'L'élément persan dans les textes nautiques arabes des XV^e et XVI^e siècles, dans *Journal asiatique*, avril-juin 1924, p. 215 et suivantes.

⁴ Ibid.
⁵ De Léopold de Saussure, publiés dans mon *Introduction à l'astronomie nautique arabe*, p. 163, note 1.

Cette rectification m'a coûté plusieurs heures de travail et je voudrais épargner cette perte de temps à d'autres. Il y est dit deux fois que مَنِيْغ = persan *mēh* (en Perse où la voyelle *majhūl* n'est plus prononcée: *mīh*), 'la cheville' ou 'le clou', est la 122 (Piazzi) Cephei. C'est déjà un tort de citer le catalogue d'étoiles de Piazzi (2^e édition 1814) qu'aucun travailleur ne possède; j'ai dû le chercher dans trois bibliothèques publiques avant de le trouver! Ce catalogue est basé sur des zones d'heures et, d'après ce système, le chiffre 122 se présente vingt-quatre fois. Comme aucune de ces vingt-quatre mentions de 122 ne se rapporte à Cepheus, j'étais très perplexe. Je supposai alors que ce devait être 43 H (H = Hevelius) et je calculai la position de cette étoile pour l'année 1500, ce qui est à peu près le cas, car les *Tables* de Neugebauer ne la mentionnent pas, et je trouvai par un calcul approché, que sa distance du pôle est de 6° 5', ce qui confirma ma conjecture. Je pus ensuite trouver le numéro dans le catalogue de Piazzi et les autres désignations modernes. Il faut donc rectifier ainsi l'assertion de de Saussure:

al-maiḥ (*mēh*)¹ est Piazzi O^h 220 = Hevel 43 Cephei = 2 Ursae minoris = N° 249 de Ambrohn, *Sternverzeichnis*, Berlin 1907. D'après le *Berliner astronomisches Jahrbuch für 1928*, la grandeur de l'étoile est de 4.52.

Au lieu de: Piazzi 122 Céphée, il faut donc plus simplement écrire: 43 H Cephei = 2 Ursae minoris, grandeur: 4.5.'

L'étoile que de Saussure avait inexactement identifiée au 122 de Piazzi, est appelée *Clou* dans les *Instructions nautiques* arabes.

'Ce nom de *Clou*, ajoutait de Saussure auquel j'avais indiqué le sens de *mīh*, provient sans doute de ce que cette étoile, comme cela résulte du texte [arabe que je lui avais communiqué en traduction], culmine en même temps que la polaire, au dessus d'elle, et semble ainsi être le clou auquel cette dernière, est attachée.'²

Le texte arabe du MS. 2292 (folio 94 verso, lignes 1-2) dit, en effet: 'Le Clou, l'Étoile polaire et le pôle sont comme la lettre arabe *alif*, horizontaux [ou] verticaux, mais jamais obliques. On appelle celui-là le Clou ou la Vis du Gāh parce qu'il cloue l'étoile polaire au pôle.'

Ce nom d'étoile d'origine persane est à ajouter à ceux que j'ai précédemment indiqués. Il est important, car il est en relation directe avec l'étoile polaire qui joue un rôle de premier plan dans la détermination des latitudes d'un grand nombre de ports de l'Océan Indien.

III. اِسْ دَارِ, le garde-chemin

Aux termes persans arabisés mentionnés dans l'article du *Journal asiatique* précité, il y a lieu d'ajouter encore celui que contient l'inscription coufique du Čampa publiée par M. Paul Ravaisse.³ Il y est question d'un certain

¹ Pour la voyelle *majhūl*, consulter le dictionnaire de Steingass qui marque les différences entre *ī* et *ē*, *ū* et *ō*. ² Cf. mon *Introduction à l'astronomie nautique arabe*, p. 163, note 1.

³ 'Deux inscriptions coufiques du Čampa', dans *Journal asiatique*, octobre-décembre 1922, p. 249-67. L'ancien Čampa est l'Annam actuel.

Aḥmad bin Abū Ibrāhīm bin Abū 'Arrāda, connu sous le nom de Abū Kāmil, décédé le 29 safar 431 = 21 novembre 1039. Ce personnage inconnu par ailleurs, était راه دار = رهدار, 'garde-chemin' au Čampa où son inscription funéraire a été trouvée. Elle est entièrement en arabe, mais la présence de ce titre persan en Indochine, en 1039 de notre ère, méritait une mention spéciale.¹

IV. راه دان, celui qui connaît le chemin

Dans l'édition de De Goeje du *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik* de Abū'l-Ḳāsim 'Obaidallah ibn Ḥordādhbeh,² rédigé entre 844 et 848 de notre ère, se trouve un passage intitulé مسلك التجار اليهود الراذنية 'itinéraire des marchands Juifs dits ar-Rādhāniyya'. 'Ces marchands, continue le texte, parlent l'arabe, le persan, le romain رومية, la langue franque, l'espagnol et le slave. Ils voyagent de l'Orient en Occident et de l'Occident en Orient, par terre, et par mer . . . (p. 144 de la traduction et 153 du texte).' اذان, ne rappelle rien de connu. Comme l'a indiqué De Goeje lui-même dans son glossaire, il faut plutôt lire ادان, forme arabisée du persan راه دان, 'celui qui connaît le chemin'. Cette légère correction donne un sens qui s'applique parfaitement à ces marchands juifs polyglottes voyageant entre la France et la Chine. L'information est précieuse au IX^e siècle et il est important de noter qu'il s'agit encore d'un terme persan arabisé.

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¹ Sur le Čampa, cf. la belle étude de M. Georges Maspero, *Le royaume de Champa*, 2^e édition, Paris, 1928, gr. in 8°. La date de 1039 correspond au règne de Vikrāntavarman IV sur lequel nous sommes peu renseignés (p. 134).

² Leyde, 1889, in 8°, texte arabe et traduction française. C'est le tome vi de la *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum* éditée, par l'illustre arabisant hollandais.

SUNAŠŠURA: AN INDIAN KING OF KIZWATNA

FOR a long time it has been known that in the Amarna age, i.e. at 1400 B.C., there were many Indo-Iranian rulers in the Syrian and Mesopotamian kingdoms. Especially the dynasty of the Churri and Mitannian Empire, which plays the role of a great power in the period we are dealing with, belongs to this constituent part of the population of the ancient Near East.¹ Having obtained the culmination of its influence, the Mitannian kingdom extended to the coast of the Mediterranean,² and we are therefore not surprised to meet Indo-Iranians also in the adjoining parts of Syria and even of Palestine. Their names have already been collected and interpreted by several scholars.³ To their list might be added, I think, the name mentioned in the heading of this short paper, occurring in Hittite cuneiform documents.⁴

Beyond any doubt, *Sunaššura* is a name of the same type as *Artatama*, *Artamanya*, *Šutarna*, *Mattiwaza*, *Aitaggama*, &c. If we look for an Indo-Iranian interpretation we recognize easily at the end of the compound the Ind. *šūra* and Av. *šūra* 'strong, brave, hero'. Here the Ind. *ś* is replaced by *š* in cuneiform writing in the same manner as, for instance, in the name *Piridašwa*, which contains certainly the Indian word *aśva* and means probably 'who possesses a war-horse'.⁵ It is more difficult to recognize the Ind. resp. Av. word which we suppose equivalent to the first part of *Sunaššura*. The *š* of cuneiform writing suits Ind. *ś* as well as Ind. *s*. The first equation is shown above. The other we have for instance in *Šuwardāta*, i.e. 'given by the sun-god (*svar*)', or in *Šubandu*, i.e. 'who has noble relatives', &c. So it is possible to suppose *šuna-* or *suma-*. But only the first gives a satisfactory meaning: *šuna-* is in the Rig-Veda 'Prosperity, health, success', and the accusative *śundm* often occurs as an adverb in the sense 'to prosperity, with success'.⁶ In the beginning of a compound we find it in the Vedic proper name *śund-hotra*.⁷ That is the name of a family of priests, and it suits their behaviour very well, because evidently it means: 'one whose sacrifice (is, leads) to prosperity'.⁸ I quote it, because its structure seems quite related to that of

¹ Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, i, 2, §§ 455, 465. Cp. also the resp. chapters of the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

² Götze, *Das Hethiter-Reich (Der Alte Orient)*, xxvii. 2, (1928), p. 22.

³ Hommel, 'Hethiter und Skythen und das erste Auftreten der Iranier in der Geschichte' (*Sitzungsberichte der Böhmisches Akademie, philologische Klasse*, 1898); Scheftelowitz in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, xxxviii, 1902, p. 270 f.; Bloomfield in *American Journal of Philology*, xxv, 1906, p. 8; Ed. Meyer in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, xlii, 1908, pp. 16 ff. The last articles about the matter are by Porzig in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, v, 1927, pp. 265 ff. and by Friedrich in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, i, 1929, pp. 144 ff. (with full references!).

⁴ See especially the treaty of a Hittite king with *Sunaššura* of Kizwatna published in *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, i. 5, and translated by D. D. Luckenbill in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xxxvii, 1921, pp. 180 ff., and Weidner in *Boghazköi-Studien*, viii, 1923, pp. 88 ff.

⁵ Porzig, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, v, 1927, p. 267.

⁶ *Petersburger Wörterbuch*, vii, col. 257.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ The second part cannot be an enlargement of *hotr-*, as for instance *-netra-* in *Agni-netra-*, because *hotr-* is found in several compounds (cp. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, §80, aβ). So we have to conceive it as *hotra-* 'sacrifice'.

the name under discussion. *Sunaššura* looks like the counterpart if not to *Sunā-hotra-*, then to *Suna-hotr-*, which, it is a scientific duty to add, is merely hypothetical. A counterpart adapted to the other class from which the king came, that of the warrior: 'the hero to prosperity'. For the idea underlying this name we have an instructive test in the strophe RV. i. 54, 7: 'The man will prosper (*śuśuvāt*) as king and right lord who sacrificing fulfils his (i.e. Indra's) commandments.' Here we have the connexion of the hero-king with 'prosperity' in quite the same manner as in the name of the king of Kizwatna.

The spelling *Šu-na-aš-šu-ra*, throughout observed, gives by its middle šš a reference to the place of the accent: *Sunā-šura*. It would be entirely in accordance with the rules prescribed by grammarians concerning the accentuation of a Tatpuruṣa with indeclinable first part.¹

Sunaššura is a king of Kizwatna. To recognize that he bears an Indian name—since we can eliminate Iranian, because *śunām* is not to be found in Iranian—i.e. that he descends from a family of Indian rulers, is of importance as to the localization of his country Kizwatna. Yet, the general supposition is, that the country is to be localized on the northern shore of Asia Minor.² In contradiction to this, the author is convinced, as he has exposed elsewhere,³ that it was situated on the coast of the Mediterranean round the gulf of Issus. From the Indian character of the king's name I derive a new argument for my opinion. This argument alone, I confess, is by no means decisive, but it strengthens my position in a very convenient way. My localization accepted, the country of the Indian dynast joins immediately to the territory known long ago as ruled by Indo-Iranians. In the north of Asia Minor, however, on the Black Sea, an Indian would be totally isolated, and we would be enforced to assume that he had been separated by a singular fate from the Churritic-Mitannian territory where Indo-Iranians are familiar. Such a supposition is very unlikely.

Of course, these Indians were, also in Kizwatna, a very thin stratum of nobles and warriors. Perhaps, only the king's family was Indian. In the population many and various ingredients might have been mingled together. For instance, the name of a Kizwatnian *Ammi-ḫatna*⁴ refers to one which can be identified. It is surely 'Amoritic', that is to say, it belongs to a very old layer of Semites. Its occurrence in Kizwatna points to the same direction as that of the Indian name discussed above. The home of the Amorites is (in spite of all objections)⁵ Northern Mesopotamia. Therefore, an Amorite on the gulf of

¹ Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, § 105, aß; § 106 f. we find quoted the passage Panini vi. 2, 2 which states this accentuation.

² Garstang-Mayer, *Index of Hittite Names*, and *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, x, 1923, pp. 172 ff.; Unger, article 'Kiswatna' in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, vi, 1926, p. 366 f.; Forrer, *Forschungen*, ii, 1926, pp. 38 ff.; Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens*, i, 1927, pp. 270 ff.; Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, ii. 1, 1928, p. 158, note 1.

³ *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Neue Folge, ii, 1925, pp. 305 ff. This opinion agrees with that of Sidney Smith, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, viii, pp. 211 ff. and x, 1914 ff. and that of Sayce, *ibid.* viii, 233 f.

⁴ *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, v. 1, col. 1, line 1.

⁵ See esp. Landsberger in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Neue Folge, i, 1924, pp. 236 ff. and Theo Bauer, *Die Ostkanaänder*, 1926.

Issus can be explained historically; he would be isolated and very strange on the Black Sea.

So, we come to the conclusion: the name *Šunaššura* is an Indian one. This we consider a corroboration of our opinion, that his country Kizwatna was situated on the Mediterranean.

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CONCERNING SOME WORDS OF THE AVESTA

1. Av. *aku-*, 'Shear'.

AV. *aku-* m., 'Shear, shear-like weapon', occurs in Yt. i. 18; Bartholomae in his *Old Iranian Dictionary*, 46, can give no etymology for the word. It seems natural to place it with *añku-* in the adjective *añku-pasəmna-* 'adorning oneself with a hook, clasp' (Yt. xvii. 10); thus further with Skr. *añká-* 'curve, hook, bend', *añkurá-* 'shoot', Gk. *ῥυκος* 'barbed hook', Lat. *uncus* 'bent'. Also Av. *aka-* 'hook, peg', Skr. *ācati* 'bends', beside *añcati*, Pahl. *ančitan* 'to bend', offers the same weak grade of vowel.

2. Av. *sima-*, 'arousing horror'.

Black was a symbol of the ugly, horrible, and malicious to the Indogermanic people. Thus the Vedic Indian speaks scornfully of the original inhabitants against whom he fights as of the 'black skin'; *mélanes ánthrōpoi* are to the Greek 'iniquitous beings'; Horace's verse is well known: *hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto!* Wolfram von Eschenbach at the beginning of his *Parcival* connects white and black symbolically with good and evil:

der unstæte geselle
hât die swarzen varwen gar
Und wirt och nâch der vîenster var;
sô habet sich an die blanken
der mit stæten gedanken.

'The companion of faithlessness is absolutely black and corresponds to the dark colour; on the other hand he who cherishes loyal thoughts sides with the white colour.' Even in Old Norse we often find the close connexion *illr ok svartr* 'evil and black' (e. g. *Gunnlaugs Saga*, chap. viii, in the scald verse).

With the Iranians naturally this old, inherited image is known above all in the dual doctrine of Zarathushtra. In the meaning of the word we find this representation by an image operative, for example, in the word *ka-x^oarəda-* m., *ka-x^oarədi-* 'designations of devilish beings'; Bartholomae in his *Old Iranian Dictionary* rightly explains: actually 'what an (abominable) black fellow' and recalls in connexion therewith the Ital. *negraccio* 'travelling vagrants', whereby, it is true, the pejorative suffix must be considered.

Supported by such parallels I should like to connect the unexplained Avesta word *sima-* 'horrible' very closely with *sāma-* 'blacks' (Yt. viii. 18, 21); *i* is of course the weak grade to the *ā* in *sāma-*.

3. Av. *hāiriši*, 'woman, little woman'.

It was early conjectured that the Indogermanic word for sister **sue-sor-* (in Skr. *svāsar-*, Av. *x^oarshar*, N. Pers., *xāhar*, Lat., *soror*, &c.) is really a compound of the pronominal stem **sue-* in (Skr. *sva-*, Av. *hva-*, Lat. *suus*, &c.), and an

old word for 'woman' (see Hirt, *Indogerm. Grammatik*, ii, 1921, 176 f.). Meringer recognized the weak grade in the -sr- in the feminine Skr. *tisrá-*, *catasrá-* 'three, four women'; also O.Ir. *teoir* from **tisóres* with the normal grade (*Indog. Forsch.* xvi. 171). In Av. *hāiriši-*, however, we have to recognize a further development of the independent word, and only then does that old conjecture become a certainty.

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THE TRADITIONAL DATE OF ZOROASTER

IN the Iranian Bundahishn, p. 238, ll. 6 ff., we find a chapter 'On the reckoning of the years'.

The world's life is 12,000 years. The first 3,000 years, ruled by Aries, Taurus, and Gemini, are those of the transcendental existence of the creation. The second 3,000 years those of Gayômart and Gôsh.

Half of the life of the world is already over, when at the beginning of the seventh millennium, that of Libra, Anrakmênôk rushes in. Gayômart lives 30 years under that onslaught, 40 more after it. Mahrya and Mahryâna grow up; they live 50 years alone, 93 and a half as husband and wife, until Hôshang becomes of age. He rules 40, Takhmoruf 30 years. The remaining 716 years and a half are filled by the reign of Yam.

Follows the eighth millennium of Scorpio, at the same time the reign of Dahâk.

In the first half of the ninth millennium, that of Sagittarius, reigns Frêtôn, during whose 500 years occur the 12 years of Êrêç. The following 120 years of Manushcihr include the interregnum of Frâsyâp. Auzaw ê Tukhmâspân rules 5 years, Kaikavât 15 years; the time of Sahm falls under those two reigns. Kaikâyûs has 150 years; his ascension to heaven happens in the middle of his reign. Kai Luhrâsp with 60, Kai Vishtâsp with 30 years 'until the coming of the religion *matan ê dên*', make up the ninth millennium.

The tenth millennium, that of Capricornus, opens with 'the coming of Zartukhsht to Vishtâsp, with the prophetship that he received from the creator Ohrmazd'. After that event, Vishtâsp rules another 90 years, his successor Vahman ê Spandyâtân 112 years, Humây Vahmandukht 30 years, Dârây ê Cihrazâtân 12 years, and Dârây ê Dârâyân 14 years. That makes 258 years, a figure not mentioned in the text, from the beginning of the millennium, the *matan ê dên*, or from the appearance of the prophet before Vishtâsp, till the beginning of the reign of Alaksandar. The remaining 742 years of the tenth millennium are filled by (1) the reign of Alaksandar 14 years, (2) the '200 and odd years' (according to the Ir.Bdh., but 284 years according to the Ind. Bdh.) of the Ashkânân, and (3) 460 years of the Sasanian. At the end both texts mention the Arab invasion. It belongs to the millennium system.

The figures in the text can be checked through various independent sources, and are corroborated by them. The text itself is all right, with exception of the figures given for the duration of the Arsacidan period, a very difficult problem. Here it is enough to know, that the sum, excluding the Mohammedan period, is apparently not allowed to exceed the limit of the millennium, as the 284 years of the Ind. Bdh. slightly do.

Nothing is said, at that place, about the eleventh and twelfth millennium. But in the preceding chapter on the 'Evils that befell Êrânshahr during the various millenniums', Ir. Bdh., p. 218, l. 5, we learn that the eleventh millennium, it is that of Aquarius, belongs to the first Sôshyans Ukhshyatar, and

p. 219, l. 9, the last millennium, that of Pisces, to the second Sôshyans Ukhshyatarmâh.

Hence it becomes evident that the entire 'reckoning of the years' is based upon eschatological hopes, to be fulfilled with the coming of the eleventh millennium. The whole idea of the mystical system is born of that hope, which shone to the pious author during the 'vatzamânakîh' of the Mohammedan conquest, the 'time of evil', the 'hardest calamity that ever had befallen Êrânshahr since the creation of the world till to-day' (p. 216, ll. 10/11). This implies that the chapter on the mystical system cannot be older than the very first beginning of the Mohammedan epoch, nor be taken from any older source, as it stands. Inostrantsev has given a masterful picture of the state of mind prevailing at that epoch among the Zoroastrians of Iran, of the hopes that, when disappointed, led to the emigration of the Parsis to India (*Journ. Cama Or. Inst.* i).

Beside this allusion to the date of Zoroaster, there is but one other instance in the whole Zoroastrian literature, in the first lines of the book of Artâvîrâz. Essentially these lines tell that Zartukhsht had accepted the religion and made it spread over the world, that until the completion of 300 years the religion was pure, mankind free from religious doubts, but that afterwards Anrakmênôk instigated the accursed Alaksandar the Roman, to rush upon Êrânshahr with cruelty, war, and destruction, &c.

Even more evident than that the mystical system cannot be earlier than the early Mohammedan epoch, it appears here that 300 years are a round figure, not an exact date, although replacing such a date.

That figure has no relation at all to the story that follows, the burning of the holy writings by Alaksandar. The expression 'Alaksandar the Roman' belongs originally to that story and is used wherever that story occurs. It shows that the tradition which attributes to the great conqueror an act of vandalism, as we know entirely in contradiction with his whole politics and tendency, cannot be older than, but necessarily must be subsequent to, the date of the partition of the Roman Empire into West- and East-Rome. For, previous to it, no Greek could be called a 'Roman, Rûmî'. Hence that tradition cannot be regarded as based on historical facts.

The third allusion to the date of Zoroaster is found in the *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, that admirable work of the greatest scientific genius the Mohammedan world ever produced, al-Bêrûnî. On p. 14 he sceptically discusses the assertions of the Zoroastrians that the world's life be 12,000 years, in harmony with the number of the signs of the zodiac and of the months, and that Zarâdusht taught that one-quarter of it, 3,000 years, had elapsed from the beginning of the world till his appearance, 'zuhûr'; he combines with these dates the third one, that from the 'appearance of Zarâdusht till the beginning of the era of Alexander' 258 years had passed; this would give for the beginning of that era 3,258 years from the creation of the world, whereas, in summing up the reigns of the different Iranian kings from Gayômart onwards, he found the sum of 3,354 years, &c.

This passage clearly shows that al-Bêrûnî did not use the Bundahishn

itself, but a similar, not an identical, source of information. It shows further that the author of the Bundahishn made use of the same old material in his figure 12,000, in mentioning the zodiacal signs, and—as those figures are also corroborated by al-Bêrûnî—in the figures for the single reigns. The important and striking difference is that, according to al-Bêrûnî's source, Zoroaster appears in the fourth millennium, not in the tenth. That the author of the Bundahishn, too, knew the same tradition is proved by the fact that in the chapter on the 'Evils', in contradiction with his own chapter on the 'Years', he calls the seventh millennium the first and so on: he has not completely effaced the traces of the older source.

Therefore the system known to al-Bêrûnî and which, at the same time, was the source of the Bundahishn, was absolutely free from any eschatological ideas or hopes. At the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth millennium nobody could be afraid that the end of the world came near. It was the Arab conquest that produced such a fear or hope and caused the changed interpretation of the chronological system. It was the author of the Bundahishn who, by introducing the idea that half of the world's life had already passed in the transcendental state and by combining with it the other idea that the last two millennia belonged to the two precursors of the third Sôshyans, transformed into an eschatological system the older reckoning of the years, which mystical and not historical from the beginning, yet had never been an eschatological system.

The figure 258 is only latent, not mentioned in the Bundahishn system. But it existed in the older sources according to al-Bêrûnî. It is not arrived at by a secondary summing up of the reigns from Vishtâsp till Dârây ê Dârâyân, but vice versa, the figures of the reigns of those unhistorical kings—their origin are the romances of Alexander and Esther—are based upon the figure of 258 years.

That figure apparently caused heavy embarrassment to the author of the Bundahishn: it does not fit well into the system. If the seventh millennium begins with Gayômart, the eighth with Dahâk, the ninth with Frêtôn, the more we ought to expect that the tenth millennium, that of Zoroaster, begins with him. But beginning as well as end of that date are ambiguous. Hence the expressions of the author are vague. Jackson and West have spent much sagacity on the problem, in trying to reconcile the different data by various interpretations of the limits of our figure. But all their endeavours, from the beginning, could not prove anything but the embarrassment of the author of the Bundahishn. They reveal with much lucidity only one, but the only important fact: the figure 258 existed before the system of the Bundahishn.

The Bundahishn speaks of the 'coming of the religion', and for the same event as of 'the coming of Zoroaster to Vishtâsp'. But al-Bêrûnî has another expression, 'zuhûr'. This word translates, no doubt, the common Pahl. word 'pêtâkîh'. The Pahl. as well as the Ar. word are equivalent to Gr. 'epiphaneia', 'epiphany'. 'Pêtâkîh' was the word in the source of the Bundahishn.

A number of the Seleucids and earlier Arsacids and all the later Arsacids bear the surname Epiphanes, implying a deification of the king, the notion of

his being the apparition, the incarnation of a deity. The 'epiphany' of a king might be his accession to the throne or his birth. A prophet is much more 'epiphanes'; in him surely God descends on earth. Which event in the life of a prophet, in ancient belief, is his epiphany? Can it be the first supernatural vision, the first conversation with Ohrmazd, or the first preaching, the beginning of his ministry, or the conversion of his first mighty follower, Vishtâsp, in the case of Zoroaster? The same embarrassing questions, which Jackson and West tried to answer, were already unanswerable to the author of the Bundahishn.

The epiphany of a prophet, according to ancient belief, is announced to the world by portents, explained by astrologers. The astrologers tell Herodes about the birth of the infant Jesus. Epiphany is the day of the adoration of the child by the three Magi. The portents that announce the birth, the appearance on earth of Mohammed are well known, like the bursting of the palace of the Khosroes. Any other explanation of the 'pêtâkih', the epiphany of Zoroaster, than that as his appearance on earth, his birth, is artificial. This original meaning did not fit well into the mystical system, the less so as it was difficult to reconcile it with other traditional dates, like such a one that Zoroaster was thirty years old when he had his first vision, or, contradicting it, that this was his age when he converted Vishtâsp. That those thirty years are round figures, that they are unhistorical, mystical ones, does not require a special proof. They have no relation whatever to the 258 years between the appearance of the prophet and Alexander. This date is entirely independent and of a totally different style. And the only and easy task for historical criticism is to separate it from admixture apt to adulterate it.

The end of the period is considered by the author of the Bundahishn to be the beginning of the reign of Alexander. Al-Bêrûnî, on the other hand, speaks simply of 258 years before the era of Alexander. As a passage of his (p. 28, ll. 10 ff.) shows, he was under the wrong belief that the epochal year meant the year when Alexander, twenty-six years of age, started to attack Iran. As a matter of fact, the epochal year is the year 312/11 B.C., the first year of Seleucus. When Seleucus was murdered in 281, instead of counting the years of his successor Antiochus, people continued counting the years of Seleucus: the first real era. Al-Bêrûnî's error only affects the meaning of that year, not the year itself. For, at another place, he connects the appearance of Ibn abî Zakariya on 1st of Ram. 319 H. with a prophecy of the apocryphal Jâmâsp-Zarâdusht, foretelling that appearance in the year 1500 after Zoroaster, and he proves the truth of the prophecy by saying that 319 H. corresponds to 1242 Al. or 1500 Zar. This reckoning of his contains, besides the figure 258 (1500-1242) also the figure 312, for the Hijra date corresponds to 17 September 931 Chr., or $312 + 931 = 1242$. In the same way al-Bêrûnî makes the statement that between Zoroaster and Yazdkert I, son of Shâpûr, nearly 970 years had elapsed: the figure is composed of $258 + 312 + 399$, the last one the date of the first year of Yazdkert.

There is no interior historical connexion whatever between the prophet of Iran and the conqueror of Iran that could have been the *motif* to hand down

the fact that the appearance of the prophet happened 258 years before the conqueror, unless it be the fact that Alexander furnished the name for the era of Seleucus. It is impossible to attribute any other significance to such a notice than that 'before the era Alexandri'. Al-Bêrûnî is perfectly right as regards the signification of the final term of the 258 years. Whether it be his own conjecture, or, as is even as probable, whether he found the word era in his source, the 258 years before Alexander are reckoned from the 'appearance' or birth of Zoroaster till the era of Alexander. The author of the Bundahishn is uncertain about it: the figure was not his invention. It must have stood in an older work, long since lost, a 'Life of the Prophet', that Zoroaster appeared 258 years before the era Alexandri.

That era was in common use in Iran during the Seleucid and at least the first half of the Arsacid period. The traditional date of the prophet, hence, belongs to that period. It has been written, with great probability, when under Volagases I, c. A.D. 50-77, the Awesta was first fixed by writing. It is at least 700 years older than the eschatological system of the Bundahishn, into which it was so difficult to fit it in.

We have investigated the exactness of the three texts, interpreted their meaning, established the historical relation between them, and freed the original tradition from subsequent admixtures. Nothing remains but to criticize that traditional fact itself.

The Awestic writings have handed down to posterity several isolated facts about the life of the prophet; more than that, no other ancient facts but such referring to the life of the prophet. The existence and tradition of an old notice concerning his date is probable.

The figure itself, 258 years, is above any suspicion of being a mystical, a legendary one. It must be a real figure. Perhaps the word 'epiphany' may allow a double interpretation, but that as the birth of the prophet seems to be by far the best one. The use of the era Alexandri is quite regular for a long period of Iranian history to which the tradition must belong.

It may have been written down at the time of Volagases I: in its essence it is older, of course not older than that era. In the course of not more than 500 or 600 and not less than 258 years, the East does not forget the appearance of a prophet.

The traditional date, which fixes the birth of Zoroaster 258 years B.A.L., 570 B.C., or 910 B.Y., is a true historical date, preserved by a favourable chance, through the author of the Bundahishn, who himself no longer could interpret its real meaning, and that great historian al-Bêrûnî.

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TIŠTRYA

DER Stern (oder das Gestirn) *Tištrya*, dessen Anrufung im Avesta ein ganzer Yašt (viii) gewidmet ist, wird vom ersten Übersetzer desselben Anquetil-Duperron zögernd dem Sirius (α Canis majoris) gleichgestellt.¹ Diese Gleichstellung wurde in der Folge nicht nur von allen Iranisten übernommen, sondern als sicher ausgegeben,² obschon v. 5 und 42 des genannten Yašt klar zeigen, dass beim (heliakischen) Aufgange des *Tištrya* 'die Wasserquellen die stärker als Rosse sind auf's neue fließen', was doch beim Sirius, der in der Breite von *Raya* (*Raiy*, 2 Stunden S. O. von *Tehrān*), der Heimat des Zoroaster, im letzten Drittel des Juli, also zur Zeit der grössten Dürre aufging, entschieden nicht der Fall ist.

Léopold de Saussure hat nun in seinem Aufsatz 'Le système cosmologique sino-iranien', *Journ. as.* 1923, in welchem er die zwischen den chinesischen und iranischen kosmologischen und astronomischen Systemen bestehenden Analogien darlegt,³ aus eben diesen Analogien geschlossen (o.c. p. 261-3), dass der Stern *Tištrya* 'der Herr und Aufseher über alle Sterne' (Yašt viii. 44) dem chines. 心大星 *hsin ta hsing*, dem grossen Sterne [der Mondstation] des Herzens (σ ar Scorpionis), also dem Antares (α Scorpionis) gleichzusetzen ist, der im 'Buche der Regenten des Himmels' des Sze-ma-Ch'ien (100 v. Chr.) 'der König des Himmels' genannt wird,⁴ und da Antares, immer in der Breite von *Raya*, im Jahre 1 n. Chr.⁵ am 19. Nov. aufging, so wird man, wenn man die dortigen Regenverhältnisse⁶ berücksichtigt, diese Gleichung mindestens für sehr wahrscheinlich halten, um so mehr als auch die neupersische Übersetzung unser T. mit *manzil i-bārān*, 'Regen-Mondstation' wiedergibt.

Die Gleichung T. = Antares lässt sich aber auch mit Mitteln, die de Saussure nicht zugänglich waren, erweisen und wie ich glaube über jeden Zweifel feststellen. Zunächst—was überraschend erscheinen mag—durch die von Littmann in seinen *Tales, Customs, Names and Dirges of the Tigrē Tribes*, Leyden, 1910, vol. i, p. 54 f. = vol. ii, p. 59 f. veröffentlichten und übersetzten

¹ *Zend-Avesta*, t. ii, Paris, 1771, p. 186: J'ai exposé dans les *Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres*, t. xxiv, p. 397-8, les raisons qui me portent à croire que Taschter est Sirius.

² So auch von Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 652.

³ Wie diese Analogien zu erklären sind, zeigt jetzt Henri Maspéro, *La Chine antique*, Paris, 1927, p. 617.

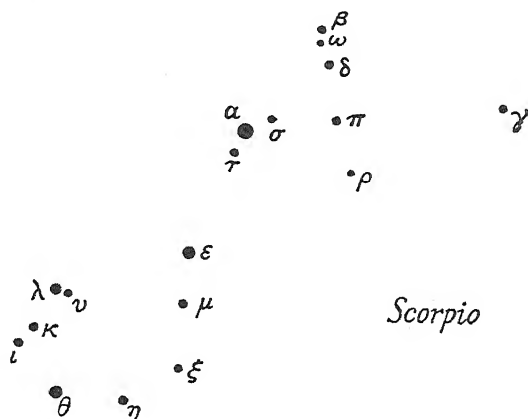
⁴ S. o. c., p. 263 u. Schlegel, *Uranographie chinoise*, p. 149.
⁵ Bei der Unmöglichkeit dem *Tištār Yašt* ein bestimmtes Alter zuzuschreiben, gebe ich die Zeit des heliakischen Aufganges für das Jahr 1 an, weil dieses ungefähr in der Mitte ist zwischen dem Ende der Achaemeniden und der Proclamation des Avesta Canons unter Šāpūr II. In der Zeit des Zoroaster, um 600 v. Chr. (S. Meillet, *Trois conférences sur les Gāthā de l'Avesta*, p. 22), fiel der heliakische Aufgang des Antares auf den 15. November.

⁶ Folgendes sind die mittleren monatlichen Regenmengen von *Tehrān* für die Periode 1892-1907, nach Houtum-Schindler.

Juni	1.5 mm.	November	34.3 mm.
Juli	1.3 „	December	32.2 „
August	1.3 „	Januar	44.7 „
September	1.5 „	Februar	29.7 „
October	8.1 „	März	47.5 „
		April	35.8 „

Diese Zahlen allein zeigen, dass T. im November erscheinen musste.

Erzählungen über Sterne und Stern-Legenden des Tigrē-Volkes, welche wie die Sternnamen *Gah* 'Polarstern' = pers. *gāh* und 'die sieben Brüder' d. i. der grosse Wagen ($\alpha\beta\gamma\delta\epsilon\zeta\eta$ Ursae majoris) = pers. *haft birādarān* (Vullers, *Lex. pers.* 1457a) zeigen, unter persischem Einfluss stehen.¹ Antares, im Tigrē *lebb* 'das Herz' und *kōkab 'abī* 'der grosse Stern' genannt, wird nicht nur als erster im Verzeichnis der Sterne angeführt, sondern auch als 'Anführer der



Sterne' bezeichnet. Von ihm heisst es: 'Und er ist der Häuptling aller Sterne und sie unterstehen seiner Rechtsprechung. Und die Menschen ehren den grossen Stern' . . . was fast wie ein Citat aus Yašt viii. 44 aussieht, wo wir lesen: 'den T., den prächtigen, glänzenden verehren wir, den *Ahuramazdāh* zum Richter (*ratau*) und Aufseher über alle Sterne gesetzt hat'.

Bei den weitgehenden Übereinstimmungen, die in sprachlicher Beziehung zwischen Iran und Indien bestehen, ist aber der Umstand, dass auch bei den alten Indiern die 16. Mondstation *Jyēsthā*, 'die Vornehmste, Vorzüglichste', bestehend aus den Sternen $\sigma\alpha\tau$ Scorpionis die führende Rolle unter den Mondstationen spielt, der wichtigste Beweis für die Theorie de Saussures. Prof. E. Abegg, der Verfasser des Werkes *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran*, Berlin, 1928, den ich über die Stellung dieses Gestirnes in Religion und Mythos der Indier befragte, legt dieselbe wie folgt dar: 'Das 16. Mondhaus *Jyēsthā* f. ist dem Indra, dem obersten Gotte der älteren indischen Zeit geweiht, und trägt deshalb auch den Namen *Aindra*. Wer unter *Jyēsthā* ein Totenopfer (*śrāddha*) darbringt, erlangt Herrschermacht, *ādhipatyā* (Mahābhārata 13, 4263; Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa 33, 13), Gedeihen und Glück (Mhbbh. 13, 3274). Ähnliche Angaben macht der von Bolling und von Negelein herausgegebene *Atharva-Parīṣiṣṭa*, z. B. i. 29, 2; 44, 6'.

Diese Übereinstimmung der mythologischen Stellung des T. einerseits und der *Jyēsthā*, die man als Antares-Mondstation bezeichnen könnte andererseits lässt nun aber die Frage aufkommen, ob T. nicht etwa auch das

¹ Die persischen Sternnamen und Mythen bei den Tigrē sind denselben ohne Zweifel durch die persischen Seefahrer vermittelt worden, deren Rolle und Einfluss dargestellt sind in dem Aufsätze von G. Ferrand 'L'élément persan dans les textes nautiques arabes des xve et xvi^e siècles', *Journ. as.*, 1924, pp. 193-257.

Dreigestirn $\sigma\alpha\tau$ Scorpionis und nicht bloss den Antares (α Scorpionis) allein bezeichnet, wie man aus den Argumenten de Saussures und aus dem Tigrē schliessen könnte, und ich glaube, dass der Text des Avesta selbst darauf eine klare Antwort gibt. Nach Yašt viii. 20 erscheint T. 'in Gestalt eines weissen Rosses mit goldfarbigen Ohren (und) goldenem Zügel'. Das Wort welches Bartholomae, Wolff, Lommel mit 'weiss' übersetzen, *auruša*, entspricht dem altindischen *aruša*, das 'rötlich' bedeutet, und wurde denn auch früher von Geldner¹ so übersetzt, dann aber von Hübschmann Kuhn's *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. 27. 102 als 'weiss' gedeutet, hauptsächlich weil *Miθra*, dessen Pferde nach Yašt x. 125 weiss sind (*spaētita*), ib. 102 *aurušaspa*- genannt wird und weil die etymologisch entsprechende Pehlevi-Übersetzung *arūs* ebenfalls 'weiss' bedeute. Da nun für mich die Identification des T. mit Antares, resp. mit Antares und den beiden neben ihm stehenden Sternen sicher, der Antares aber auffallend rot ist,² so können mich die Gründe Hübschmann's nicht überzeugen, zumal ein Bedeutungsübergang von 'rot' auf 'weiss' meines Wissens nirgends vorkommt und pehl. *arūs*, zu dem eine neupers. Entsprechung fehlt, wohl nur eine Umschreibung des Avesta-Wortes ist. Sollten vielleicht die Pferde des Miθra solche gewesen sein 'deren Fell ganz weiss ist, während die unbehaarten Theile am Maule und den Weichen fleischfarbig sind' und die bei den Kirgisen *kyzyl at* 'rote Pferde' genannt werden?³ Man könnte dann verstehen, dass sie einmal als rot und ein anderes Mal als weiss bezeichnet werden. Nun sind die beiden seitlich des roten Antares stehenden Sterne gelb und des weitem eine Reihe von Sternen, die vor und hinter diesen stehen, nämlich $\beta\delta\pi\rho$ und $\epsilon\mu\xi\eta\theta\kappa\lambda$ Scorpionis dunkelgelb bis weissgelb⁴; $\sigma\tau$ sind die goldfarbigen Ohren, die andern stellen den goldenen 'Zügel'⁵ dar.

Tištrya ist also eine Gruppe von Sternen, die im wesentlichen der indischen Mondstation *Jyēsthā*, der chinesischen *Hsin* 'das Herz' (des Drachen) und der arabischen *al-Qalb* 'das Herz' (des Scorpions)⁶ resp. $\sigma\alpha\tau$ Scorpionis entspricht, aber noch einige andere oben angeführte Sterne umfasst.

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¹ Im *Grundriss der Iran. Philol.*, Bd. ii. 53 dagegen gibt Geldner *aruša* als Beispiel der Fälle 'wo Sanskrit und die jüngern iranischen Sprachen in Collision kommen'.

² Nach Möller (bei Boll, *Antike Beobachtungen farbiger Sterne*, München, 1918, S. 35) ist α Scorp. orange-rot, σ zwischen weisslich gelb und blassgelb, τ zwischen blassgelb und reingelb.

³ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, Leipzig, 1884, Bd. i. 443.

⁴ S. Boll o.c., S. 35 f.

⁵ Professor Abegg belehrt mich, dass das Wort, das Wolff mit 'Zügel', Lommel mit 'Zaumzeug' übersetzt *aividāna*, eigentlich 'das was man herumlegt' bedeutet, so dass also vielleicht die angegebenen Übersetzungen zu speciell sind; es sind die Sterne, die vor und hinter den Antares gelegt sind.

⁶ arab. *al-qalb* bezeichnet sowohl den Antares allein, als die ganze Mondstation, $\sigma\tau$ werden als *an-niyāt* 'der Henkel' (resp. die Aorta, an der das Herz aufgehängt ist) aufgefasst.

Translation : Whenever, O Bhārata, the decline of religion takes place, and there is exaltation of irreligiousness, then I myself take birth, for the protection of the good, (and) for the destruction of the wicked; and for firmly establishing religiousness I (the Almighty) am born from age to age.

THE CULT OF FIRE IN CHRISTIANITY

THE cult of fire is probably the most generally observed of religious usages. It is found in some form or other in Asia, Africa, America, and Europe, and has existed from the earliest times up to the present. Its manifestations are very diverse, but a review of the various fire-rituals shows that there is a fundamental unity of thought underlying the most dissimilar practices. This thought is expressed most often by rites of purgation or purification, but such rites are really a later development of a more primitive idea, one in closer accord with the attitude of savage man toward a hostile environment, that of securing for himself safety in the immediate future as well as at the time of performing the simple ritual. Out of this idea have blossomed gradually those extensions which, with the growth of thought and reflection, may rightly be called the ideas of purification and renewal. As an element, fire was at first not so obvious a means of purification as was water, but it had this religious advantage over all competitors, that it partook of the nature of the sun in giving out heat and that it died out unless carefully tended. The analogy with the waning strength of the sun in winter was too patent to escape the notice even of uncivilized man. But before even this development, primitive man was wont to encircle his sorely beset habitation with this sure means of keeping off wild animals, a means which he hoped and believed would also keep off other evil creatures, such as 'ghoulies and ghosties and things that bump at night', from which, in the words of the Litany of the Church, he prayed (after his own fashion) 'Good Lord deliver us'. But at what period, and where, fire became not only a means of defence but a personified Lord is difficult to determine, since most examples of the fire-cult show that we have to deal with fire as a simple material means, or as a sacred but not personified power, and often it is impossible to discover just what idea of fire was held by those who cultivated or worshipped the sacred element. Thus, when Caesar tells us that the Germans 'regard as gods sun, fire (Vulcanus), and moon', and Tacitus does not mention these divinities, it is difficult to say in what estimation fire was held, especially since, in northern mythology, Loki or Lodur has a very doubtful personality and very little cult, which may be explained by the fact that his name means merely destroyer (ender) and as such he is regarded not from his helpful but from his destructive aspect. Yet from the later evidence of Anglo-Saxon law, which expressly forbade 'sacrifice to fire', it is probable that there was a real form of worship which continued into a late Christian period, and the emphasis with which such worship is forbidden is proof that it obtained over a wide area, though in most instances the cult of fire had dwindled down to such parodies as an offering of milk on a bonfire. But in all these popular vestiges of an old cult there remained one of the two later evolutions from the more primitive thought, that of a magical ceremony against ghosts, witches, and evil spirits, or that of the need-fire embodying the thought of purgation, as cattle liable to catch disease were driven through the flame to

free them from the mortal enchantment; the fire itself being kindled by friction of wood or flint, a significant vestige of ancient practice.

Thus in addition to the most primitive defence against beasts and demons there arises the notion of defence against a malady already contracted, a purgation or purification from infection of bodily or spiritual nature, including the final infection of death, which to most savages is a preventable disease. Instances of this may be found in the Tatar cult of Shamanism and in the apotropaic fire-walking of the Chinese, who, however, also connect fire with the notion of productivity; for the same reason that is expressed plainly by the Hindus, namely, that fire and heat in any manifestation are ultimately one, and productivity is connected more or less directly with heat. This leads again to the union of two ideas in the common, almost universal, spring festivals, which typify the renewal of heat and life in productivity, when the wasted sun has recovered. It is in connexion with this wasting and revival that the most common rituals of fire are found, which, entirely apart from formal religion, still hold their place within the confines of the Christian community. A still simpler ritual obtains, embodying the more primitive defence, over a wider area of Christendom, in fact wherever the Roman Catholic Church extends, namely the lighting of candles around a bier, to keep away evil spirits (though this intent is for the most part lost to-day in the mere form). But the more elaborate seasonal rituals are found from Japan to Mexico in practically the same ceremonial, the gist of which is participation in the renewal of the fiery element. Thus Japan has its November joy-fires and its new year renewing of the fire of the hearth from the temple-fire. Just so the Hestia Prytaneion fire of the ancient Greeks was carefully carried to their new homes by colonists and, in Sparta, by soldiers to the field, while in India the renewal of fire was a solemn rite and the preservation of fire a sacred trust. But fire as a divine being was recognized only in a very limited area, Hestia being more hearth than fire-god and Hephaistos and Vulcanus being of restricted origin due to local conditions (Hephaistos originating in Lemnos). But in Japan, as in India, fire is also exploited as a divine arbiter of purity, for the simple reason that fire purifies. Thus we have the test of theft and adultery by walking through fire or by holding fire, a test also practised in not very remote times by Christian communities, though the fire, from being an intelligent arbiter, has here become an agent of a newer and more powerful divinity; just as poison and water were at first sentient judges of both truth and purity and were later employed as mere instruments in mightier hands.

Many of these earlier solemnities have been absorbed into Christianity as harmless usages or practices now devoid of meaning and retained only as ancient customs. But while this fact is exemplified by the Yule log and the riotous autumnal bonfires kindled in jest, the usages yet retain the memory of the fire-cult and in more undeveloped communities are still to be found observed not in a spirit of amusement but of deep seriousness. Thus the Celts like the Romans had a cult of fire and, as purity was characteristic of fire, out of this idea, together with that of preserving the sacred flame, rose the whole

institution of Vesta's holy vestal virgins, a cult which, while Spanish accounts may have exaggerated the resemblance, had also its counterpart in the vestals of Peru. So the natives of Africa have a holy fire kept by virgins among the Damaras, besides a story of fire being found by man and serving as a civilizer; according to which, fire taught arts to men and good manners to beasts; while a version parallel to this remained till a few centuries ago among the Celts, who also had a band of vestals devoted to the fire-service, and they too regarded fire as a spirit of healing and prophecy as well as a civilizer. These two interpretations of fire's functions are natural interpretations of the use of fire in smithy-work and of fire as a pure being, to whom truth is but an expression of purity (ideas also found in India and elsewhere). But the interesting point in connexion with the Celtic ritual is that it was taken over almost intact into Christianity as represented in Kildare, Ireland, where Brigindu or Brigit became a female saint and the vestals became nuns of the Church. They lived separated from other nuns as a special body. Brigindu herself may have been originally only a form of the fire-god, as the change of sex can be illustrated elsewhere. For example, in Slavic belief, 'holy Ugnis' is a male Agni (fire-god), but he becomes 'Our Lady', who gives prophetic omens, a truth-sayer (sooth-sayer, as prophetic).

It is within the circle of Celtic Christianity also that we find, in Scotland, the festivals of lighted torches, of burning witches at the close of the year, of keeping off evil influence by flame, not only in antiquity but at the present time, while the spring festival includes the ceremony of driving cattle through fire; as Sir Walter Scott sings, 'The shepherd lights his Beltane (May-day) fire'. Walking the *deasil* is still a Celtic parallel to the Hindu *pradakshina*, the rite of walking from left to right, with the sun. Though this last is a sun-observance, yet the fire-service in which it is applied as a purificatory guard against evil spirits (influences) is not a sun-rite but a recognition of the sacred and potent spiritual power of fire itself. This raises a question not immediately connected with Christian usage, but one, nevertheless, almost inevitable in any discussion of fire as a spiritual power, namely as to the personality of fire as fire-god or fire-spirit. It has been said by good authorities that the Indic Agni is the only real fire-god, who is both elementary fire and a spiritual being sufficiently personified to be called a god. Agni is indeed the elemental fire as well as the sacrificial fire identified with sun and lightning, and he is psychopomp as well as warrior in anthropomorphized form. But the Babylonian Gibil is 'son of Bel' in lightning, a purificatory power, yet at the same time, like Nergal, a personified and very powerful god, who is set alongside Ea and Marduk as third. Also in America, although the fire-cult and sun-cult were very generally found, and it must be admitted that in North America there was little real personification, yet in Central and South America fire appears to have been a veritable god. In Peru, which had its renewal of fire with virgin sacrifices, fire was son of the sun-god, although producible by flint or mirror and concealed in rock and volcano. The Aztec Ueue (meaning 'very old') was a fire-god accounted older than the sun. As among the Mayas, he was renewed yearly. He was also renewed at the end of a fifty-two year cycle, in a barbarous

rite of kindling fire on a living victim's breast, in order to make the sun rise (here again this god appears also as a female divinity). Altogether it must be granted that while in most cases fire is not thought of as a personified being, yet India is not the only place where fire has become a real god. Generally, as among the Australians and Koreans, fire is preserved as 'perpetual', with merely a reverential feeling that it is sacred because it expels evil; or, as with the Israelites, it is a perpetual object rather than a being. In India and perhaps (not so explicitly) elsewhere, it is an immortal and divine being; for, although it appears to die, it is really not dead but maintains itself in the rubbing-sticks, which is its place of origin. Thence, in the usual interpretation, it arises not as a fresh new fire but as a resurrected spirit. It is really 'renewed' after a death or public crisis, when there is a general consciousness that all must be changed and renewed.

Consideration of the personality of the sacred fire leads to the conclusion that of all the forms of fire the Avestan *Ātar* is the most spiritual. It is not certain how far this *Ātar* is personified. In the beginning there was probably little real personification, certainly nothing comparable to that of the Indic fire-god *Agni*. But as a pure spiritual power engaged in contest with the evil *Azi* and as a spirit included among grouped celestial beings, *Ātar* must have been conceived as more or less a personal holy being. The word *dakhma* seems to imply that corpses were originally burned and so purified by fire; but later, fire itself became too holy to be polluted by contact with the dead. Yet on the whole it appears that *Ātar* was regarded rather as a sacred and purifying spirit than as a being anthropomorphized or even strongly personified. It remained a rarified and holy manifestation, a purificatory power, which in the end purified all the world.

It was an ancient Greek belief that burning bestowed immortality upon children. As purifier, fire burned away all weakness and evil, even the evil weakness of mortality. It is not an uncommon belief that fire thus purifies from mortal guilt and cleanses the soul and it has been suggested that the Inquisition burned heretics not only as a punishment but in the belief that the burnt victim might thus be cleansed of his sin, anticipating, and so to a certain degree mollifying, the future flames of Purgatory. But, by analogy, this should also apply to the burning of witches, and certainly the idea in this case was that of driving out an evil spirit or of inflicting a dire punishment rather than of redeeming a sinful soul. It will therefore not be possible to include these instances in the group of vestiges of fire-cult preserved in Christendom. Nevertheless, even without such doubtful cases, there still remain distinct traces of fire-cult, of which at least one, the St. Brigit-cult of Kildare, keeps the idea of a religiously conserved fire, maintained by vestal virgins. The other cases are chiefly purificatory, as in the Beltane fire and the bonfires to drive away evil spirits or witches, or prophylactic with purificatory intent (for prevention rather than for expulsion), as when in many churches candles are lighted on the altar and in the Roman Catholic Church candles are set about the bier. A distinction must be made between practices accepted by the Church and those not thus formally accepted yet pursued without reproof by members

of the Church, being thus countenanced if not formally acknowledged; e.g. candles *versus* bonfires.

There is still to be considered one of the most remarkable cases of survival of fire-cult, implying the importance of renewal of fire at the vernal equinox (as the beginning of the year), a period welcomed in many lands with some recognition of renewed life and often with a special fire-service. So far as I know, although each of the ceremonies now to be mentioned has been independently described, the connexion between them has hitherto been ignored, as well as the significance of the constituent parts of the service. The first ceremony is an annual event and is regarded by the populace of Florence, Italy, as of grave import, since the success of the ceremony will determine the conditions under which the Florentines are to live for the ensuing year, whether happily or otherwise. There is, therefore, the implication that this event, despite the modern calendar, marks the beginning of a new year. The ceremony takes place the day before Easter Sunday. I attended it on that day in 1921 and will here recount exactly what took place on that occasion.

The ritual began with a mass held at the very ancient church of SS. Apostoli, so old that its flooring is now quite below the level of the street. In this church are preserved the sacred flints which were sent hither from the Holy Sepulchre at the time of the Crusades by Godfrey of Bouillon, who was made King of Jerusalem in 1099 and assumed the title of Protector of the Holy Sepulchre. At the conclusion of the mass a priest brought to the altar the sacred flints and, turning his back to the crowd, which filled the church to overflowing, proceeded to strike a spark, wherewith he immediately lighted a taper, the crowd, most of whom were carrying candles ready to be lighted, looking on with breathless interest terminating in an audible sigh of relief when the illumination actually occurred. Whether the priest really got the spark from the flint, it was impossible to tell; but apparently he did so. At once all the congregation pressed forward and the sacred spark, emitted from the flints and now safely housed in the priest's taper, was applied to all the candles and lamps held forward by the congregation for that purpose. With this sacred flame many departed to light therewith their home fires, deeming it of good omen and a sort of prophylactic against evil that their kitchen fires should be ignited from so sacred a source and their children bathed in water heated thereby. The greater number of the crowd, however, joined a procession, which was at once formed outside the church and was largely augmented by those who had been unable to enter. Others added themselves to these and, all in a body, then marched to the Duomo, the original taper that retained the sacred spark being carried by a priest, either him who ignited it or a fellow-priest, and in this manner that spark was taken to the cathedral, where it was preserved at the High Altar. There then ensued a long wait, while a dense mass of people assembled about the cathedral waiting for the next act in this religious drama. For now, outside the Duomo, there was drawn up a huge car loaded with fireworks, and to this car were attached four large white oxen, their horns and hooves being gilded. All the year these oxen are kept and tended for this very purpose, and have no other work to do at any time save to drag this car on Holy Saturday.

When all was now ready and the vast crowd was thronging about the car, a white dove flew out from the altar of the Duomo and, bearing the sacred spark, ignited the fireworks on the car and then flew back again to the altar. If the explosion takes place in due order, which means that the sacred fire in its first application lights the public fire, then there will be a good harvest and good vintage. At this moment the bells rang out. With the first clang of the bells, babies' eyes are washed (to guard against weak sight) in water heated hastily by the spark which the women had brought home, and it is believed that if a child takes its first step when the bells first ring, its legs will not be bowed. Both the washing of babies and the first cooking of food are done in water thus heated by the fire lit by the holy spark. I observed nothing besides of religious significance, except that the oxen were loaded with flowers and that, on the bells ringing out, all the populace broke out into shouts of joy, while the more select companies, who watched the proceedings from windows and balconies, embraced and shouted and drank good-luck to each other. The dove is a mechanical toy that runs on a wire, and the public celebration is controlled by the Pazzi family. They have inherited the honour of this litany from their ancestor, who first set a Christian banner on the walls of Jerusalem and to whom the sacred flints were given by Godfrey.

In this ceremony several ancient traits are preserved. The new fire must be struck in the old manner by flints; it is a spring festival and at the same time obviously a new year's festival; the inaugurating ceremony is prophetic of what the new year will bring; the sacred spark lights the common fire of the home and gives a certain sanctity to the water heated by it. The garlanding of the oxen, their gilded hooves and horns, and their exemption from other labour also point to antique usage. Certain modern touches, such as the wire and mechanical dove, are apparently later substitutes for a cruder, older device to ensure the proper ignition of the public fire.

Although the parts played by Godfrey and Pazzo point directly to the East as the source of this ceremony, I did not find the connexion till some years later, when I chanced to read, for the first time, Henry Maundrell's book entitled *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*. Without further preface I will cite what he says (third ed., 1714, p. 94 f.) under date of Saturday, 3 April 1697:

'We went about midday to see the function of the Holy Fire. This is a ceremony kept up by the Greeks and Armenians, upon a perswasion that every Easter Eve there is a Miraculous Flame descends from Heaven into the holy Sepulcher, and kindles all the Lamps and Candles there, as the Sacrifice was burnt at the Prayers of Elijah, 1 Kings 18.

'Coming to the Church of the holy Sepulcher, we found it crowded with a numerous and distracted Mob, making a hideous clamour very unfit for that sacred place, and better becoming Bacchanals than Christians. Getting with some struggle thro' this crowd, we went up into the Gallery on that side of the Church next the Latin Convent, whence we could discern all that pass'd in this religious frenzy.

'They began their disorders by running round the holy Sepulcher with all their might and swiftness, crying out as they went, *Huia*, which signifies *this is he*, or *this is it*; an expression by which they assert the verity of the Christian Religion. After they had by these vertiginous circulations and clamours turn'd their heads, and inflamed their madness, they began to act the most antick tricks and postures, in a thousand shapes of distraction. Sometimes they dragg'd one another along the floor . . . sometimes they tumbled round the Sepulcher, after the manner of Tumblers on the Stage. In a word, nothing can be imagin'd more rude or extravagant, than what was acted upon this occasion.

'In this tumultuous frantick humour they continued from twelve till four of the Clock; The reason of which delay was, because of a Suit that was then in debate before the Cadi, between the Greeks and Armenians; the former endeavouring to exclude the latter from having any share in this Miracle. Both Parties having expended (as I was inform'd) five thousand Dollars between them in this foolish Controversy, the Cadi at last gave sentence; that they should enter the holy Sepulcher together, as had been usual at former times. Sentence being thus given, at four of the Clock both Nations went on with their Ceremony. The Greeks first set out, in a procession round the holy Sepulcher, and immediately at their heels follow'd the Armenians. In this order they compass'd the holy Sepulcher thrice, having produc'd all their Gallantry of Standards, Streamers, crucifixes and Embroider'd Habits upon this occasion.

'Toward the end of this procession, there was a Pigeon came fluttering into the Cupola over the Sepulcher; at sight of which, there was a greater shout and clamour than before. This Bird, the Latins told us, was purposely let fly by the Greeks, to deceive the people into an opinion that it was a visible descent of the Holy Ghost.

'The procession being over, the Suffragan of the Greek Patriarch (he being himself at Constantinople) and the Principal Armenian Bishop approach'd to the door of the Sepulcher, and cutting the string with which it is fastened and sealed, enter'd in, shutting the door after them; all the Candles and Lamps within having been before extinguish'd, in the presence of the Turks and other witnesses. The exclamations were doubled, as the Miracle drew nearer to its accomplishment; and the People press'd with such vehemence toward the door of the Sepulcher, that it was not in the power of the Turks, set to guard it, with the severest drubs, to keep them off. The cause of their pressing in this manner, is the great desire they have to light their Candles at the holy Flame, as soon as it is first brought out of the Sepulcher; it being esteemed the most sacred and pure, as coming immediately from Heaven.

'The two Miracle-Mongers had not been above a minute in the holy Sepulcher, when the glimmering of the holy Fire was seen, or imagin'd to appear, thro' some chinks of the door; and certainly Bedlam it self never saw such an unruly transport, as was produc'd in the Mob at this sight.

'Immediately after, out came the two Priests with blazing Torches in

their hands, which they held up at the door of the Sepulcher, while the People throng'd about with inexpressible ardour; every one striving to obtain a part of the first and purest Flame. The Turks in the mean time, with huge Clubs, laid on them without mercy; but all this could not repel them, the excess of their transport making them insensible of pain. Those that got the Fire applied it immediately to their Beards, Faces and Bosoms, pretending that it would not burn like an Earthly Flame. But I plainly saw, none of them could endure this experiment long enough to make good that pretension.

'So many hands being employ'd, you may be sure, it could not be long before innumerable Tapers were lighted. The whole Church, Gallerys, and every place seem'd instantly to be in a Flame; and with this illumination the Ceremony ended.'

The author adds that the two priests performed their part with quickness and dexterity, but the Latins said that the miracle was an imposture and scandal, 'perhaps out of envy that others should be Masters of so gainful a business'. He mentions also that the common people 'dawb pieces of Linnen with the wicks [of their candles], and the melting Wax. 'Tis the opinion of these poor people that if they can but have the happiness to be buried in a shroud smutt'd with this Celestial Fire, it will certainly secure them from the Flames of Hell'. A week after this ceremony, our traveller went to take leave of the Holy Sepulcher, 'this being the last time it was to be open'd this Festival', and concludes with the following remark:

'Upon this finishing day, and the night following, the Turks allow free admittance for all people, without demanding any fee for entrance as at other times; calling it a day of Charity. By this promiscuous license, they let in not only the poor, but, as I was told, the lewd and vicious also; who come hither to get convenient opportunity for prostitution, prophaning the holy places in such manner (as is said) that they were not worse defil'd even then when the Heathens here celebrated their Aphrodisia' (*ibid.*, p. 108).

It will have been observed that although Maundrell in another part of his narrative speaks of the 'Princes-bridge' as one supposed to have been built by 'Godfrey of Bulloign' (*ibid.*, p. 26), yet he does not mention the flints in any part of the present description, leaving it uncertain how the two priests obtained their celestial fire. But the Florentine flints, derived directly from the Holy Sepulchre, show what is here lacking. Significant is the fact that at the Jerusalem ceremony the fire is not, as our traveller implies, a parallel to the incidental descent of fire, to express Heavenly interference, but a regular renewal of fire, entailing all the old superstitions regarding the curative effect and miraculous nature of such a fire at the spring festival; to which it is possible that the sexual orgy may not be an accidental later addition, but an inherited trait, incongruous as is the Holy Sepulchre with such an exhibition. The church at Florence has kept, even to the dove, which was an emblem of another sort before it became a Christian symbol, the inner meaning of the rite, which is essentially pre-Christian and one of the most interesting

examples of the survival of ancient fire-cult at the beginning of the year in spring-time.

A celebration of the spring festivals of lights with a blessing of fire was recognized in Jerusalem as early as the fourth century, and this was known in the West by the fifth century, where the prayer for the blessing of lights followed St. Brigit's day on 1 February. This became Candlemas, 2 February, in which festival a special candle is blessed and from this candle all the others are lighted, *de lumine benedicto*. A further parallel consists in the fact that the new fire is produced from a flint, *novus ignis cum silice*. The connexion of lights and purification may be seen in Babylonian worship, where Gibil, the god of light, is associated with the part of the temple devoted to purification. His symbol is a lamp. In Egypt, the New Year's eve celebration was especially marked by torches; but they may not be of purificatory significance. In Zoroastrian worship, however, a lamp was expressly used to drive away evil spirits, which is the function of the Yule log in the West. Whether 'the lamp of the Lord' and the candles arranged 'before the oracle' in the Jewish temple were for this purpose, is not stated. 1 February was the fire-festival of the Druids, one of the four great festivals or quarter-days, later dedicated to Church usage, namely, 1 May (Beltane) as Apostles' day; 1 August (the day of the sun-god) as St. Peter's day, also as Lammas, 'the day (mass) of the wheat-loaf'; 1 November (Samhain), as All Saints; and 1 February, the Spring fire-festival, as St. Brigit's or St. Bride's day (1 Feb.) and Candlemas (2 Feb.). This last festival occurred at the time in which took place the Greek celebration of the revival of vegetation, the spring festival symbolized by Persephone and the Eleusinian Mysteries, with the ritual of purification and torch-light processions. It was also the time when the Romans had their purification of women, which is perpetuated, or has a curious parallel, in the name given to Candlemas in Northern England, where it is called the Festival of Wives and appears to be regarded as purificatory. The diatribes of the early Christian Fathers against the religious use of candles show that they were not adopted from the Jewish temple but gradually assimilated from heathen usage.¹

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¹ See on these points the articles 'Candles' and 'Candlemas' in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.

HEBREW-IRANIAN SYNCHRONISMS

QUITE a number of synchronisms or identifications of Biblical heroes with those of Iranian tradition are to be found in the works of Moham-medan historians such as Ibn Qutayba, Dinawari, Ya'qūbi, Hamza, Tabari, Mas'ūdi, the anonymous author of Codex Sprenger 30,¹ Tha'ālibi, and Biruni; and some of them have been noticed by Spiegel² and Christensen.³ I do not in this article propose to discuss all these synchronisms, my aim merely being to trace them back to the earliest authorities. In many cases, it is true, the historians just mentioned do not quote the sources whence they drew their information, or go no farther than referring them back to 'the genealogists' or some other unidentifiable authority. But sometimes they quote definite authorities and, more especially in Tabari's chronicle, Hisham ibn Muhammad al Kalbi is quoted more than once in this connexion. This Hisham owed a great deal of his knowledge of genealogy and pre-Islamic history to his father Muhammad ibn al Sā'ib al Kalbi: the father died in A.D. 763, the son in 819. A long list of writings of Hisham the son is given in the Fihrist,⁴ and one of these plainly dealt with an episode of Iranian history, 'the book of Kisras taking pledges from the Arabs'; there is also another that may possibly be referred to Iranian legendary lore, the 'Kitab haiy al Ḍaḥḥāk', if in this title Ḍaḥḥāk is that of Iranian fame and 'haiy' to be corrected into 'haiyatay', 'the book of the two snakes of al Ḍaḥḥāk'. However that may be, none of these books has come down to us, but Hisham is very frequently quoted by Tabari as his authority for information concerning all periods of Iranian history. Nöldeke⁵ many years ago expressed the opinion that Hisham had gained his knowledge of Iranian subjects through the help of Jabala, a secretary of his who had translated a number of books from Persian into Arabic; but the passage from which Nöldeke drew this conclusion must in my opinion be interpreted differently. It occurs in a paragraph of the Fihrist⁶ inscribed 'Names of the translators from Persian into Arabic', and reads: 'Jabala ibn Salim the secretary of Hisham and he has been previously mentioned'. Now Nöldeke identifies this Hisham with our Hisham ibn Muhammad al Kalbi, and since the author of the Fihrist devoted to him a paragraph preceding the one quoted here, Nöldeke thinks it is to this paragraph that he is referring. But we learn from the Fihrist itself⁷ that Sālim, the father of Jabala, had been the secretary of Hisham ibn Abdulmalik, the Umayyad Caliph who ruled from 723 to 745, and I understand the meaning of the words to be this, that Jabala's father Sālim, mentioned in a previous paragraph of the Fihrist, had been the Caliph Hisham's secretary. At all events there can be no doubt

¹ Preserved in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek: see J. G. Rothstein, *De chronographo Arabe anonymo* (Bonn, 1877). ² ZDMG. lv. 188.

³ *Recherches sur l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens* (Stockholm, 1918), *passim*.

⁴ Ed. Flügel, 95-8.

⁵ *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 474 f.

⁶ Ed. Flügel, 244.

⁷ P. 117; see also *ibid.*, p. 125, and Tabari, iii. 2298, where Sālim is called a *maula* of Hisham ibn Abdulmalik.

that Hisham ibn Muhammad al Kalbi had already at his disposal Arabic translations of Persian books dealing with Iranian history; not only the story of Rustam and Isfandiyār as translated by Jabala, but also the Khwatai nāmak translated by Ibn al Muqaffa', who died in 757. But these books cannot of course have contained anything about Biblical synchronisms, which Hisham must have either added out of his own head or taken from other sources. The following is a list of such synchronisms and identifications as quoted by Tabari on the authority of Hisham:

(1) Hoshang was a son of 'Ābir son of Shāliḥ son of Arpakhshad (Tabari, i. 154). This Hisham had learned from his father, who had derived the genealogy from Genesis x. 10-14.

(2) Ḍaḥḥāk is identified with Namrūd, Tabari, i. 205. Namrūd is the Nimrod of Genesis x. 8, the son of Kush.

(3) The Persians were descended from Faris the son of . . . the son of Nāsūr the son of Sam, the son of Nuh, Tabari, i. 219. The reading of the name of Faris's father remains doubtful, since the diacritical points are missing; Nāsūr may be a misreading of Ashur, who in Genesis x. 21 is mentioned as one of the sons of Shem the son of Noah.

(4) Musa 'as is said' started his prophetic career in the sixtieth year of Manushihr's rule, Tabari, i. 434.

(5) Bukhtnaṣṣar lived in the time of Luhrasp and was his Sipahbadh, Tabari, i. 645.

(6) 'According to some of the learned people of the Book' Zarādusht was a native of Palestine who had been the servant of one of the pupils of the prophet Jeremiah, Tabari, i. 648.

(7) Jodarz, the son of Ashkan, 'according to the learned', went on an expedition against the Jews and destroyed their power after Yahyā ibn Zakaryā had been killed, Tabari, i. 705.

With regard to (6) Hisham states expressly that he owed his information to 'learned people of the Book', i.e. to Jews or Christians. The legend of Barukh, the scribe of Jeremiah, having left Palestine and founded the religion of Zoroaster is known from other sources to have found acceptance amongst the Christians of the East.¹ And there is another version of this same legend quoted by Tabari (p. 681) according to which one of the prophets of the Banu Israil called S m y had come to Balkh to King Bishtāsp; he had there held intercourse with both Zarādusht and Jamāsp and his Hebrew sayings were taken down by Zarādusht in Persian. Whilst Tabari merely ascribes this version to 'someone' we learn from Cod. Sprenger 30, fol. 103,² that the story had been included by one Injili in the Heshbon 'ōlām, a book that contained, as the Hebrew title suggests, a chronological list of the main events of the world's history. Now this Injili is called in another passage of Cod. Sprenger 30, Ahmad al Injili³ and apparently he is identical with Aḥmad ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Salām, who

¹ See A. W. V. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 165 ff. On Zoroaster and Nimrod and similar identifications see E. Kuhn in *Festgruss an Roth* (Stuttgart, 1893), pp. 217 ff.; W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 377 f.; A. Götze, *Die Schatzhöhle* (Heidelberg, 1922), p. 57 f.

² See Rothstein, p. 44.

³ Rothstein, p. 30.

according to the Fihrist¹ had translated amongst other sacred books the Injil (εὐαγγέλιον) and for that reason was known as Injili. This Aḥmad al Injili lived in the time of the Caliph Harun al Rashid, who ruled from 786 to 808; he was therefore a contemporary of Hisham ibn Muhammad al Kalbi. What we can say with certainty, then, is, that legends ascribing the origin of Zarathushtra's teachings to one of the Hebrew prophets must have become known to Mohammedan scholars at the latest towards the end of the eighth century. It is impossible to identify the name of S m y, no Hebrew prophet of this name being known. There is another S m y, however, mentioned in Cod. Sprenger 30, who is there said to have been the father of the prophet Micah;² this prophet is called in the Hebrew text of the Bible ha Morashti, i.e. the man from Moreshet, the name of his father not being given, but possibly al Injili was thinking of this S m y when telling his story of the Hebrew speeches taken down by Zarathushtra. This story bears a character different from all the others quoted by Tabari on the authority of Hisham; it is a specimen of anti-Zoroastrian polemics which, however, is more than counterbalanced by the Denkart attributing the authorship of the Hebrew scriptures to Daḥḥāk. All the other quotations from Hisham have this in common, that they show his endeavour to bring Biblical chronology into harmony with that of Iranian tradition or to find a place for the heroes of Iranian lore in the genealogical lists of Genesis. But he was not the first Mohammedan scholar to attempt this. Of Ibn al Muqaffa' just mentioned as the translator of the Khwatai nāmak, we merely hear³ that he rejected the opinion of those who identified Jamshed with Solomon, an opinion that must have gained wide currency even before his time. But his contemporary Muhammad ibn Ishaq maintained⁴ that Fars, Jurjan, 'and the other races of Persia' were descended from Shabaka, a daughter of Yafeth that had been married to Lauth (= Lud) the son of Sam (= Shem). Ibn Ishaq is, as far as I can find, the first to quote this genealogy that was accepted by Mohammedan historians of later times. It is only one example of the enlargements added in Islamic historiography—two others have been quoted above—to the list of nations of Genesis x and corresponding to similar augmentations saddled on to it in Christian historiography.⁵

But even before the time of Ibn Ishaq there was another theory prevalent among the Arabs with regard to the origin of the Persians. According to this theory the Persians were the 'sons of Isaac' from whose son Jacob—Israel—the Israelites derived their origin. This theory was already known to Jarir, who died in 728 or 732, and who alludes to it in a song directed against his poetical antagonist al Farazdaq.⁶ In this poem Jarir speaks of Abraham as the

¹ Ed. Flügel, p. 21 f.

² See G. Rothstein in *ZDMG*. lviii. 646.

³ See Dinavari, p. 9.

⁴ See Tabari, i. 213; Josephus, *Antiquitates*, i. 6, derives the Persians from Elam, the son of Shem.

⁵ See A. von Gutschmidt, *Kleine Schriften*, v. 240 f., 585 f.

⁶ The following translation is based on Naqā'id, ed. Bevan, No. civ, p. 27 f.; the text in *Diwan Jarir* (Cairo, 1313), i. 107, agrees with Naqā'id except in the order of the verses. See also Tabari, i. 433; Mas'ūdi, *Muruj*, ii. 143; the same, *Tanbih*, 109; Yaqut, ii. 862.

forefather of his own tribe and boasts that Solomon, Jacob and his sons, Jesus, and Moses, all were related to them. He then continues:

'And the sons of Ishaq (belong to us), the lions, when they don the swordbelts of death and put on the armour.

Amongst them you see those that rejoice being led on to the right course (of Islam) and him who wears a crown and comes forward as a Marzban wearing bracelets.

Brilliant, like a stallion camel, when he wears on top of his Persian undergarment the buttoned cuirass.

Putting on one day iron coats of mail whilst one day you see (on them) silk and doublewoven cloth.

When they boast they reckon the Sipahbadh as one of them and Kisra and the family of Hurmuzan and the Qaisar.

And they have had amongst them a book and prophetship and they were the kings in Istakhr and in Tustar.'

The poet gives free vent in these verses to his admiration of Persian chivalry and whilst considering those Persians to have chosen the right path who adopted Islam, yet he does not forget that they had a sacred book of their own in the Avesta and a prophet of their own in Zarathushtra. In thus including the Zarathushtrians amongst 'the people of the Book', i.e. those communities who like the Jews and the Christians possessed the divine revelation in the form of a book, the poet finds himself in agreement with Abdulrahman ibn Auf, a contemporary of the prophet Muhammad, who attributed to him a saying to the same effect.¹ Whilst the identity of the Marzban remains doubtful, the Sipahbadh mentioned by Jarir is apparently the Zoroastrian ruler of Tabaristan, bearing that title, which was hereditary in his dynasty; the Sipahbadh contemporary with Jarir was the first of his line to pay a tribute to the Caliph of Damascus in 716.² Hurmuzan is the name of the Marzban of Khuzistan who finally was defeated by the Arabs about 640, after having been besieged in Shustar, the capital of Khuzistan, called Tustar by the Arabs. He was then taken to Medina, where he lived for some years, until he was beheaded there in 644.³ The name of the Qaisar in the midst of all these purely Iranian reminiscences comes somewhat as a surprise; it owes its place at the end of the verse to the exigencies of rhyme, but materially is quite correct since the Rum, whose Emperor he was, were believed to have sprung from 'Is, ⁴ corresponding to the Biblical Esau, son of Isaac.

There is reason to think that some of the Hebrew-Iranian synchronisms go back into pre-Islamic times. Thus, for example, according to the Mēnūk i Khrat, xxvii. 64, it was Luhrasp who 'demolished the Jerusalem of the Jews and made the Jews dispersed and scattered'; for although the name of Nebukadnezzar is not mentioned, yet the passage presupposes Luhrasp to be contemporary with him, and in the Denkart, xlvii. 120, Luhrasp is said to have been accompanied

¹ Baladhuri, p. 267; Bukhari, *Jizya*, c. 1.

² Baladhuri, p. 338; J. Marquart, *Eranšahr*, p. 131 f.

³ Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, v. § 401 f

⁴ Tabari, i. 354.

in his expedition by Bukhtnarsih, whom Hisham ibn al Kalbi too (see above) calls his Sipahbadh.¹

Whilst, however, the date of the Mēnūk i Khrat remains doubtful, we have a passage of undoubtedly pre-Islamic provenance containing a Hebrew-Iranian identification. It is to be found in a list of the kings of Iran preserved in the sacred book of the Mandeans, the Ginza.² The list that begins with Gayomart ends with (Khawat II) Sherōe and must have been written during the latter's rule (February to September 628), since otherwise the dates of the later Sassanian rulers would have been included. Now in this list it is said of Jamshed that 'he was called Solomon the son of David'. So this identification, to which, as we have seen, Ibn al Muqaffa' takes exception, was in vogue more than a century before his time. It might of course be argued that this identification need not necessarily have formed part of the original list and might easily have been inserted by a later scribe. But there is no reason why an identification of this kind could only have been invented by Muslim writers. There had been large Jewish and Christian populations in the Sassanian empire who, when they became acquainted with the lore of the Iranian people, naturally would try to combine it with their own traditions. And more especially the Jews in reading year by year on the occasion of one of their festivals in the Biblical book of Esther the story of the Jewish queen of King Ahashverosh must have been tempted to find out her identity with one of the queens known to Iranian tradition. As a matter of fact the Arabian historians do quote certain Iranian names as corresponding to that of Esther³ and in so doing are probably reproducing the results of the endeavours undertaken in this line by Persian Jews of the Sassanian period. But quite apart from Esther, some of the greatest names in the history of Iran, the names of Koresh and Daryavesh, had become a byword in the mouth of the Jews through their Biblical readings, and long since J. Darmesteter⁴ has drawn a most convincing sketch of the kind of conversation that must have taken place between Jews and Zoroastrians when discussing such points of contact in their respective traditions.

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¹ See L. H. Gray in *WZKM.* xviii. 291.

² See *Ginza*, *Der Schatz oder das Grosse Buch der Mandäer übersetzt und erklärt von M. Lidzbarski*, p. 477; L. H. Gray, *ZA.* xix. 272 f.

³ See E. Cosquin in *Revue Biblique Internationale*, 1909.

⁴ See *Revue des Études Juives*, xix. 54 f.

THE DRUZES, THEIR ORIGIN, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS

THIS article is mainly based on *Hall ar-Rumūz fī 'Aqā'id ad-Durūz*, by Muḥammad Salīm, known as al-Bukḥārī, who composed the book in A.H. 1313 (A.D. 1895). Mr. H. E. Stapleton, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, who had collected during his stay in Egypt quite a large number of books on the Druses, very kindly put at my disposal his copy of al-Bukḥārī's work. Very little is generally known about the Druzes, especially about their doctrines, which they diligently keep secret. So I hope this article will be of interest to those who want to know the principles of the different semi-Islamic sects.

The Druzes originate from a man called Muḥammad bin Ismā'il ad-Darzī. He was one of the supporters of the claims of al-Ḥākim bi Amrillāh Abū 'Alī al-Manṣūr (A.H. 386-411; A.D. 996-1020), the sixth Caliph of the Fatimid dynasty, to be the representative of God. He is called in books of this sect *Nashtakīn* ad-Darzī. Al-Ḥākim was a peculiar man and was a bundle of contradictory ideas. He had both courage and cowardice. He loved the learned and revenged himself on them. He sometimes loved the company of the learned, but occasionally he would also kill them. He was usually generous, but was very stingy in little things. He gave himself the *laqab* of al-Ḥākim bi Amrillāh and has been worshipped by the Druzes as a god. He commanded all preachers to read 'Bismillāh al-Ḥākim al-Muḥyī al-Mumīt' ('in the name of God al-Ḥākim, the giver of life and the destroyer') instead of 'Bismillāh ar-Raḥmān ar-Raḥīm' ('in the name of God, the most compassionate and the merciful'). He further ordered that when his name was recited on the pulpit, the whole congregation must stand up to show honour to his name. This order was carried out all through his empire, even at Mecca and Medina. He pretended to be able to unravel all secrets. This he managed to do by secretly collecting the necessary information through old women who frequented the houses of nobles. Amongst his missionaries two were most prominent.

The first was Muḥammad bin Ismā'il ad-Darzī, and the second Ḥamza bin 'Alī bin Aḥmad. Ad-Darzī came to Egypt in the later part of the year A.H. 407 (A.D. 1016) and entered into the service of al-Ḥākim. He undertook to prove al-Ḥākim's pretension that he was a god, and he wrote a book in which he held that 'the spirit of Adam was transferred to 'Alī bin Abū Ṭālib and from him to the ancestors of al-Ḥākim and it has by transmigration come down to al-Ḥākim'. When this book was read in the al-Azhar University at Cairo, the people tried to kill ad-Darzī, the author, who, however, escaped. Confusion prevailed at Cairo and the people plundered his house and killed many of his friends. Then al-Ḥākim sent him secretly to Syria and he went to Wādī at-Taim near Jabal ash-Shaikh. There again he preached that al-Ḥākim was a god. Here he had a favourable hearing and his doctrine was accepted by the

people, who accordingly came to be known as Druzes, that is to say, the followers of ad-Darzī. Eventually Muḥammad bin Ismā'il ad-Darzī was killed in a battle with the Tartars in the year A.H. 411 (A.D. 1020).

On the death of ad-Darzī his place as the chief preacher of the cult of al-Ḥākim was filled by Ḥamza bin 'Alī bin Aḥmad, who in A.H. 408 (A.D. 1017) began to preach that al-Ḥākim was a god and that he (Ḥamza) was second only to al-Ḥākim. Some believed him and began to meet secretly to worship al-Ḥākim. Thus it is that Ḥamza came to be revered and considered holy by those who believed that al-Ḥākim was a god. Ḥamza was given the *laqabs* of Hādī al-Mustajībīn (guide of the believers), Ḥujjat al-Qā'im (proof of the vicegerency), &c. As we learn from the *Risālat al-Ghāyat wa'n Naṣīhat* (a treatise on purpose and advice), the followers of Ḥamza came to believe that ad-Darzī had tried to usurp the position of Ḥamza as the chief agent of al-Ḥākim. So they curse ad-Darzī and hate to be called Druzes. When al-Ḥākim was killed in A.H. 411 (A.D. 1020), near Ḥulwān in Egypt, the Druzes pretended that he had gone alone on a certain night to al-Birkat az-Zarqā' (Blue Pond) and from there he had ascended to Heaven hidden from the eyes of mankind. After al-Ḥākim's death Ḥamza wrote a treatise known as *as-Sijill al-Mu'allaq* (Suspended Record) and he hung that on the doors of the mosques. The book declares that al-Ḥākim disappeared to try the faith of the believers, and Ḥamza began to plant into their hearts the seeds of the doctrine that al-Ḥākim is a god and should be worshipped as the only God. It also tells us how Ḥamza and his followers gathered secretly to worship al-Ḥākim till the Muslims drove them away. So they fled from Egypt. Some went to the higher mountains of Aleppo and some to Ḥarrān. From there they scattered; some to al-Jabal ash-Shūf and others to Wadī at-Taim, and they continue to increase in numbers to this day.

The manners, customs, and faith of the Druzes.

The modern Druzes have many old customs which they have inherited from their ancestors, and which differentiate them from the Mohammedans. Thus, though in religious matters they are generally governed according to Islamic *Shari'at*, custom allows a Druze to bequeath all his self-earned money to only one of his sons to the exclusion of others. Ancestral property is, however, to be equally inherited by all his successors, because, as they say, 'the stem and branches are equal'. Again, married girls do not inherit any share of their parents' properties. This custom became general also amongst their neighbours in the mountains. In the matter of marriage and divorce, again, their laws and practice widely differ from the Islamic *Shari'at*. Marriages are arranged in a peculiar fashion. An agent of the would-be bridegroom visits the house of the proposed bride and opens negotiations. If the guardians of the bride agree to the proposal the bridegroom's agent at once brings some sweets, called *Nu'māniya* (نعمانية), which are partaken of by the guardians of the bride as well as the agent of the bridegroom. The marriage is then considered settled. The agent then returns and informs the

bridegroom, who sends a party of his relations and friends to the house of the bride. The party then execute a document on behalf of the bridegroom, promising a certain amount of dowry. The execution of the document completes the marriage. It is not lawful for the Druze to marry two wives at a time and he cannot marry a second time, unless the first wife is either divorced or dead. The wife can be divorced for any trifling reason. For example, if a wife seeks permission of her husband to go to a place and the husband says 'go' and fails to add 'come back' the wife will be considered as divorced. The husband must treat his wife as his equal and share all his properties equally with her. If circumstances compel separation the party responsible for the divorce should pay one-half of all its possessions to the other. If a husband's conduct forces a divorce, the wife will have one-half of the movable and immovable properties, whereas he will have nothing of the wife's properties. Similarly if the wife's conduct compels the husband to divorce her, he will be entitled to one-half of her properties, even of her apparels, and she will have nothing from her husband. It is not lawful to remarry a divorced wife, even after she has remarried another man.

They differ in their beliefs from other Muslim sects; but they hide themselves among the Muslims. They show themselves like those whom they pretend to follow, but inwardly they deny all the prophets and attribute ignorance to them. They refer scoffingly to the unity of 'the thing not seen', توحيد العدم, and do not recognize the Mawlā (God) and very severely speak against the religion of the Muslims, the Christians, and the Jews. The real religion to them is the Unity of al-Ḥākīm. They consider the duty of telling the truth to be superior to fasting and that of caring for their brethren to prayers. They, however, do not consider these duties as obligatory towards other sects. They read the Qur'ān and put upon it interpretations contradicting the general Islamic belief, and like some philosophers, believe in the eternity of creation. They believe in *Tanāsukh* (transmigration) and they call it *Taqammuṣ*. The body is called *Qamiṣ* (shirt). They believe that as soon as a man is dead his soul is restored to a babe just born, and that human souls are not removed except to human moulds of the same religion. They believe in incarnations which appear in different shapes in different ages, the latest incarnation being in the person of al-Ḥākīm; and they hold that Ḥamza also manifested himself in different periods of time in different shapes. Thus, at one time he was Pythagoras, at another *Shu'aib* (Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses), at another Solomon, the son of David, at another Christ the true, and, at the time of the Prophet, he was Salmān, the Persian.

They believe that the Qur'ān was really revealed to Salmān al-Fārsī, that it is all his words, and that the Prophet Muḥammad got and learned it from him. They believe that the well-known discourses of Luqmān to his son, in the Qur'ān, is really the lecture delivered by Salmān to the Prophet. The verse in question runs:

يا بني اقم الصلوة وامر بالمعروف وانه عن المنكر

'O my son! pray always and order good and forbid unlawful things.'

They hold that the words 'O my son!' in the above verse is only a general form of address by the teacher to the taught.

The Druzes are divided into two classes, namely 'Uqāl, or the wise, and *ḡuhhāl*, or the common people. Their women are also divided into two classes, 'Aqilāt and *ḡāhilāt* (the 'Aqilah is also called the *ḡurwaidah* and the *ḡāhilah* the *Ghair ḡurwaidah* (no good). The 'Uqāl are divided into two classes, the nobility (*Khāṣṣah*) and the commonalty ('Ammah). The former is trustworthy because its members know perfectly well all the secrets of their religious practices. The latter can be fairly trusted. The *ḡuhhāl*, on the other hand, have no religious right except that of being known under the name of Druze. Wherever 'Uqāl are found they have a place of worship called *Khilwat* (private place) which is a room inside another room. On Fridays every section gather together in the outer room. There they read some sermons and after that they take some sweets. Then the common people depart and the nobility shut themselves up in the inner apartments to discuss their religious principles. Some of the 'Uqāl are especially religious and they are called *Mutanazzihūn* (devoid of sin). They persevere in worship and good deeds, and some among them never marry. Others never eat meat all their lives. Others fast every day. They value piety highly, so that they never taste of anything from any house save that of the 'wise'. All the 'Uqāl believe that the wealth of high government officials and of courtiers is forbidden. Consequently they never partake of their food, nor of that of their servants. Moreover, they do not eat anything carried on the back of an animal which might have been bought up by an official.

The riches of the merchants, however, are in their opinion lawful. If the 'Uqāl receive any money which they believe to be forbidden they exchange it with that of merchants. Profane language and extravagance in any way are strictly avoided, for these tend to degrade the 'Uqāl.

The Druzes are very careful to keep their beliefs secret, so they express themselves in books and letters with symbols and illustrations. And they mention in their books some discussions of the 'Ilam-ul-Kalām (scholastic theology), some discourses of zealous Ṣūfīs, and explanations of *Malāḥida* (heretics).

As they believe in *Taqammus* (transmigration) they think that if one of those 'Uqāl die, his soul goes into China and enters into a mould. They believe that there are many *Walīs* (saints) behind a mountain in China, and they believe that there they existed before the world of human beings, the Jinns (genii) and Hīns (a class of genii), and of herbage was created. They say that before the age of al-Ḥākim there were seventy ages, each of 4,900,000 years, so that from the beginning of creation to the age of al-Ḥākim is 343,000,000 years. The first age is that of al-'Alī and the last that of al-Ḥākim, which is the period of resurrection. They allege that in each age there are 7 *Nāṭiqs* and 7 *Waṣīs* and 7 *Imāms*, so that the total number of each of the three is 490. A *Nāṭiq* means an apostle; a *Waṣī*, an executor; and an *Imām*, a successor of the *Waṣī*. They say that *Aṣḡāb at-Taklīf* (Imām?) in every period are 6, as they are in the present period, and the time of the ministry of the 7th *Nāṭiq* is included in the

time of the ministry of the 6th *Nātiq*. The *Ulū 'Azam* (the greatest *Nātiq*) are 5 in every Daur, and they say they are 5, and not more, because highest degree is in the power of the 5th of everything, and therefore in the *Maqāmāt Rabbāniya* (lordly stations) it was near the 5th which is al-Ḥākim. And among the *Nātiqs* the greatest one came to an end near the 5th (they mean by this the Prophet Muḥammad).

And in the *Waṣīs* near the 5th (by this they mean 'Alī) and in the *Imāms* near the 5th (they mean Muḥammad bin 'Abdullāh al-Qaddāh¹). They are expecting to this day the manifestation of Yājūj and Mājūj (Gog and Magog) from the interior of China. They adhere to this belief and say that these good people will come with 2,500,000 soldiers to Mecca, and, on the morning of the succeeding day, al-Ḥākim will manifest himself to them from *ar-Rukn al-Yamānī*² and he will threaten the world with a gold sword. Then he will give the sword to Ḥamza, who will kill the dog and the pig. Then he will destroy the *Ka'ba*, reduce all nations to subjection, and confer upon the Druzes authority over the whole world.

The Druzes have special religious obligations and observances, knowledge and practice of which are required of every single Druze. These must be kept secret from everybody. There are fifty-four ordinances of which ten are associated with godly persons (*Maqāmāt Rabbāniya*). They refer to al-'Alī, al-Bārī, Abū Zakariya, 'Alī, al-Mu'ill, al-Qā'im, al-Manṣur, al-Mu'izz, al-'Aziz, and al-Ḥākim. All are alike manifestations of God. And of the other ordinances four are those in which God is said to have manifested himself. These refer to *Ḥai'at* (shape), *Ism* (name), *Nuṭq* (speech), and *Fi'l* (action). The *Ḥai'at* is the shape in which He manifested himself; the *Ism* is the name of al-Ḥākim by which He is known; the *Nuṭq* is the speech delivered by Him; and the *Fi'l* is the miracle which He worked, for example, the triumph over kings, the murder of tyrants, confronting singly the enemy hosts, his going out at midnight, and his appearance in intense heat without being sunburnt, and an absence of his shade when he walked in the sun or moonlight. And they mention many other things as miracles done by him in their books called *as-Sirat al-Mustaḳīma* and *Majrā az-Zamān*.

As mentioned in the *Risāla Mithāq an-Nisa* and *Risāla al-Balāgh wa'n Nihāya*, the ten fundamental commandments of their religion are: (1) to know that the Barī' (creator) is not subject to any other creator; (2) to know that Imām Qāi'ūm az-Zamān is and is distinct from all spiritual laws; (3) to memorize the names and titles of the spiritual, the chief of whom is a Qā'im az-Zamān who arranged them and who is obeyed by them; (4) to keep silent; (5) to protect and support the brethren; (6) to give up the worship of a thing not seen; (7) to refuse to be controlled by devils; (8) to believe in the unity of God; (9) to accept the act of God, and (10) to submit to God's will.

They have also ten social obligations. The first three refer to weddings,

¹ Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin 'Abdullāh al-Qaddāh is the father of al-Husain who brought up 'Ubaidullāh al-Mahdī the first Caliph of Faṭimides (A.H. 297-322, A.D. 909-934), see fol. 8 of the MS.

² *Ar-Rukn al-Yamānī* (the Yamānī pillar) is at the south corner of the *Ka'ba* and is one of the most ancient parts of the Masjid al-Ḥarām (temple).

funerals, and *Nifās* (confinement). The rest are to accept the invitations of their brethren; to fulfil their needs; to accept their excuses; to be enemies to their oppressors; to visit their sick; to be benevolent to them; to help them to triumph and not to desert them.

There are twenty attributes to the *Imāms*. These attributes are divided into four groups. The first group consists of five names, viz.: ' *Illatu 'l 'Illal* (cause of causes), true *Sābiq* (preceder), *al-Amr* (order), *Zu-Ma'at* (maintainer of the unity of God), and *al-Irāda* (will). The second group relates to the nature of the *Imāms*, which consists of five essential elements, viz.: enthusiasm, penetrating intelligence, humility, clemency, and adaptability.

The third group consists of their properties, which are five, viz.: they are created out of God's light, strengthened by His Holy Spirit, gifted with the privilege of His knowledge, as well as with that of His power, and are versed in God's hidden secrets.

The fourth group refers to the stage of their spiritual development. They pass successively through the regions of bodily things, of colour, of spiritual beings, of the soul and the limitation. As mentioned in *as-Sirat-al-Mustaqīma*, these are the five *Manāzils* (stages) through which the *Imām* passed.

If a *ḡahil* wants to be admitted to the rank of the ' *Uqāl* or the Unitarians he must obtain the goodwill of the Unitarians in the following manner: He must send imploring letters for not less than two years, asking to be accepted and admitted by them and allowed to have their religion. If they agree, they will approach the *Imām* and he will adjure him to keep the secret and not to make it known, and command him to put in black and white and to sign an Oath. When he does so and hands the Oath to the *Imām* he becomes one of the ' *Uqāl*. Nobody can become a pure Unitarian without taking the Oath, which is as follows:

The Oath of the *Walī az-Zamān* (master of time). I trust in my Lord al-Ḥākim, the One, the single, the Ever-Living, who is not subject to *Azwāj* (marriage). I confess so and so, the son of so and so, made it incumbent on myself and make testimony to my soul (*rūḥ*) in soundness of body and mind, and *ḡawās Amrihi* (lawfulness of my action) willingly and without force, and not compelled, that I made myself free of all other beliefs and religions whatsoever may be, and that I know nothing except the worship of our Lord al-Ḥākim (may his mention be glorious), that I do not associate in my prayers any one, whether past, present, or future, and that I surrender my soul and body, property, children, and everything I possess to our Lord al-Ḥākim (may his mention be glorious), and that I accept all his rules without any question or denial of any of his acts whether approved of by me or not. And if I forsake the religion of our Lord al-Ḥākim (may his mention be glorious), which I take on myself and make testimony to my soul, or if I attribute anything of al-Ḥākim to some one else or break any of his orders, I shall not possess the privileges of being related to al-Barī—the creator—and I shall be deprived of benefits of all kinds. I shall be worthy of punishment of the high and righteous (may his mention be glorious). He

who professes that he has no God to be worshipped in the Heavens or any existing *Imām* on earth except our Lord al-Ḥākīm (may his mention be glorious) will be reckoned amongst the triumphant Unitarians. I write this in such and such month of such and such year of the era of the servants of our Lord (may his mention be glorious) and his slave Ḥamza bin 'Alī bin Aḥmad, the guide of those who respond and avenger of polytheists and apostates with the sword of our Lord (may his mention be glorious).

M. HIDAYET HOSAIN

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THE MANICHAEAN FRAGMENT S. 8 IN TURFAN PAHLAVI

*Transliterated Text, Translation, and Commentary.*¹

THIS Fragment, S. 8 (Kr. 2), reproduced by Salemann in *Manichaica III-IV* (*Izv. Imp. Akad. Nauk*, vi. 1912), p. 7, with a transcription in Hebrew letters and a tentative translation in Latin, was brought from Turfan to St. Petersburg in 1908 by N. Krotkov, Russian Consul at Urumchi. It is only a very small leaf, measuring approximately $2\frac{7}{8}$ by 2 inches (7.3 by 5.3 cm.), written on each side of the page in a single column ($2\frac{1}{4}$ by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches—5.7 by 3.3 cm.), and numbers only 10 lines to the column, with traces of a faded caption for each. The last line of the verso (b 10), [čē] *tahm ast 'ūd*, '[for] he is strong and' . . . , leaves us hopeless to guess what the next folio, which has not been preserved, may have contained. The book from which our leaf came must have been of small format.

The handwriting (merely fair) is somewhat larger than that in S. 9, in the Petersburg-Leningrad collection, and considerably larger than the very minute script of S. 7, but is not so large as the bold hand of S. 13, or of S. 31, as reproduced by Salemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19, 24-5. Reference is made below in the Notes (a 1, 9) to the use twice of a rather long dash as a space-filler within the line, in order to make the last letter end even with the rest.

A caption is faintly discernible at the top of the first page (a o), and still less so at the top of the second (b o), but in each case the red ink is so faded as to be practically illegible in Salemann's reproduction. By using a microscope it seems possible, though not certain, to decipher *s(?) n d* in the recto caption, while the verso caption is wholly undecipherable, and it would be fruitless to speculate about either heading unless some chemical process might one day restore the faded rubrics in this Fragment at Leningrad. Salemann makes no mention of these captions, nor does he take them into account when numbering the lines of his transliteration into Hebrew characters.

As to metre, occasional traces of the old Iranian octosyllabic movement seem recognizable, as in some other TPhl. Fragments (so also Salemann, p. 6), thus indicating that we may have in this a remnant of narrative account in verse. The composition, however, I would judge to belong to a period considerably after Mānī's death.

The contents of this brief Fragment, though fairly translatable, are difficult to interpret owing to the lack of any setting. The first five lines of the recto page (a 1-5) indicate that a massacre of members of the higher Manichaean clergy (Manichaean as shown by the adjective *rōšanān*, 'those of the Light') has taken place and the priests, below them, are grief-stricken. Regarding this, consult the remarks below in the note on a 1. As I view the piece (see

¹ By special arrangement this article is expected to appear, about the same time, also in my forthcoming book of *Manichaean Researches*, in the Indo-Iranian Series, vol. xiii, Columbia University Press, New York, 1931.

notes on a 6-7) the recto page conveys the impression that the religious killings which had been begun were due to or countenanced by an overweening monarch who keeps the smaller kingdoms (*šahrān*) split up to weaken their individual power, and thus rules over the kingdom (*šahr*) as a whole with imperial sway. From the allusion (a 8-9) to the sun and the moon—emblems of the Kingly Glory of the Sasanids (cf. note below on a 10, *'ispēzd*)—I should judge that this stigmatized monarch belonged to the House of Sāsān.

The second page (or verso b) expresses the hope for a divine avenger, the Lord Ohrmizd (Primal Man), potent with spear and armour, as in the primordial conflict when he was ultimately triumphant over the enemy. The looked-for coming of this champion to bring release at the day of reckoning is watchfully awaited by all (b 6-10). Mānī taught that the end of the world was near at hand (cf. S. 9 c, 30-4—d, 1-34), at which time, as we know from other Fragments (M. 470 r, 13-24; M. 583, see Reitzenstein, *Psyche*, p. 4, and cf. Jackson, *JRAS.*, 1924, pp. 148-9), the god Ohrmizd will appear from the northern region of heaven, accompanied by the gods who preside over the other three regions of the sky, and together they will usher in the final order of things that means the complete victory of Light over Darkness. This second page of our Fragment has therefore a ringing note of promise in contrast to the despondent chord which runs through the first. But who is the one who rules the Kingdom (Empire) so evilly that clerics of Mānī's faith have been massacred?

To answer this question we can only resort to surmise. It is possible that there may have been persecutions and massacres at the time when Shāpūr I banished Mānī from the Persian realm, but we have no direct evidence to support this. Nor do there seem to have been any persecutions when Mānī returned from Central Asia to Persia during the short reign of Hōrmizd I, who appears to have been tolerant towards him. A more likely conjecture is that these killings took place in the four years' reign of Bahrām I (A.D. 273-6?), who, yielding to Magian pressure, put Mānī to death, and then, according to some of the Arabic writers, buried 200 of his followers alive, head downwards in the earth, with the boast, 'I have laid out a garden, planted with men instead of trees' (for the Arabic sources see Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 330-2). But it may be still more plausible to suggest, if we place the Fragment somewhat later, that the stigmatized ruler was Khusrau I, Anōshīrvān (A.D. 531-79), since we know that in A.D. 528, during the reign of his father Kavādh, he instituted a wholesale massacre of the communistic Mazdakites and, with his strict Zoroastrian orthodoxy, must have been equally adverse to the Manichaeans as heretical and antinomian in their tendencies. For the persecution of the Mazdakites as akin, see J. J. Modi, 'Mazdak, the Iranian Socialist', in the *Hoshang Memorial Volume*, pp. 123, 124, Bombay, 1918; R. A. Nicholson, 'Mazdak', in Hastings, *Encycl. Relig. and Ethics*, viii. 508-510; E. Colby, 'Religion and Politics in Early Persia', in *The Open Court*, xxxvi. 410-12, Chicago, 1922; and consult especially A. Christensen, 'Le Règne du roi Kawādh', in *Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab*, ix. 29, 57, Copenhagen, 1925. While the Byzantine writers Malalas and Theophanes may have confused the Mani-

chaeans with the Mazdakites, because of certain resemblances in their doctrines, we have convincing evidence from Arabic authors that Khusrau I (Anōshīrvān) put Manichaeans to death as well as the Mazdakites in his zealous efforts to exterminate all whom the Magian priests regarded as heretics. In this very connexion the historian Ṭabarī, who died in A.D. 923, distinctly adds that 'Khusrau, furthermore, killed some Manichaeans (see the translation of Ṭabarī in Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, pp. 154-5); moreover, Nöldeke (p. 460) expresses his own opinion that Khusrau spared neither the Mazdakites nor the genuine Manichaeans. Similarly Abū'l-Fidā' (A.D. 1273-1331), in relating that Anōshīrvān caused Mazdak to be executed and granted immunity to any one who killed Mazdakites, further states that 'he also caused a great number of Manichaeans to be killed'—see the rendering of this passage by Christensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-7. We have likewise the authority of the Dēnkart, iv. 28, for the fact that Khusrau-Anōshīrvān took measures against 'every heresy'—*har (kolā) ahramōkīh*—see text ed. Madan, I, p. 413, and transl. West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 415; cf. Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 21. The suggestion, therefore, to regard the Manichaean slaughter, to which our Fragment refers, as having taken place rather in Khusrau-Anōshīrvān's reign, or just before he came to the throne, may not be wholly amiss.

TEXT AND VERBATIM TRANSLATION

S. 8 recto a and verso b

(Transliteration of Estrangelo Script)

(Word-for-word Translation of Text)

recto a

- a 1. *hrybtg'*—[n] (*hrēbatagān*)¹
*rōšanān*² 'im
*rāy*³ *kūš*⁴ *hēnd*
'ūd "trvn'n (*ātarvanān*)⁵
a 5. 'im *rāy mōyēnd*⁶
 ○ *vīspān šahrān*⁷
*xvad sīst*⁷ *dārē[d]*
'ūd pad +*xvar*⁸ 'ū[d]
*māh*⁹—+*xvad*[*īc*]¹⁰
a 10. 'ispyzd¹¹ ab[ar]

'Teachers,
 the Light ones, for this
 reason are killed
 and the Priests
 for this reason are lamenting
 ○ All the kingdoms
 himself keeps divided,
 and through the sun and
 moon himself [indeed]
 shines over

verso b

- b 1. *šahr* ○ *zēn*¹² *ašt*
*'ūd nēzag*¹² 'ig
'Ohrmīzd bē
*kē*¹³ *xast*¹⁴ *dūšmēn*
b 5. 'ū-š *kand az būn*¹⁵ ○
harvīsp amah
*vīgrād*¹⁶ 'isām¹⁷

the Kingdom. ○ There is the armour
 and spear of
 Ohrmīzd the divinity,
 who crushed the enemy
 and him dug from the root ○
 We all
 awakened shall stand

(Transliteration of Estrangelo Text)

(Word-for-word Translation of Text)

[○] *kū pādrōčag*¹⁸ *pad*

[○](until) when the requital-day to

[a] *mah bōxsād*¹⁹

[u]s shall (bring) release,

b 10. [čē] *tahm*²⁰ *ašt 'ūd*

[for] strong is he, and'

(Next folio missing)

(Next folio missing)

FREER RENDERING OF FRAGMENT S. 8

- (a 1-10) 'Teachers, of the Light, are killed for this reason, and the Priests for this reason are mourning. He himself keeps all the kingdoms divided, and himself indeed shines with the sun and moon over the Kingdom.
- (b 1-10) (But) there is the armour and spear of the divinity Ohrmizd (Primal Man) who crushed the enemy and dug him up from the root. All of us shall stand wide-awake for the time when the day of retribution shall bring us release, for strong he is and . . .'

NOTES, PHILOLOGICAL AND EXPLANATORY

Notes on S. 8 recto, a

(1). S. 8 a 0: as to the faded and undecipherable captions see the remarks above (p. 163 middle) in the introduction to this Fragment.

1. a 1. *hrybtg*'—Thus, with a long dash after *gā*—, to fill space before the last letter [*n*], which happens to be lost through a tear in the leaf. This line is not without some difficulties. The text, *hrybtg*'—[*n*], looks as if there might be a very slight separation after the first three letters *hry* (as if it were *hrē*, 'three'), and Salemann (p. 40 bot.) allows that it might perhaps ('viell.') be possible thus to divide, though I may emphasize that we should still be quite at a loss to explain *btg*'—[*n*]. Salemann (*loc. cit.*) was therefore justified when he ventured to write all the letters together as one word (p. 6), '*hrēvaθagān*', taking it as an 'unerklärbare nebenform' to Phl. *aērpāt* (*hērpāt*) because of its parallelism with the following term *ātarvanān* ('*āθrōnān*'), 'priests'. His Latin rendering (p. 6), 'Pontifices(?) illustres illius causa occisi sunt, et sacerdotes illius causa lamentantur', is correct in indicating that clerics have been massacred, but his translation, 'Pontifices(?) illustres', does not bring out sufficiently the fact that the characteristic adjective *rōšanān* proves they must have been Manichaeans, nor does he further intimate that their position in the hierarchy can be more fully defined. But he was right in assuming that these held the highest place in the clerical order.

Accepting the connexion of *hrēbatagān* with Phl. *aērpāt* (*hērpāt*), or *ēhrpāt* (see following), we may recall that the two latter forms are familiar as derivatives from Av. *aēθrapaiti*-, 'master of teaching, master of the (priestly) school', cf. especially the form, BkPhl. *ēhrpāt* in Aogemadaēchā, § 59, where that term is explained as *mayūpātān mayūpāt*, 'the Mobed of Mobeds'. It is etymologically connected in turn with NP. *herbad*; consult also the note by Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* 20, and cf. M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization* (1922), pp. 83, 122, 332, and J. J. Modi, *Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees* (1922), p. 384. It may be remarked incidentally, that in later times, after the Sasanian period, and also in modern Parsi usage, the title *hērbad*, *ērvad*, 'teacher', seems to have lost some of its old exalted significance, see Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, i, pp. liv-lv. The second title in our passage (a 4), *ātarvanān* (Salemann, *āθrōnān*) is a direct derivative from Av.

abaurvan-, *āθravan-*, and in the Avesta this is the common designation for priests in general (cf. Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* 65, and Dhalla, op. cit., pp. 83, 122, 332). Thus much concerning the etymology of the two words, next as to their interpretation here.

From the remarks in the introduction regarding the attribute *rōšanān*, it is clear that the killing of Manichaean clerics is referred to, and the Zoroastrian titles *hrēbatagān* and *ātarvanān*, by adaptation, are designedly chosen in this connexion, which is evidently Sasanian. Manichaeism was peculiarly facile in adapting its terminology to suit the environment, as the answers of Faustus, with their Christian colouring, in his disputation with St. Augustine sufficiently show; and we are familiar with the distinctly Persian atmosphere given in S.9. (q.v.), and so often elsewhere, by Mānī's own deliberate choice or adaptation of Zoroastrian terms (cf. also Schaefer (with Reitzenstein), *Studien*, p. 275, and observe also his reference to 'Umstilisierung'). Since, therefore, *hrēbatagān* and *ātarvanān* are manifestly sacerdotal terms of Manichaeism (the Elect and Hearers being here excluded) it remains to determine, if possible, which of the three classes in its hierarchical order they may be intended to designate. Omitting, therefore, the Elect proper and the Hearers in the well-known five-fold organization of the Manichaean community (cf. Flügel, pp. 95, 294-9; text, complete ed., p. 333), we know from the Fragments and the non-Manichaean sources that the three clerical classes were as follows:

Title.	Augustine.	Gk. Formula.	TPhl. Frag.	Turkish.	Chinese.	Arab. Fihrist.
Teacher (Master)	<i>magister</i>	διδάσκαλος	<i>mōžag</i> (Teacher)	<i>mōžag</i>	<i>mou-shō</i>	<i>mu'allim</i> (Teacher)
Sun-enlight- ened (Bishop)	<i>episcopus</i>	ἐπίσκοπος	<i>'ispasag</i>	—	—	<i>mušammas</i> (Sun-en- lightened)
Presbyter (Elder)	<i>presbyter</i>	πρεσβύτερος	<i>maḥistag</i>	<i>maxistag</i>	—	<i>qissis</i> (Elder)

From what has been stated above concerning Av. *aēθrapaiti-*, 'the master of (religious) teaching', and BkPhl. *hērpāt*, *ēhrpāt*, 'teacher', as the 'Mobed of Mobeds', it seems clear that the TPhl. title *hrēbatagān* refers to those of the highest order in the above list, the religious 'Teachers' *par excellence*—those spiritual masters who were twelve in number, with a thirteenth selected as their head (see Augustine, *De Haeres.*, ch. 46). Any religious persecution would naturally begin by singling out those at the top. The *ātarvanān* (Av. *abaurvan-*, *āθravan-*) might be either the 'Bishops' or more likely the 'Presbyters' (Elders), who are sorrowing not only for the death of their superiors but doubtless also fearing that their own turn would come next.

2. a 2. *rōšanān*: regarding the connotation of this adjective, as especially Manichaean, see above.

3. a 2-3, 5. *'īm rāy*: the same phrase, meaning 'for this reason', occurs also in S. 9, c 14 (q.v.). Concerning its application in our present passage consult the introductory remarks above.

4. a 3. *kūšt hēnd*: 'are killed, have been massacred'—see the introductory comments. For this familiar verb and BkPhl. *kūštan*, NP. *kuštan*, 'to kill', see Bartholomae, *Zum Air. Wb.*, p. 154 bot. Regarding the spelling *kūst* (with final *t*), and also *sist* (a 7), *xast* (b 4), we may observe that interchange of *t* and *ṭ* is not uncommon in TPhl. (e.g. '*iṣṭun* and '*iṣtūn*'; '*iṣṭūd*, '*iṣtūd*'; *vīnast*, *vīnast*; cf. further, *nīsehīst*, *pasāxt*, &c.)

5. a 4. *ʾtrvnʾn* (*ātarvanān*): concerning the employment of this word here consult the note on a 1.

6. a 5. *mōyēnd*: Salemann's transliteration in Hebrew is certainly correct, even though the latter part of this word seems slightly blurred. His glossarial entry, p. 43^t **mōstan*, 'jammern', draws attention to the BkPhl. adj. *mōstōmand* in Dēnkart, ix. 4. 7, see D. D. P. Sanjana, vol. xvii, p. 7 (text) and p. 7 (transl.), which West (numbering ix. 5. 7) in *SBE*. xxxvii. 178, renders as 'distressed'. We may furthermore recall NP. *mōyīdan*, 'to weep', and *mōyah* (or *mūyah*), 'weeping, lamenting'; cf. also Horn, *Neupers. Etymologie*, § 997, and Hübschmann, *Pers. Studien*, p. 99. The meaning 'lamentatur' is therefore assured.

7. a 6-7. *vīspān šahrān xwad sīst dārē[d]*: 'he himself holds (keeps) all the kingdoms split up (divided)'. The reading of the several words in these two lines is clear, including a part of the final *d* in *dārē[d]*, but support must be given for the translation that is offered. As indicated in the introduction, I believe that *vīspān šahrān* refers here to the ordinary kingdoms, and not to the 'five aeons'. It remains, therefore, to determine the real significance of the phrase *xwad sīst dārēd*, and especially the explanation of *sīst*. Salemann (p. 6) translates this by 'infirmas(?)', with a question mark, and in his glossarial entry (p. 44^b) on *sīst* as 'schwach', he compares, with a query '?', a BkPhl. word that may be read as *š st* or *sn st*, but adds no reference. His Latin translation of the lines is 'omnes potestates ipse infirmas(?) tenet'.

To suggest an etymological explanation for *sīst* (which is evidently a pass. ptcpl.) I would propose connecting it with the Av. root *sid-*, *saēd-*, 'to cut, split', which has as its pass. ptcpl. *°sista-*, 'divided, split up', cf. Skt. *chid-*, 'to cut off, split', Gk. *σχιστός*, Lat. *scissus*, and especially the cpd. pass. ptcpl. Phl. *vi-sistak* and infin. N.P. *gu-sistan*, cf. Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.*, 1547. The implication here as I see it would be that the stigmatized monarch (whoever may be meant) has, perhaps for political reasons in order to suppress unorthodox minorities as against the government, adopted the policy of keeping the smaller kingdoms divided, so that he himself may exercise sway over the entire kingdom (*abar šahr*) as an empire. While we lack sufficient data to prove the correctness of this suggestion, we do know that the Manichaeans were looked upon as antinomians, and we may also believe that they themselves regarded any steps directed against their growing communities as an attempt to keep kingdoms divided against each other for a special purpose.

8. a 8. *pad xvar*: Salemann, with some hesitation, read *xwad*, 'self', in his Hebrew transliteration (p. 7) but **xvar* 'sun' in his Roman (p. 6), and translated 'per semet ipsum (solem?) et lunam', although he allowed in his note (p. 7) that one would like to read *xvar*, but thought that the dot (which differentiates *r* and *d*) stood too low. A careful examination under a magnifying glass shows that the word is actually *xvar*, 'sun', as the context would lead to expect. The full idea implied in the sentence, *ʾūd pad xvar* &c., 'and himself indeed shines through the sun and moon', is explained in the note below on *ʾispēz(ē)d*, a 10.

9. a 9. *māh*—: After this word there is a slightly long mark that looks like —, which I would regard as a space-filler, just as the prolongation in a 1. Salemann, however, took it to be a punctuation mark ○, but the sense is against that because there is no interruption in the structure of the clause. Two similar instances of a space-filling dash (even between the syllables of a word) appear to be found in another of Salemann's Fragments (p. 16) S. 12, b 19 ([*b*]ōxs—ānd and b 24, sab—/).

10. a 9. *xvad*/: I would suggest supplying the two missing letters (due to a hole in the leaf) by *y ē* and to read the word as *xvadīč* or *xvadēč*, 'himself indeed', 'himself even'. Regarding the form *x v d y ē*, see Bartholomae, 'Zur Kenntnis . . . V', pp. 29, 40, in *SbHdAW*. 1923, 3 Abh., pp. 29, 40.

11. a 10. '*spyzd*', '*ispēzd*' (read '*ipēzēd*'): Salemann in his Hebrew transcription and glossary p. 45^t gives '*ipēzd*', but queries whether it is a verb ('ob vb?') and does not translate, simply referring to his *Manich. Stud.*, p. 106, where the word '*ispēz*' is recorded as occurring twice in Mü., ii, pp. 12^t, 47^m, but is neither time translated. Bartholomae, *Zum Air. Wb.*, p. 80, refers to these two instances of '*ispēz*' as being of unknown meaning and etymology, but adds a query in a foot-note (n. 3) as to whether they might have any connexion with BkPhl. *spēzēt* (concerning which verb see a comment below). It is certain that our '*ispēzd*' is a verb and is probably written defectively for '*ispēzēd*', since both the verbs *mōyēnd* and *dārēd* which precede it in this Fragment are in the present tense. There has lately become available some material that may help to clear up the problem of the meaning of '*ispēz(ē)d*' and of '*ispēz*', from which it is derived, although the etymology of the latter word is still obscure.

In 1926 Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, p. 36^m, noted the meaning of the verb '*ipēzēdan*' ('*ispēzēdon*') as 'leuchten', taking this from an unpublished TPhl. manuscript of Professor Müller, M. 627, in the SW. dialect. They refer also to a passage in a Fragment which they publish, p. 120 f., from a Hymn to Jesus, fol. 15, r. 1-2, where occurs the phrase *Yišō* '*ispēxtān*', 'Jesus the Illumined' (pl. maj.), rendered by them as 'Jesus Ziwa'. We may therefore regard '*ipēzēdan*' as a denominative verb with the meaning (1) intrans. 'to shine', (2) trans. 'to illumine, make clear', and for the formation and usage as both intransitive and transitive compare Salemann, in *Grundr. iran. Philol.* 1. 1. 305 § 96, b.

Furthermore, regarding '*ipēxt*', we may add that W. and L., p. 113/, give from T II D. 178, III, verso 5 a, '*ād az hēm tō rōšan* ○ '*ispēxt hasēnag* ○ 'And I am thy light, the illumined, primeval' (which W. and L., p. 36, inadvertently inserting a second *tō*, translate as 'Und ich bin dein Licht, deine uranfängliche Leuchte, taking '*ispēxt*' as a noun instead of a pass. ptcl.). Previously, in 1923, I had noted for comparison with '*ispēz*', '*ispēz(ē)d*' the word '*ispēxt*' as a pass. ptcl. in a TPhl. Fragment, M. 801, line 1, given by Le Coq, *Manichaäische Miniaturen* (1923), p. 40^t (with a transliteration, but not translation, by Müller, who, however, transcribes and translates a second page, between which and this page some folios of the book are missing). This Fragment (and I expect to give elsewhere etymological support for my translation) is in praise and felicitation of some ruler on an auspicious day, and begins as follows:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. ' <i>ispēxt ayē pramēn</i> | 'thou art illumined, a living |
| 2. <i>paḥiqērb pad nīšān</i> | counterpart, by the sign |
| 3. ' <i>ī xvarxšēd tō sārār</i> | of the sun, thou ruler |
| 4. ' <i>ī rāstīī hāmdeš</i> | of rectitude, the likeness |
| 5. ' <i>ī bē Zrvān</i> | of the divinity Zarvān.' |

The ascription of such titles to the ruler as counterpart of the sun and the image of god Zarvan, even if only reminiscent, would be wholly in accord with the titles assumed by the Sasanian monarchs in their well-known claims to heavenly descent and to their kingship by divine right, and would harmonize in spirit at least with the claim imputed to the sovereign in our Fragment (a 8-10) that he shone through the sun and moon. Thus the Sasanian Emperor Sapor II (A.D. 309-70) in a letter to the Roman Emperor Constantius calls himself 'companion of the stars, brother of the

sun and moon' (*particeps siderum, frater solis et lunae*) according to the contemporary historian Ammianus Marcellinus, xvii. 5. 3. Furthermore, Khusrau I, Anōshīrvān (A.D. 531-79), in a letter to Justinian, cited by the Byzantine historian Menander Protector of the sixth century (*Corpus script, hist. Byz.*, part 1, p. 353), boasts to be 'fashioned after the gods' (ὁς ἐκ θεῶν χαρακτηρίζεται), with which compare the TPhl. phrase *hāmdeš 'i bē Zrvān*, quoted immediately above. In the same tone, Khusrau II (A.D. 590-628) is quoted by Theophylactus, *Hist.* iv. 8, as calling himself a man immortal among the gods and a very illustrious god among men, 'rising with the sun and bestowing upon the night its eyes' (ἡλίου συνανατέλλων καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ χαρίζόμενος ὄμματα). For the Byzantine references consult also Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides*, p. 88 and n. 4, and Clemen, *Fontes hist. relig. Pers.*, pp. 104, 105. These allusions (and they might be multiplied) help us to understand the import of *'ispēz(ē)d* in the present passage.

As already indicated, the basic adjective *'ispēz*, from which the verb *'ispēzēdan* is derived, was previously known through two occurrences in Müller, *Handschriften-reste*, ii. 12^t, 47^m, and we now can see that it must mean 'shining, luminous, clear'. Taking the latter of these two passages first, namely M. 309 (= Mü. p. 47), it is certain that *'ispēz šahriyār* signifies 'the Shining Ruler' (perhaps Jesus), paralleled with the Mother of the Living. The other occurrence in M. 475, r. 20 (= Mü. p. 12) is not clear because the text is broken and the decipherment partly uncertain; but judging from the general connexion it would seem that *hā'im?* (read *hān*) *'ispēz bavād* may signify 'that will be clear'.

Finally, we may return to BkPhl. *spēzēt*, the word referred to by Bartholomae, as mentioned in the first paragraph of this note. It occurs in a well-known Pahlavi book, *Epistles of Manušihir*, i. 6. 5. (cf. ed. B. N. Dhabar, p. 29, Bombay, 1912), translated for the first time (in 1882) by E. W. West, in *SBE* xviii. 302. West there renders *b-xvēšič ēn spēzēt* by 'this is set aside even by himself'; it should rather be, 'this is elucidated (illustrated, made clear) even by himself'.

Notes on S. 8 verso, b

12. b 1-3. *zēn ... 'ūd nēzag 'ig 'Ohrmīzd bē*: 'The armour (weapon) and spear of the divinity Ohrmīzd' may here be compared with S. 9, a 11-12, *zēn 'ig 'Ohrmīzd xwadāy*, 'the weapon of Ohrmīzd the Lord, the name Ohrmīzd referring both times, as elsewhere in the Turfan Fragments, to Primal Man. The word *nēzag* (found also in BkPhl.) occurs likewise in S. 7, C. 9 (q.v.); it appears furthermore as *nēz* (a shortened form before an enclitic) in *nēz'mān*, 'our spear', in the N. Dial. Hymn, 'Worthy art Thou', M. 83, 17; W. and L., *Stellung*, p. 117.

13. b 4-5. *kē xast dūšmēn 'ū-š kand az būn*: this triumphal deed of Ohrmīzd over the Arch-Enemy in the past refers here, I believe, to that mentioned in the Fihrist (Flügel, p. 89 and notes 118, 119), according to which account Primal Man, after his rescue, descended into the abyss and cut the roots of the five Dark Natures. This combat between Xurmuzta and Shmnu (Primal Man and Ahriman) is more fully described in the Turkish Manichaean Fragment T. Ia (see Le Coq, *Turk. Man.* i, pp. 19-20) where Xurmuzta split the head of the demon Shmnu with an axe and an incredibly long spear. The act of eradicating the five trees of evil is reflected likewise in the Chinese Treatise (JA., 1911, pp. 536, 560). Thus interpreted, our passage holds out to the afflicted ones the assurance that the looked-for coming of Ohrmīzd (Primal Man) at the end of the world, which is impending, will bring the day of retaliation and relief from the oppressor, just as he had overcome the enemy (*dūšmēn*) in the first age of the universe.

14. b 4. *xast*: pret. tense of *xastan*, NP. *xastan*, 'to wound', Av. *xad-* 'to crush, break', cf. Skt. *khad-*, 'to chew'. Salemann (loc. cit., p. 6) translates by 'vulneravit'.

15. b 5. *'ū-š kand az būn*: lit. 'and dug him (-š refers back to *dūšmēn*) up from the bottom', i.e. eradicated him fundamentally. Cf. note on b 3.

16. b 7. *vīgrād* (or *vīgarād*): pass. ptcpl. of *vīgrādan* (*vīgrā°*) 'to be awake', cf. Av. 1 *gar-*, Bthl., *Air. Wb.* 511, and Skt. 3 *gar-* 'to wake, be awake'; see also Sm. glossary, p. 38, and id., *MSt.*, p. 74. The inchoative *vīgrās*, 'awake thou', occurs in M. 4, b 9 (Mü., p. 53^t), and compare, for its formation, Av. *xšnāsa-* (Bthl., *Air. Wb.* 559) from 2 *zan-*, 'to know, come to know', and TPhl. *šarās-ēnād*, 'he caused to flow away', in S. 9, b 3 (q.v.). The causative form *vīgrānēd* also is found in M. 32 r, 4 (Mü., p. 62^b), and the ptcpl. adj. *vīgrādag*, 'watchful' (applied to Jesus) in M. 369 v, lines 1, 10 (W. and L., *Stellung*, p. 118^b). The meaning in our passage is, 'we shall all be expectant', 'let all of us be wide-awake', watching for the appointed time.

17. b 7. *'istām*: subjunct. from the common verb *'istādan*, Sm., *MSt.*, p. 106. Consult the preceeding note, end.

18. b 8. *pādrōčag*: Salemann (p. 46, glossary) remarks that this appears to be one word and doubtfully suggests 'tag für tag' as its meaning. But a simple explanation for it is not difficult to propose. This is to regard *pādrōčag* as meaning lit. 'counter-day' i.e. 'day of requital' or 'day of retaliation'. The prefixed *pād-* would be a 'vriddhied' form as in TPhl. *pād'snōhr* (S. 9, c 23), which word signifies 'gratification in return, recompense, reward'. For similar 'vriddhied' forms in Avestan cf. Bthl., *Air. Wb.* 887, *pāitivāka-*, 'answer', et al.; similarly op. cit., 890, *pāiri*, 'around', and *pāirivāza-*, 'running around'. The meaning and formation of *pādrōčag* thus becomes clear.

19. b 8-9. *pad [a]mah bōxsād* (or *būxsād*): the use of *pad* here seems unusual, but the sense appears to be, 'the day of requital shall bring(?) release to us'. Salemann's Latin translation (p. 6) indicates some wavering when he gives, 'quo in diem per nos (pro nobis?) salvet'. My colleague and fellow worker, Dr. Charles J. Ogden, suggests as a possible alternative for consideration, to take *bōxsād* as intransitive or quasi-passive, and render, 'the day of retaliation shall be released to us'. Further thought should be given to this suggestion. To turn now to the verb *bōxsād* (*būxsād*) and its formation. By derivation it is cognate with Av. *buš-*, *baof-*, 'to loosen, release,' BkPhl. *bōxtan*, and there are a half dozen and more instances of verb-forms from TPhl. *bōxtan*, 'to free, release', including subjunct. 1 sg. *bōš-ān*, and possibly *bōš-ānd* (see Sm., *MSt.*, p. 60, and his glossary, p. 37. Our form *bōxsād* is an inchoative, 3 sg. subj., and is paralleled in the Salemann Fragments (see glos., p. 37) by two other inchoative subjunctives, *bōxsān*, 1 sq. subj. in S. 34, a 3, and [*h*] *bōxsānd*, 3 pl. subj. in S. 12, b 19; cf. also *bōxsān* in W. and L., *Stellung*, p. 117 top (1a). For a list of Avestan inchoatives in *-sa-*, see Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* 1907 (14 a).

20. b 10 (11). *tahm ašt*: the lacuna I would fill by the word *čē*, 'for, because', i.e. 'since he is strong'. The subject seems best to be taken as referring back to *'Ōhrmīzd*, but the loss of the next folio leaves the matter a little uncertain.

The aim of this article has been not only to give a translation and philological interpretation of the above Turfan Pahlavi Fragment, but also to suggest a possible setting for it in connexion with events that may relate to Manichaeism historically.

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THE INFLUENCE OF IRAN UPON EARLY JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

I FEEL deeply sensible of the honour done me in being invited to contribute to a book to be offered to so distinguished a scholar as Dr. Pavry on his attaining the age of seventy, and to testify my respect for the learned labours of one before whom I feel conscious of inferiority in every respect, save the very doubtful one of age. The pleasure of making my offering is lessened only by the realization that I am not qualified by my knowledge of the literary treasures of Iran, its incomparable poetry, and the great religion to which it has given birth, to produce anything worthy of this auspicious occasion.

My esteemed friend and colleague, Professor Robert Hume, whose oriental lore reflects honour on the institution to which I belong, in his useful handbook on *The World's Living Religions* points out that the adherents of Zoroaster are the least numerous of those of any other of the great faiths of the world. But it is no disproof of the value of a religion that its followers are few; since, even in a democratic age, a truth is not dependent on any judgement formed simply by counting the heads of those who receive it. The religion of Mazda may be insignificant numerically, but it is great both historically and for the important truths upon which it has laid especial stress; and as a student of the history of Christianity I desire to emphasize the influence of Iran on the religion of Christ.

The religion of Moses and of the prophets of ancient Israel, namely, the acknowledgement of One God beside whom no other might be legitimately worshipped, eventually destroyed all the different cults of the Mediterranean world. None of the older religions were able to stand before the Jewish, an exclusive national faith, or the Christian which offered the worship of the God of Israel to all races of mankind. By about A.D. 450 the gods of Egypt and Syria, Greece and Rome were practically dead; and later, the faith of Islam, historically an offshoot and a variety of the two religions which had survived, was actually a combination of Jewish and Christian beliefs together with some Zoroastrian elements. The success of these three religions was due, among other things, to the fact that each of them had a moral purpose, and laboured to make men better by giving them a high idea of the Deity they worship in common, and a rule of life to be followed. The other religions of antiquity could not live, because they were without the ethical principles, which the philosophy of Greece and the law of Rome laboured to supply. For this reason these have never lost their hold on mankind, whilst the gods of antiquity have vanished. It may be added that Mithraism, the cult which for awhile seriously contested the field with early Christianity, drew its inspiration from Iran.

Just at the time when Judaism had become isolated from the rest of the world, and Christianity was on the verge of being acknowledged as the only possible religion for civilized humanity in the West, a serious rival suddenly

appeared in the Near East in the form of a revival of the religion of the ancient Persian Empire, and for centuries it disputed with varying fortune the spiritual empire over mankind between the Indus and the Atlantic.

The rise of the first Persian Empire synchronized with a great awakening of the human mind. In the Far East Gautama, the Buddha, was developing his philosophy of renunciation, which to this day is professed by millions, and is still influencing a considerable portion of the human race. The Hellenic world was beginning to produce an imperishable literature, and to establish basic principles, alike for the practical and speculative sciences of the future. In the same age, unknown to the great nations of the world in an unimportant city on the banks of the Tiber, the Roman Republic was preparing a code of law destined to exercise authority over the habitable globe. Thus between 600 and 500 B.C. the foundations of our modern civilization were being laid.

But of even greater consequence to the development of humanity was the emergence of a new conception of religion from the ruins of the kingdoms of ancient Israel. Partly overwhelmed by the armies of Assyria, their last remaining sanctuary destroyed by the Babylonian Empire, the flower of their nation captives or fugitives, the People of the God of Israel, henceforward to be known as the Jews, were developing an indestructible religious polity based on the acknowledgement of the One True and only God. How Judaism, and its offspring Christianity, emerged from the religion of ancient Israel as it appears in the Old Testament is one of the most perplexing problems in human history; but that Persia had no small influence on this momentous development is certain. When the Persian Empire came on the scene, the fortunes of Israel were at their lowest ebb; and the tide turned when their prophet, the Second Isaiah, could say: 'That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid.' (Isa. xliv. 28.)

During the captivity in Babylon the Jews had developed that abhorrence of idolatry in the sense of the worship of images, which finds expression in the scathing satire of the latter part of the present Book of Isaiah, the people having been previously taught by their earlier prophets the folly of the ceremonialism of an unmoral religion. The only nation capable of sympathy with them was Persia with the faith of Zoroaster, which abhorred the worship of images, and aimed at inculcating moral duty. Its kings, according to the Bible, displayed a sympathy with the Jews which none of their previous or subsequent rulers ever showed, and they usually took their side against those who conspired against their religion. The Persians were the first people of Aryan stock with whom the Jews came into intimate contact; and, according to the recently discovered Mond papyri, Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, when he executed judgement against the gods of Egypt, specially exempted the Jewish temple at Elephantine from the destruction wrought by him.

But Persia did more than protect Judaism: it enriched it. The religion of Israel had taught that God exercised a righteous, but somewhat arbitrary rule. Like a terrible king He did evil as well as good. But under Persian

influence the Jews began to realize that life is a struggle between good and evil with God always on the side of good, that there are two spiritual worlds in constant conflict with one another. Satan thus became to the Jews, not merely the angel who accused Israel, but the enemy of God. Moreover, the unseen world became populous with the spiritual ministers of God at war with the satellites of Satan. The strife was constant and the issue apparently doubtful; but in the end God must win. A deliverer would be sent; Satan's hosts would be subdued; and God would triumph in the end. Out of this aspect of Judaism as modified by Zoroastrianism Christianity emerged. The good angels, as we see in such Jewish books as Daniel and Tobit, constantly protected the righteous, and the belief arose that a great spiritual Saviour was destined to appear as a deliverer. Thus it came to pass that some of the leading ideas which lay at the foundation of the Christian religion were developed under the influence of Zoroastrian doctrine, the conflict with Satan and his hosts, the expectation of a superhuman deliverer—popularly known to the Jews as the Messiah—and of the establishment of God's kingdom.

Then occurred an astonishing series of events extending over many centuries. Persia succumbed before the army of Alexander the Great, and the Macedonian kings of the House of Seleucus ruled the eastern world. Gradually the Parthians pushed back Hellenism beyond the Euphrates, and founded an empire, which formed a barrier impassible to Roman aggression. For many centuries from the battle of Arbela, 331 B.C. till A.D. 226, more than five centuries, Persia entered upon a long period of obscurity. Then a surprising event occurred. A distinguished officer of Artabanus, the last Parthian king, put himself at the head of the old Persian people, defeated his master, and changed his name from Ardashir, the grandson of Sassan, to Artaxerxes, thus claiming to represent the ancient monarchy of Cyrus and his successors. Assuming the proud title of *Shah-in-Shah*, or King of Kings, he made Zoroastrianism the symbol of Persian nationality. But the religion of Mazda under this Sassanian dynasty was far more uncompromising than that of the Parthian monarchs, who were accessible to Hellenic modes of thoughts, or even of the old Persian Achaemenian kings, who, as Dr. A. V. Williams Jackson points out in his *Zoroastrian Studies*, were tolerant even of the gods of Egypt. The restored religion was uncompromising; and, by inspiring the national aspiration of the Persians, made them into formidable enemies of Rome.

Age after age and with varying fortune Caesar disputed with the King of Kings for the empire of the world. One Roman emperor, Valerian, died a prisoner of the Persian king in A.D. 260. The great city of Antioch was more than once captured by a Persian army. In revenge the Roman armies had their victories to boast of; in fact the history of the eastern empire of Constantinople for four centuries is one of war with Persia.

Within a century of the accession of Ardashir the struggle with Persia became one of religion. In A.D. 313 and more emphatically in A.D. 325 Constantine recognized the Christian creed, which soon became the sole legal faith of the empire. The Romans now were champions of Jesus, and the

Persians of Zoroaster. Hitherto Christianity had suffered at the hands of emperors, apprehensive of its advancing power, and of philosophers jealous of its growing influence with mankind. Policy rather than fanaticism had provoked persecution. Now it was a question of two hostile religions, thoroughly organized and burning with zeal for victory. Under Sapor II, A.D. 310-81, the Christians of Rome and Armenia had to choose between apostasy and death by fire.

But a danger far more formidable than persecution threatened the Christian religion from the side of Persia. It took the form of an attempt to fuse the religions of Jesus and Zoroaster into one in which East and West might unite. Indeed by the aid of Buddhist principles, which were also recognized, this faith might have passed through India to China and subdued alike Europe and Asia.

Manes or Mani, the originator of the heresy of the Manichaeans, lived in the third century of the Christian era. His Persian father had given him an impulse toward syncretism. His system found favour in high circles, till the priesthood detected heresy in his doctrine, and Manes was compelled to flee to Turkestan, where he elaborated his system. He suffered a cruel death on his return to Persia under Varanes I (Bahram) in A.D. 273.

The Manichaean religion excited as much hostility in the Roman as in the Persian Empire. It was proscribed by Diocletian in whose reign the last persecution of the Church began, as vigorously as by the later Christian emperors, but it spread eastward and westward; and, in very different forms, was to be found from China to Spain. Even after he had long repudiated its principles, St. Augustine, the most influential doctor of the west, shows that it had profoundly modified his views of human nature. For ages Manichaeism disturbed the dogmatic peace of the Eastern Empire, and spread through Bulgaria and northern Italy to France. Stamped out by the warriors of France and the inquisitors of Rome, it continued secretly to attract disciples and has been influential among many to whom the very names of Manes and Manichaean are unknown.

Historians of the life and thought in the Christian Church have uniformly displayed a tendency to ignore the important part played by the religious ideas of Iran, nor can the writer of this brief chapter plead guiltless in this respect. But the subject is worthy of serious attention from the theologians of the future, whether they be Jew or Christian; and if these few remarks prove a stimulus for further study of the subject, they will not have been made in vain.

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NAUTISCHE INSTRUMENTE DER ARABER IM INDISCHEN OZEAN

DER türkische Seeman Piri Re'is hat in der um 1526 abgeschlossenen poetischen Einleitung zur 2. Ausgabe seiner *Bahrîje*¹ im Anschluss an das Chinesische Meer von dem Indischen Meer gehandelt und hier speziell die Methode beschrieben, die die Seefahrer dort zur Bestimmung der Sternhöhe anwenden, mit deren Hilfe sie wiederum die geographische Breite des Standorts des Schiffes berechnen können. Es sind, wie er berichtet, zwölf Bretter von verschiedener Länge, mit denen man auf dem Wege von Jemen bis nach Südinien die Höhe des Polarsterns zu bestimmen pflegte.

In seiner *Introduction à l'Astronomie Nautique Arabe* (Paris, 1928) hat Gabriel Ferrand zu Anfang (S. 1 ff.) verschiedene ältere Berichte über nautische Instrumente der Araber wieder abgedruckt, dabei auf S. 12 ff. auch die von James Prinsep ins Englische übertragene Übersetzung, die Hammer von Purgstall seiner Zeit aus dem etwa 1554 verfassten Muḥîṭ des Sîdî 'Alî Re'is angefertigt hat, mit den von Prinsep der Übersetzung beigegebenen Bemerkungen.² Hier ist von zwei Instrumenten die Rede, einem älteren, das trotz mancher Abweichungen in den Berichten doch zweifellos dasselbe ist, wie das, von dem Piri Re'is spricht, und von einem anderen in späterer Zeit verwendeten Instrument, bestehend aus *einem* Brette, das mit Hilfe eines mit verschiedenen Knoten versehenen Fadens dem Auge ferner oder näher gehalten wird.

Uns ist schon aus der Einleitung, die der Türke Sîdî 'Alî Re'is zu seinem Buche geschrieben hat, bekannt, dass er verschiedene arabische Werke als Quellen benutzt hat und den besonderen Bemühungen von Gabriel Ferrand ist es gelungen, die Hauptquellen für Sîdî 'Alî Re'is, Werke des Mu'allim Šihâbeddîn Aḥmed Ibn Mâğid, des berühmten Piloten des Vasco da Gama, und des Mu'allim Suleimân el-Mahri, in den Pariser Handschriften 2292 und 2559 du Fonds Arabe der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris nachzuweisen. Er hat beide Handschriften in photolithographischer Wiedergabe veröffentlicht und damit zugänglich gemacht: *Instructions nautiques et Routiers Arabes et Portugais des XV^e et XVI^e siècles, I. Ibn Mâğid* (Paris, 1921/23), *II. Sulaymân al-Mahri et Ibn Mâğid* (Paris, 1925). Wie mir Gabriel Ferrand auf meine Anfrage mitteilt, finden sich in den hier vorliegenden Werken der beiden arabischen Meister wohl Anspielungen auf die Instrumente, die die arabischen Seeleute gebraucht haben, aber keine Beschreibung derselben. Eine solche finde sich seines Wissens nur in dem Muḥîṭ des Sîdî 'Alî Re'is an der erwähnten von ihm wieder abgedruckten Stelle. Er äussert aber gleichzeitig seine Bedenken gegenüber der Übersetzung und schreibt: 'Cette traduction ne paraît pas

¹ Vgl. zu dieser meinen Aufsatz: 'Piri Re'is und seine *Bahrîje*' in *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie, Kulturgeographie, Ethnographie und Kartographie, vornehmlich des Orients*, Herausgegeben von Hans Mzik (Leipzig und Wien, 1929), S. 60-76.

² Zuerst erschienen in *JASB*, vii, Calcutta, 1838, S. 771 ff.

très exacte; aussi feriez-vous bien, je crois, de faire copier le texte de ce *faṣl* sur le manuscrit de Muḥiṭ qui est à Vienne et de le traduire à nouveau.'

Ich bin diesem Rate gefolgt, habe mir die *Wiener Handschrift* N.F. 184, des Muḥiṭ des Sîdi 'Ali Re'is nach Bonn kommen lassen¹ und die in Betracht kommenden Abschnitte durchgearbeitet, mich dabei der Hilfe meines Kollegen Josef Hopmann, jetzt Prof. d. Astronomie an der Univ. Leipzig, erfreuend. Gabriel Ferrand hat mit seinem Urteil über die Übersetzung vollkommen recht—das Urteil trifft allerdings auch die anderen von Hammer von Purgstall übersetzten Stücke des Sîdi 'Ali Re'is in gleicher Weise. Ich gebe deshalb hier auf Grund der Handschrift eine neue Übersetzung des 5. Abschnittes des 1. Kapitels dieses Werkes und füge dazu eine Übersetzung der Ausführungen des Piri Re'is aus Kapitel 22 und 23 der poetischen Einleitung, soweit sie auf die Instrumente Bezug haben, nach der Hs. Aja Sofia 2612 in Konstantinopel.

Aus dem 1. Kapitel des Muḥiṭ des Sîdi 'Ali Re'is

Der *fünfte* Abschnitt erklärt die Aufstellung der zur Messung dienenden Instrumente.

Das Instrument, das die Früheren zunächst anwandten, waren neun Bretter. Des ersten Brettes Grösse beträgt mit den drei Gliedern (ṣikan²) des kleinen Fingers des Menschen und dem Glied, das in seiner Hand ist, vier Glieder. Jedes einzelne davon nennt man einen Iṣba'. Dementsprechend wird es angewandt, nämlich das erste Brett hat vier Iṣba', und es sei bekannt, dass jedes Meisters Brett entsprechend seiner eigenen Hand ist. Denn wenn er selber lang an Gestalt ist, so sind die Glieder gross und ist er kurz an Gestalt, so sind die Glieder klein. Wenn mit ihm ein anderer operiert, so entsteht eine Differenz, die Operation kann nicht richtig sein.

Da der Betrag des Zwischenraumes von 'Aijûk und Dubbân,³ von den Mondstationen zur Zeit der Kulmination von Ğebhe,⁴ genau 4 Iṣba' beträgt, muss das Brett, das jeder Person eigener Hand entspricht, bei der Operation dem Betrag des Zwischenraumes von 'Aijûk und Dubbân entsprechend sein.

Und das zweite Brett ist ein Iṣba' länger als das erste Brett, und nach dieser Weise bis zum neunten Brett sind sie je ein Iṣba' länger. Und durch die Mitte der erwähnten Bretter geht ein Faden durch in der Weise, dass das zweite Brett gegenüber dem ersten Brett von seinen zwei Seiten je einen halben Iṣba' länger wird. Auf diese Weise wird bis zum neunten Brett das eine gegenüber dem anderen gemäss der erwähnten Anordnung grösser.

¹ Der Generaldirektion der Wiener Nationalbibliothek sage ich meinen verbindlichen Dank dafür, dass sie mir die Handschrift nach dem Orientalischen Seminar der Universität Bonn gesandt hat.

² Das muss *ṣikan* hier offenbar bedeuten, wenn ich es auch in dieser Bedeutung sonst nicht nachweisen kann.

³ Aijûk ist Capella = α Aurigae; für dubbân hat Ibn Mâğid dubbân. Er schreibt an einer Stelle, auf die Ferrand hinweist (i. 34r, Z. 3 v. u.): 'el-bâr ist el-'ajûk, und er wird mit verschiedenen Namen bezeichnet, und er hat dubbân in seinem Osten, und südlich von ed-qubbân ist ein Stern seiner Grösse, genannt dubbân ed-qubbân, und sie sind von einander 4 Iṣba' entfernt'. Dubbân kann danach hier wohl nur β Aurigae sein, trotz dem Bedenken von Prinsep.

⁴ Das Löwengestirn.

Damit wird von den Sternen die Höhe genommen; und es sei bekannt, dass das Mass des neunten Brettes entsprechend der ersten (geographischen) Breite ist, mit der man bei der Operation anfängt, sodass, wenn Ġudajj in der niedrigsten Höhe steht, an diesen Stellen 12 Işba' sind. Und bei dem achten Brett bleibt die Höhe von Ġudajj 11 Işba'. Nach diesem Verfahren bleibt bei dem ersten Brett die Höhe von Ġudajj 4 Işba'.

Danach pflegte man nach dem Mass ihrer Höhe mit Farḳadain¹ und Naʿš² und den übrigen für die Messung verwendeten Sternen die Rechnung anzustellen und die Messung zu vollziehen.

Und die Methode der Operation der Messungen geschieht auf die Weise, dass du die erwähnten Bretter mit der linken Hand fasst und den von ihrer Mitte ausgehenden Faden mit der rechten Hand nimmst, deine linke Hand gut ausstreckst, den Faden von deinem Genick³ her nimmst und die Höhe nimmst. Und wenn es vom Norden 1 Işba' entfernt und dem Süden nahe ist, so sollst du das eine der Bretter wegtun bis zu dem Platze, da die Operation ein Ende findet, denn an diesem Platze bleibt die Höhe von Ġudajj 4 Işba'. Und die erwähnte Messung nennt man die ursprüngliche Messung.

Und gegenwärtig wird als Instrument, das die Späteren anwenden, im Masse von etwa 3-4 Spannen (ḳaryš) ein Gez⁴ aufgestellt und das erwähnte Gez teilt man in fünf Teile. Das Mass eines seiner Teile machen sie zu einem Brett (لوح) und dieses Brettes Breite ist die Hälfte seiner Länge, nämlich die Hälfte eines Fünftels. Danach geht von seiner Mitte ein Faden aus. Und das erwähnte Gez teilt man in zwölf Teile, und sechs davon, d.h. ihre Hälfte, lässt man fallen und an dieser Stelle wird in dem Faden ein Knoten angebracht.

Da die Meister des Meeres von dem Platze der ersten Breite, die sie für die Messung festgesetzt haben, mit der Operation beginnen, während bei der mit dem erwähnten Knoten vorgenommenen Messung der Stern Ġudajj in der niedrigsten Höhe steht—was die ursprüngliche Messung ist—so ist der Zwischenraum zwischen dem Horizont und dem Stern vom Höhenkreis 12 Işba', indem diese Zeit von den Mondstationen die Zeit der Kulmination von Šarfa⁵ ist. Auch 'Awwā⁶ und Simāk⁷ sind ihm nahe, d.h. sie sollen im Zenith sein. In dieser Zeit ist Ġudajj 2 Işba' unter dem Pol der Welt.

Und das Mass eines Işba' am Himmel ist 1, 5/7 Grad, und an jener Stelle ist die Höhe des Weltpoles 14 Işba', was 24 Grad entspricht, d.h. der Betrag der Neigung ist nahezu am grössten.⁸

Aber die äusserste Höhe von Ġudajj ist von den Mondstationen die Zeit der Kulmination von Far'-i-Muḳaddam⁹ und Mu'ahḥar¹⁰ und an dem Platze

¹ βγ Ursae minoris.

² αβγδ Ursae maioris. Beide Sterne werden der Reihe nach zur Messung im Süden verwendet, wo Ġudajj, der Nordpolarstern, nicht mehr sichtbar ist.

³ اکسکدن, ich lese *ensenden*. Man muss wohl annehmen, dass der Faden einen Knoten hat mit dem die Länge des ausgestreckten Arms reguliert wurde.

⁴ Das pers. کز, ein etwa der Elle entsprechendes Mass.

⁵ β Leonis.

⁶ βδε Virginis.

⁷ α Virginis.

⁸ Gemeint ist damit offenbar, dass es sich hier um die grösste im Indischen Meer zu messende Polhöhe handelt.

⁹ α β Pegasi.

¹⁰ γ Pegasi, α Andromedae.

von Rišā,¹ denn zu dieser Zeit ist er nach dieser Messung 16 Işba', sodass er 2 Işba' höher ist als der Pol der Welt.

Danach teilt man das erwähnte Gez in elf Teile, fünf Teile lässt man fallen und beim sechsten Teil macht man wiederum einen Knoten. Bei der Messung dieses Platzes bleibt die Höhe von Ğudaij elf Işba'. Wiederum teilt man das Gez in 10 Teile, lässt 4 fallen, bindet beim sechsten fest, sodass bei der Messung dieses Platzes die Höhe 10 Işba' wird. Danach macht man neun Teile, drei davon lässt man fallen, beim sechsten bindet man fest, sodass bei dieser Messung die Höhe neun Işba' bleibt, und wieder macht man acht Teile, lässt zwei davon fallen, wieder beim sechsten bindet man fest, bei dieser Messung ist die Höhe 8 Işba'. Wiederum macht man sieben Teile, einen davon lässt man fallen, wiederum bei dem sechsten bindet man fest, sodass bei der zu dieser Zeit vorgenommenen Messung die Höhe von Ğudaij 7 Işba' beträgt. Wiederum macht man sieben Teile, aber dabei lässt man keinen fallen, d.h., bei dem Ende des Armes bindet man fest. Bei der zu dieser Zeit gemachten Messung bleibt die Höhe sechs Işba'. Und die erwähnte Operation findet bei dieser Stufe ein Ende.

Aber dieses geschieht im allgemeinen bei der niedrigsten Höhe von Ğudaij, welche die Grundlage dieser Messung ist. Und die Methode der Verwendung des Brettes (لوح) mit dem erwähnten Faden geschieht auf die Weise, dass du zunächst das Brett mit deiner linken Hand hältst, den ersten Knoten in deinen Mund nimmst, ihn mit deinen Zähnen festhältst und deine Hand ausstreckst und dein linkes Auge schliesst und so die Höhe nimmst, d.h. indem Ğudaij über ihm und der Horizont unter ihm ist, und etwas Überschiessendes oder Fehlendes nicht vorhanden ist. Zu dieser Zeit ist der Höhenbogen, welcher zwischen Ğudaij und dem Horizonte liegt, 12 Işba'. Wenn danach ein Knoten mehr ist, so ist ein Işba' fehlend. Sein Ende sind 6 Işba', und die mit der Länge des Brettes vorgenommene Operation findet dort ein Ende.

Und wenn der Wunsch besteht, nachdem man diesen Platz erreicht hat, mit der Breite des Brettes zu operieren, so ist der zuvor wegen der Höhe von 12 Işba' gemachte Knoten, der der erste von ihnen ist, d.h. die Hälfte des Gez, seine Grösse. Bei diesem Knoten ist bei der mit der Breite des Brettes vorgenommenen Messung die Höhe von Ğudaij wiederum 6 Işba' und es sei bekannt, dass, wenn mit der Breite operiert wird, sobald ein Knoten mehr vorhanden ist, die Höhe $1/2$ Işba' geringer wird. Sein Ende beträgt 3 Işba', sodass an jenem Orte der Nordpol 5 Işba' ist.

Und von jenem Platze ist der Äquator 40 Zam, was ungefähr 570 Mil entspricht. Und die ursprüngliche Messung findet an jenem Platze ein Ende, weil danach, da Ğudaij bei der ursprünglichen Messung dem Horizonte nahe ist, seine Messung mit Sicherheit nicht möglich ist. Mit Rücksicht darauf ist es bis zu jenem Platze erwähnt worden, und da bei der erwähnten Messung Ğudaij unter dem Pol der Welt, d.h. in niederster Höhe, dem Pole gegenüber ist, nennt man es ursprüngliche Messung.

Aber abgesehen davon gibt es noch die Messung nach Farḡadain und die

¹ β Andromedae.

Messung nach Na's und die Messung nach Bâsi¹ und die Messung nach einigen Sternen. Jedes einzelne wird mit Gottes Hilfe an seiner Stelle erwähnt werden.

Aus Kapitel 22 und 23 der poetischen Einleitung zur Bahrije des Piri Re'is

Kapitel 22

Dies Kapitel behandelt das Indische Meer

Das Chinesische Meer habe ich dir beschrieben, höre her, komm her nach der Seite von Indien!

Gemäss der Aussage der Seeleute, o Jüngling, vernimm die Kunde über Indien. Komm her für einen Augenblick!

Höre nunmehr, und sieh, was es mit der in Indien üblichen Messung, für eine Bewandnis hat. Es sind nämlich zwölf Bretter, die man verwendet.

Wenn du nun nach dem Brette fragst, o Bruder, so will ich dir es erklären. Vernimm es nunmehr!

Es ist eine Elle (aryš) dem Worte des Meisters entsprechend, nämlich seine Länge.

Von dem Gelenk der Handwurzel bis zum Gelenk des Ellenbogens; jeder Meister (richtet sich) nach seinem Ellenbogen.

Er misst zunächst das Hauptbrett davon, aber höre auch, wie das Weitere dabei ist.

Wie ein Säbelrücken ist jedes Brettes Dicke, und auch (wie) ein Säbel ist seine Breite.

Aber die Wissenschaft davon tritt abends ein, sie beginnt in dem Augenblicke, da die Sterne sichtbar werden.

Deshalb werden sie abends beobachtet, wenn die Sterne jeder an seinem Platze sind. . . .

Ist eine Stunde vom Abend vorüber, so ändern alle Sterne ihren Platz offenbar.

Nur der Nordpolarstern bleibt allein stehen, o Freund, aber Sterne sieht man ohne Zahl.

Später ist diese Operation mit ihnen nicht möglich; wenn sie von ihren Plätzen gehen, so entstehen Fehler.

Die Wissenschaft von dieser Messung ist unmöglich in dieser Nacht, wir haben gelernt, wie sie am Abend vorgenommen wird.

Sobald es Abend geworden ist, nimmt, wer ein Meister ist, das eine von diesen Brettern und hält es fest.

Zweihundert Meilen genau übt es seine Wirkung aus; ist seine Wirkung nichtig, so legt er es aus der Hand.

Weil seine Wirksamkeit zu Ende ist zu dieser Zeit, nimmt er sogleich ein anderes in die Hand.

¹ Vgl.—zu bâsi die Ausführungen von Léopold de Saussure in Ferrands *Introduction à l'Astronomie nautique Arabe*, I, 134 pp.

Wann man mit diesem Abmessen fertig ist, haben sie erfahren, sie sind zu einem bekannten Lande gekommen.

Zwölf ist die Summe der Bretter, . . . eines ist kürzer als das andere, wie es auch sei.

Soweit geht das längste der Bretter, dass sie es bis zur Gegend von Jemen halten.

Das kürzeste davon ist klar im Lande von Indien abgemessen worden. . . .

Dieser Nordstern wird in Indien niedrig gesehen, wisse das. Das kurze Brett wird deshalb angesehen.

Wiederum in Jemen wird der Nordstern hoch gesehen, für das Vorhandensein des langen Brettes ist dies der Grund.

Nach der erwähnten Abmessung verwendet man . . . ein jedes, bis alle fertig sind.

Auf zwölf Teile soll das Indische Meer, dazu den Zwischenraum zwischen ihm und Jemen

der uralte Meister (ustâd-i-ezel) geschätzt haben. Wer das versteht, der begeht keinen Fehler.

Wer diese Wissenschaft nicht klar kennt, der soll sich niemals auf dieses Meer begeben.

Denn mit dem (blossen) Fahren kann er die Sache nicht durchführen. Sowohl das Schiff verliert er als auch den Kopf.

Nämlich an dieses Wissen ist das gebunden, mit diesen Wissenschaften wird dort der Weg gefunden.

In der bestimmten Jahreszeit fahren sie hin und her . . . es ist ein reiner Wind, er weht Nacht und Tag.

Mit dem Westwind kommt man richtig nach Indien an, der Ostwind ist es, der wegführt von Indien. . . .

23. Kapitel

Dieses Kapitel beschreibt das, was man im Indischen Meer mit Messung bezeichnet.

Nummehr sind wir wieder gekommen zu dem früheren Worte. Was diese Messungskunde ist, will ich euch sagen.

Die Messung von Indien ist dies, vernimm es! Wer immer ein Meister ist, nimmt das Brett in die Hand.

Gegen den Nordstern, wisse, hält er es, an die Grenzen zwischen dem Meer und dem Himmel.

Bei Nacht nämlich erscheint das Meer schwarz, der Himmel aber erscheint leuchtend, o Freund.

Genau an die Grenze zwischen Himmel und Erde hält er stets den unteren Teil des Brettes.

Man fasst von seiner oberen Seite den Nordstern ins Auge. Wenn er nicht gesehen werden kann, vernimm, wie dann die Lage ist.

Das eine stellt er weg, ein anderes davon nimmt er in die Hand. Nach dieser Rechnung fahren sie auf den Weg.

So wird ausgeübt die Messungskunde, o Freund. Es ist eine Erfahrung auf dem Wege nach Indien; mit diesen tausend Erfahrungen wissen sie, wie sie fahren müssen. Haben sie sich geirrt, so kommen sie wieder auf ihren Weg.

Diese Operation ist, wisse es, auf dem Indischen Meere jederzeit üblich, weil nämlich der Nordstern auf diesem Meere klar ist.

Weil der Nordstern jenen ein Zeichen geworden ist, operieren sie mit ihm zu jeder Zeit.

An mancher Stelle ist der Nordstern aber nicht sichtbar. Ein Mittel hat auch dort der Vollkommene gefunden.

Nämlich mit dem Astrolab ist diese Methode, so bestimmen sie die Höhe und wissen es, o Freund.

Vernimm nun, wo jener Ort ist, da der Nordstern nicht deutlich sein wird.¹

Die Seite des Südens ist dieses Gebiet. Jenseits des Äquators ist es noch, wie es auch sei . . .

Die Beschreibung der beiden nautischen Instrumente durch Sîdi 'Ali Re'îs ist so exakt, dass man sich eine sehr klare Vorstellung von ihnen machen kann.

1. Das ältere Instrument besteht aus neun Brettern, die in bestimmter Beziehung zu der Grösse des beobachtenden Seemannes stehen. Das kleinste dieser Bretter ist nämlich gleich der Länge der vier Glieder des kleinen Fingers des Mannes, der die Messung vornimmt, sie variiert also je nach der Grösse des messenden Mannes. Trotzdem ist eine Art Aichung dieses Instrumentes notwendig und die wird vorgenommen mit Hilfe der Sterne 'Aijûk und Dubbân, d.h. α und β Aurigae, die genau vier Işba' voneinander entfernt seien. Diese Aichung ist offenbar notwendig, weil der ausgestreckte Arm eines Mannes in der Länge nicht ganz konstant zu sein braucht und der durch das Brett gezogene Faden, der dann vom Genicke her gehalten wird, soll offenbar dazu dienen, die genaue Länge des ausgestreckten Armes festzulegen und bewirken, dass der ausgestreckte Arm immer konstant in der Länge bleibt. Man muss also annehmen, dass bei dieser Aichung die Länge des Fadens bzw. ein an einer bestimmten Stelle dieses Fadens eingefügter Knoten die notwendige Gleichmässigkeit in der Messung garantiert.²

Dieses kleinste Brett entspricht, in dem bestimmten Abstände vom Auge gehalten, vier Işba' am Himmel. Die folgenden acht Bretter werden um je ein Viertel dieses ersten Brettes länger, sodass das längste der Bretter da verwendbar ist, wo der Nordpolarstern, der damals sich ungefähr im Abstand von zwei Işba' vom Pole befand, also einen Kreis von vier Işba' Durchmesser um den Pol beschrieb—heute steht der Nordpolarstern dem Pole bedeutend näher—beim niedrigsten Stand, bei dem die Messung immer vorgenommen wird, zwölf Işba' hoch steht, wenn also der Nordpol selber vierzehn Işba' über dem Horizont steht.

¹ اولابسر, vgl. zur Form Deny § 622, Rem.

² Dabei wird dann auch in irgend einer Weise die Dicke der neun hintereinander auf den Faden gereihten Bretter berücksichtigt worden sein, in welcher Prinsep, der sich das Instrument auf Grund der unvollkommenen ihm vorliegenden Übersetzung zu primitiv denkt, eine bedenkliche Fehlerquelle erblickt; vgl. seine bei Ferrand, S. 16 abgedruckten Ausführungen.

Wäre also das kleinste Brett etwa zwölf cm lang, so würde in diesem Falle drei cm des Brettes einem Işba' am Himmel entsprechen. Die folgenden acht Bretter würden also um je drei cm länger werden, sodass also das längste Brett $12 + 24 = 36$ cm lang sein würde. Sie müssten also in dem bei dem ersten Brette durch Beobachtung des Zwischenraums von 'Aijûk und Dubbân festgestellten Abstand gehalten werden.

Mit diesen neun Brettern kann man die geographische Breite aller Orte auf dem Wege von Arabien bis Südindien feststellen. Kommt man weiter nach Süden, dann wird die Höhe des dann dicht über dem Horizont stehenden oder unter dem Horizont verschwindenden Polarsterns nicht mehr benutzbar. Dann benutzt man zur Messung die Farḡadain-Sterne, d.h. β und γ Ursae minoris und wenn auch die bei noch weiter nach dem Süden gehender Fahrt verschwinden, das Sternbild Na's, d.h. den Grossen Bären.

Offenbar dasselbe Instrument hat Piri Re'is im Auge. Bei ihm sind es aber zwölf Bretter und das wird voraussichtlich auf einem Irrtum beruhen, der dadurch hervorgerufen ist, dass das längste Brett zur Beobachtung einer Sternhöhe von zwölf Işba' benutzt wird. Nach Piri Re'is wird das Hauptbrett, und das ist bei ihm das längste Brett, in seiner Länge durch die Entfernung des Gelenkes der Handwurzel von dem Gelenk des Ellenbogen bestimmt. Von einer besonderen Aichung dieses Instrumentes weiss er nichts, er gibt die Breite und Dicke der Bretter an (wie ein Säbel breit und wie ein Säbelrücken dick), das wird stimmen. Nach ihm wird die Beobachtung gleich nach Eintritt der Dunkelheit vorgenommen. Dass auch der Nordpolarstern seinen Platz wechselt und damals einen Kreis von vier Işba' Durchmesser um den Nordpol zog, weiss er nicht. Bei Sidi 'Ali Re'is ist klar gesagt, dass die Messung beim niedrigsten Stand des Nordpolarsterns, d.h. zur Zeit der Kulmination von Şarfa, vorgenommen werden muss. Dass die Bretter immer kleiner werden und dass das grösste Brett in Jemen und das kleinste Brett in Indien, d.h. in Südindien verwendet wird, ist bei ihm richtig gesagt. Über das genaue Verhältnis der Bretter zu einander, das ja bei Sidi 'Ali Re'is ganz genau festgelegt ist, hat er nichts zu sagen. Dass man weiter nach Süden zu mit dem Nordpolarstern nicht mehr operieren kann, ist ihm bekannt, aber von der Verwendung von Farḡadain und Na's weiss er wiederum nichts. Statt dessen behauptet er, dass man dort im Süden den Astrolab verwendet, der aber, da es bei ihm auf den Pendel ankommt, ein sehr unzuweckmässiges Instrument auf See ist, das man eigentlich nur in den Häfen verwenden kann, wenn das Schiff ruhig steht.¹

Im allgemeinen hat man bei dem Vergleich der beiden Berichte den Eindruck, dass es sich bei der Beschreibung des Piri Re'is um eine ganz populäre Darstellung handelt, gegeben von einem Manne der noch nicht im Indischen Ozean gefahren ist und der diese Instrumente nur vom Hörensagen kannte, während es sich bei Sidi 'Ali Re'is um eine wissenschaftlich exakte genaue Beschreibung von Instrumenten handelt, die er selber gesehen und deren Benutzung er selber miterlebt hat, und der ein wirkliches Verständ-

¹ Vgl. dazu die Ausführungen von Saussure, in Ferrands *Introduction* S 150 f, und die Anmerkungen von Ferrand dazu.

nis für die Dinge hat, und z. B. auch in anderen Abschnitten des Kapitels von der Präzession der Tag- und Nachtgleiche deutlich Kenntniss hat.

2. Das *spätere* Instrument, das Sîdi 'Ali Re'îs beschreibt, entspricht ungefähr dem von Captain H. Congreve in seinem Artikel 'A brief notice of some contrivances practiced by the native mariners of the Coromandel coast, in navigating, sailing and repairing their vessels' (abgedruckt von Gabriel Ferrand in *Introduction à l'Astronomie Arabe*, p. 24-8) beschriebenen Instrument, nur dass es sich hier schon um ein mehr dem praktischen Gebrauch angenähertes Instrument handelt. Das von Sîdi 'Ali Re'îs beschriebene Instrument ist eine ältere Vorstufe desselben. Gegenüber dem in älterer Zeit gebrauchten Instrument hat es den Vorzug, dass es für jeden Beobachter in gleicher Weise verwendbar ist, und nicht auf die Grösse desselben Rücksicht zu nehmen braucht. Es handelt sich hier um nur *ein* Brett; seine Länge ist durch den etwa 3-4 Spannen langen persischen Massstab Gez gegeben, insofern als es genau ein Fünftel dieses Massstabes lang ist. Seine Breite ist genau die Hälfte davon, d.h. also $1/10$ Gez. Die Bestimmung der Sternhöhe geschieht nun so, dass in den durch die Mitte des Instrumentes gehenden Faden in bestimmten Abständen Knoten gemacht werden. Der erste Knoten wird im Abstand von $6/12$, also einem halben Gez von dem Brett gemacht. Das in dieser Entfernung gehaltene Brett dient in seiner Länge zur Bestimmung des 12 Işba' über dem Horizont stehenden Polarsterns. Die folgenden Knoten werden dann in einer Entfernung von $6/11$, $6/10$, $6/9$, $6/8$, $6/7$, und $6/6$ Gez gemacht und dienen zur Bestimmung der Höhe des Nordpolarsterns von 11, 10, 9, 8, 7 und 6 Işba'. Die Höhe von 6 Işba' erhält man aber auch, wenn man die *Breite* des Brettes verwendet und wiederum den ersten Knoten benutzt, der ein halbes Gez lang ist. Die weiteren Knoten dienen dann zur Berechnung der Sternhöhe von $5\frac{1}{2}$, 5, $4\frac{1}{2}$, 4, $3\frac{1}{2}$, 3 Işba'. Auch bei dieser Messung tritt dann weiter südlich die Berechnung nach Farḳadain, Na's etc. ein. Im übrigen sind die Ausführungen über die Handhabung dieses Instrumentes bei Sîdi 'Ali Re'îs so klar, dass darüber weiter nichts zu sagen ist.

Es ist ganz zweifellos, dass der Muḥîṭ des Sîdi 'Ali Re'îs für uns wesentlich an Interesse verloren hat, seit uns die von ihm benutzten arabischen Vorlagen zugänglich gemacht worden sind. Aber gerade Ausführungen wie diese hier müssen doch zeigen, dass es sich um einen ausserordentlich sorgfältig berichtenden, exakten und kenntnisreichen Seemann handelt, der jedenfalls seine Quellen mit Verständnis benutzt hat und dessen Ausführungen für uns zumal in den Partien von grösstem Werte sind und ihre Bedeutung behalten, für die wir einstweilen die arabische Vorlage nicht haben. So scheint mir der Muḥîṭ des Sîdi 'Ali Re'îs nicht ganz das Urteil zu verdienen, das Gabriel Ferrand, im allgemeinen natürlich mit Recht, über dieses Werk gefällt hat.

PAUL KAHLE

ZOROASTRIANISM AND THE SHINTŌ RELIGION OF JAPAN

MANY dissimilarities though there are between Zoroastrianism, the original religion of Iran, and Shintō, the religion of the Japanese people and indigenous to their land, students of the science of religion cannot ignore some evident resemblances existing between the two faiths—resemblances that owe their recognition to the rapid and extensive increase of progress in this science during recent years. In my special line of the study of religions certain parallelisms of the kind alluded to have become apparent to me, and I have now the honour to present them, in glad compliance with an invitation to participate in the celebration of the seventieth anniversary of the birth of the learned Parsi Oriental scholar and venerable Zoroastrian High Priest, Dastur Cursetji Erachji Pavry.

First of all, Zoroastrianism and Shintō equally belong to what students classify as living religions. In other words, both faiths are vitally alive—not dead as are the beliefs of ancient Greece and Rome, or those of the ancient Babylonians and Egyptians. Like Christianity and Islam, the two religions forming the theme of this paper are vigorously in being to-day; though, strangely enough, some Western scholars of things Oriental seem to have the erroneous idea that one of them—Shintō, to wit—is now but a subject of mere archaeological interest, dead and gone from among living things.

Secondly, it seems to me highly probable that the Zoroastrian supreme God Ahura has some connexion in its derivation with the luminous heavenly bodies of which the sun is the most conspicuous. In Japan, correspondingly, Shintō has among its original forms of nature-worship or naturism in general one which takes the shape of heliolatry in particular. An aspect of the Goddess Amaterasu-Ōmikami, one of the most important deities of the Shintō pantheon, is of a solar nature, though adoration of the Goddess is never lacking in early evidence of ancestor-worship. Thus Zoroastrianism and Shintō have each evolved into a religion of light—first physically, and then by degrees ethically or spiritually. Both in an early stage of nature-religion, had, during the course of their development, a form of fire-worship or Pyrolatry—the distinctive gods being, in ancient Iran, Atar (Skt. Agni) and, in early Japan, Kagutsuchi (the Bright One) or Homusubi (the Fire-Producer), both of these deities having for origin veritable fire itself. So it may be added, we are told of a certain priestly family of Izumo province that has preserved from time immemorial a sacred fire, kept unquenched under watchful care through uncounted generations.

Thirdly, the well-known dualistic aspect of the Zoroastrian religion, showing itself in Ahura Mazda and Ahriman or, more archaically, Atar and Azhi Dahaka, has a correspondence in primitive Shintō, where the Principle Ōnaobi or the Great Upright Deity and the Principle Ōmagatsuhi or the Great Evil Deity are conspicuous divine figures opposing each other. Moto-

ori, one of the greatest eighteenth-century commentators on the Japanese ancient record *Kojiki*, opines that even Amaterasu-Ōmikami, the supreme Sun-Goddess, must recoil before the outrageous violence of the evil god Susano-o, who is nothing but an apparition of Magatsuhi in a certain respect.

Fourthly, although the religion of Iran and that of Japan were both forms of nature-religion in the beginning, neither of them remained long in so low a stage. Both have always been in a condition of 'creative evolution'—Ahura Mazda being regarded in Persia as All-Wise and Righteous, the Lord of good thoughts, words, and deeds; while in Japan the Sun-Goddess, Amaterasu-Ōmikami, in a long course of development revealed herself completely in ethical and spiritual attire.

The purity of a man's heart, and not his outward conduct, is highly valued in Zoroastrianism, on the one hand, thus: 'Make thine own self pure, Oh, righteous man! Any one in this world below can win purity for his own self, namely, when he cleanses his own self with good thoughts, good words, and good deeds' (Yasna, iv. 141); whilst, on the other hand, the Japanese faith inculcates the similar virtues of Truthfulness and Righteousness or Uprightness and Sincerity, as they are alternatively termed. Therefore a Shintō priest, Kamo-Norikiyo, of recent times, happily says: 'Prayers to the Deity accompanied by monetary gifts acquired by injustice are sure not to be granted. Pray in all righteousness and the Deity will be pleased to listen to your supplication. Foolish is he who in impatient eagerness and without following the path of righteousness hopes to obtain divine protection' (*Shintō-Uden-Futsujoshō*). The *Shintō-Gobusho*, a book compiled probably in the thirteenth century, says: 'Prayer is of the foremost importance in appealing for the Divine Grace, and uprightness is a fundamental quality if one would obtain the unseen protection. Although the Sun and Moon continually circle round the four quarters and illumine every corner of the globe, yet do they unflinching shine upon the heads of the upright.'

The same book also says: 'To do good is to be pure; to commit evil is to be impure. The deities abhor evil deeds, because they are impure.' Inner purity or heart-purity was equally emphasized by Saka-Shibutsu, a learned and devout pilgrim in the fourteenth century to the Ise Shrine of the Sun-Goddess Amaterasu-Ōmikami, when he said: 'It is quite customary for us neither to bring any offering to the Sun-Goddess at Ise nor to carry rosaries about us like Buddhists. In short we have nothing special wherewith to recommend ourselves in petitioning the Goddess. This is the true significance of inner purity. Washing oneself in the sea-water, and being cleansed of the bodily filth—this is outer purity. Being pure in mind and body our soul is at one with the Divine, and, divinity in humanity thus realized, there remains no desire unsatisfied, there is no need for further petition or prayer to the Goddess. This is the true esoteric meaning of worshipping Amaterasu-Ōmikami. Being thus enlightened by the Shintō priest of the Ise Shrine I was overwhelmed with a sense of pious joy, and burst into tears of gratitude' (*Daijingu-Sankeiki*). This Shintō idea of emphasizing man's inner purity has a spiritual affinity with the exhortation of Zoroastrianism which says: 'Do

not acquire the riches of the material world at the cost of the spiritual world. For he who disregards the spiritual world in order to obtain the riches of the material world shall possess neither the Celestial Light nor the Paradise of Ahura Mazada' (*Tahmuras's Fragments*, 90-3). Here we see the ethical, not physical, significance of purity, 'next to life, for man the greatest good', as Zoroastrianism puts it, eloquently preached in the Shintō religion; although both religions in their nature stage equally impose the duty of physical or bodily purity alone, such as purity from death-pollution, from menstruation, and from childbirth, which were the greatest sources of impurity in Zoroastrianism and Shintō alike.

Thus in Shintō as well as in Zoroastrianism is apparent an ethical idea that where righteousness and truthfulness, or sincerity and uprightness, reign there abides religion—inner purity or heart-purity is the path to immortality, whereas wickedness, or evil desires, or bad actions lead to self-destruction or hell. Virtue, both religions teach, is the sole companion that follows us in death. Whence, in Zoroastrianism, we have a graphic poetical delineation of the Judgement Bridge, safe transit of which, secured only to those of the departed who have been devout in life, is followed by meeting with three beautiful heavenly maidens, none other than personifications of those same good thoughts, words, and deeds that tended to salvation.

The Emperor Meiji (1852-1912), Pontifex Maximus of the Shintō religion as well as revered national head of the Japanese people, wrote the following poem:

'With the unseen God
Who sees all secret things,
In the silence—
Communes from the earth below
The heart of the man sincere.'

In similar strain Zoroastrianism teaches: 'I see clearly through my righteousness Him who is Ahura Mazda, the Lord of good thoughts, words, and deeds' (Yasna xlv. 8).

It is recorded that Zoroaster once admonished brides and bridegrooms, saying: 'Love each other *through righteousness*, for that alone will bring to you a happy life' (Yasna liii. 5). We may comment that the happy life spoken of is nothing but a realization of Paradise in the world here below, or of the 'Kingdom of Righteousness' whose establishment, ethically realizable on earth, was the ultimate goal of the Indian sage, the Buddha Gautama, as revealed in the Buddhist Sutras. The *Yōfukuki*, written in the seventeenth century by Watarai-Nobuyoshi, a Shintō priest of the Ise Shrine, thus enunciates the same truth: 'What is Shintō? Shintō, in my opinion, is fully realized in every man's daily life. Such a man may be a merciful sovereign governing his people beneficently, or a subject unfailingly fulfilling his duties to his lord, or a father and a son united in a true bond of parental and filial affection—all equally exemplify the precepts of Shintō. The relation between husband and wife, between brothers, among friends with each other, assumes the form of happiness when guided by the fundamental principle of true Shintō.

Nay, more, in every mere movement of a finger or step of a foot, as in the greatest undertaking man may attempt, does one find Shintō revealing itself.'

Fifthly, from what we have just seen, Zoroastrianism and Shintō alike put particular stress on the ethics of man's everyday life, without which, they conclude in unison, there would be no religion at all. In the Zoroastrian and Shintō conceptions religion is practical and not speculative. It is neither the reverie of a visionary, nor asceticism abandoning our world, nor quietism tired of active human life. On the contrary, it evermore constantly displays its essence in man's various activities, making strenuous effort always to realize the ideal of its noble mission of morality on earth. Therefore, according to Zoroastrianism, 'One who sows corn sows holiness (*asha*); he advances and fattens the religion of Mazda' (Vend. iii. 31). 'He who has children is far superior to him who has none' (Vend. iv. 47). 'No one who does not eat has strength to do the heavy work of holiness. Give me . . . a wakeful offspring, helpful and suffering, virtuous and intelligent . . . as strong and brave as a hero, an offspring that may promote my family or house, my borough, my city, my country and its religion' (Yasna xlii. 5). And thus, Zoroastrianism declares, the work of thrifty husbandry, if carried out faithfully in perfect accordance with the true spirit of the faith of Ahura Mazda, is to practise true religion now and here on earth. The same lesson is taught by Shintō, as is seen in the passage from the *Yōfukuki* quoted above.

The Japanese Emperor Meiji promulgated an Imperial Edict in 1908 inculcating ethical teachings, with a view to admonishing his people never to be remiss in their duties, for His Majesty feared that the signal victory of the Japanese army over the Russian forces in Manchuria in 1905 might cause danger of relaxation among Japanese of their moral discipline, just as numerous examples in the world's history of warfare have already shown. The Imperial Edict runs in part as follows:

'Our country has not yet had time to recover from the effects of the late war, and improvement and expansion are necessary in various branches of our administration. Therefore, with one mind, let all men, high and low, faithfully pursue their callings, be diligent and frugal in the acquisition and management of their property, maintain good faith, continue in righteousness, live simple and sincere lives, shun ostentation and cleave to reality, mutually warn one another against negligence and idleness, and brace themselves to ceaseless activity.'

The spirit of this Edict, it seems to me, is at one with the Zoroastrian religious ethics expressed in the following quotations:

'He who sows most corn, grass, and fruit sows righteousness; he makes the religion of Mazda walk' (Yasna iv. 29).

'The doer of good deeds flourishes through his own righteousness' (Yasna xxxiv. 13).

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N.B.—Readers desiring fuller knowledge of the Shintō religion may do well to refer to my book entitled *A Study of Shintō, the Religion of the Japanese Nation*, published under the auspices of the Meiji Japan Society in Tōkyō in 1926 (Luzac & Co., London).

THE HOME OF THE INDO-EUROPEANS

FOR many years the question of the original home of the Indo-Europeans was reckoned by scholars as one which could not be determined with any accuracy by means of the available criteria. It was, however, inevitable that an attitude of negation should not prove satisfactory, and once more we have a revival of speculations claiming some degree of certainty as to the Indo-European home. Nor would it be wholly satisfactory to dispose of these attempts by the simple process of pointing out that the protagonists of the several views undertake to dispose of the contentions adduced in favour of other opinions than their own. What is more important is to consider whether the evidence now available is of the type that offers the possibility of securing any effective result.

The possibility of solving the problem depends, of course, on one initial assumption, that there was at some time in a determined area a people speaking in essentials a single speech, and this assumption, though plausible, is clearly not susceptible of proof. Where this place was can be determined, if at all, only by ascertaining the culture of the Indo-Europeans, and comparing it with the archaeological evidence available regarding those regions in which, on the basis of our historical knowledge of the movements of peoples of Indo-European speech, it is plausible to suppose that the Indo-Europeans may have made their abode. But the determination of Indo-European civilization¹ is precisely the point which affords least hope of any satisfactory result. It rests on linguistic evidence pure and simple, and it is open to the gravest doubt whether such evidence is capable of giving the results which are claimed for it by those who seek to determine the Indo-European home. We may readily agree that nothing can be proved to be Indo-European save by finding a word corresponding in sense as well as form in Indo-Iranian and in one or more of the European speeches; whatever is confined to Indo-Iranian or to European speech, may be set down as due to a development after the separation of the peoples. But on the other hand nothing is more unsatisfactory than to attempt to define Indo-European society on the assumption that the Indo-Europeans knew only what can be ascribed to them on conclusive evidence. *Ex hypothesi* there were great dispersions of peoples from the original home, and those who wandered away were unquestionably constantly intermingling with other peoples. Nothing is more natural than that they should drop their original terms when, in new places, they came upon other species even of things generically familiar to them; early peoples are notoriously² poor in generic expressions, but rich in distinct terms for, e.g., animals of diverse sex and age, and it is not to be wondered at that in new surroundings new words were employed; still less can it be a matter of surprise that peoples which ceased to

¹ O. Schrader, *Reallexicon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, 1917-26; Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, 1905-7; Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, 1913.

² Oertel, *Study of Language*, p. 319.

be in contact with certain natural features soon dropped the names which had become useless. All analogy also suggests that words often changed in meaning even when they were preserved. The people of the United States have preserved words in senses now obsolete in England; they have given new meanings to words that still exist here; they have lost words, but preserved others which in England are disused, and they have added richly on their own account. All this has happened despite the enormous influence of printed literature, schools and universities, and constant intercourse, and it is easy to judge how vast may well have been the changes after the period of Indo-European unity. It should suffice to remember that on the basis usually adopted we must conclude¹ that the Indo-Europeans knew snow and feet, but were ignorant of rain and hands. The difficulty, of course, is in theory recognized by all who deal with the issue; the trouble is that in practice they tend more or less completely to ignore it, and to create for us a picture of the Indo-Europeans which is probably a mere delusive shadow of the actual civilization of the people. Yet it should be a warning when we find that linguistically we may assert that the Indo-Europeans knew butter, but were unacquainted with milk.

A glance at the established correspondences reveals a most important fact; there are agreements in precisely those points which do not depend on environment but are fundamental. The best set of correspondences are those which reveal to us the patriarchal structure of the Indo-European family, and the existence of the clan and tribe. These constitute the essential social structure of which the Indo-European tribes were possessed when they set out on their wanderings, and it may well be that this structure was an important factor in their success. These names, as representing permanent relations, had no easy ground of change, while material objects alive or dead were constantly varied as they moved away from their home, and thus old words were lost or acquired new meanings, and new words came into use. We may note also that correspondences apply largely to those essential weapons and to that animal by which they were probably aided in their victorious movements: the horse, the spear, sword, javelin, bow, arrow, sling-stone, and razor, as well as the chariot, its wheels, nave, axle, and yoke, preserved the names of the homeland, while more pacific implements manifest a bewildering variety of appellations.

If we apply these considerations, we find it extremely difficult to regard the commonly accepted view that the Indo-Europeans were nomadic, or semi-nomadic pastoralists, as established by any adequate proof.² It is a belief resting in part on the old-fashioned doctrine that a period of nomadic life invariably precedes agriculture, and in part on the argument from the absence of common terms for agriculture. The former view is clearly untenable; the excavations at Anau prove that, in some cases at least, tillage preceded stock-raising, and, with the usual tendency to abrupt changes of opinion, one modern school of thought insists that pastoral nomadism is essentially posterior to sedentary agriculture, and is only adopted under the pressure of adverse con-

¹ Hirt, *Indoger. Gramm.*, i. 76.

² It is rejected on linguistic evidence by Giles, *Cambridge Hist. of India*, i. 67, 68.

ditions physical or political.¹ This view rests on a *a priori* reasoning as inconclusive as that which supported the older view of the priority of nomadism, and it is now much wiser to hold that there is not the slightest reason to assume, as is still constantly done, that nomadism is the more primitive condition. As regards linguistic evidence we have Asiatic and European evidence for knowledge of some grain and of the furrow, possibly also of the plough, and there is a common root to denote the pounding of grain. The European vocabulary on agriculture is rich, and it is a very obvious possibility that the non-appearance of parallel terms in Indo-Iranian is simply due to the different conditions experienced by these tribes after departing from the original home. There is nothing whatever in the fact to render it implausible that nomadism developed among individual Indo-European peoples after the period of a common life, and that in the original home agriculture was practised. A contrast is, indeed, sometimes drawn between the developed pastoral terminology and the scanty agricultural terminology, but the contrast simply ignores the fact that agricultural terminology ought to be reckoned as including such terms as cow and ox, animals intimately associated with agriculture. Again we are told that the Indo-Europeans did not know domesticated swine, but the evidence simply rests on the fact that swine were not kept by the Indo-Iranians, and the assumption that this peculiarity was not a special development among these people. As a matter of fact they may have ceased to keep swine under the influence of some other race, for it appears that the Semitic and the Turko-Tartaric peoples refrained from this practice. Certainty is quite impossible, but there is no reason whatever to suppose that the Indo-Europeans were not a settled people, who developed a strong and effective social organization and even a royal polity, which stood them in good stead when increase of numbers or pressure from other peoples drove them to disperse, probably gradually, from their original home.

Our conception of the characteristics of the Indo-Europeans must, of course, vitally affect our estimate of the arguments for their original home. The most prevalent views of the present day assume nomadism, and those who approach the problem from the point of view of familiarity with Indo-Iranian problems naturally seek to find the place of origin in the region to the east of the Caspian Sea usually known as Central Asia, with the adjoining lands of Turkestan, areas doubtless well adapted for nomadic tribes. Of specific points of agreement between the civilization supposed to be Indo-European and the archaeological evidence of Turkestan or Central Asia nothing conclusive has been adduced, and this identification of the Indo-European home must be established on other grounds, if at all. On the other hand a very elaborate argument has been developed by many scholars² which, if accepted, would assure us of the identification of the Indo-Europeans with a people whose characteristics are revealed fairly clearly in the burials of their dead. The people in question are made known to us by graves containing contracted skeletons, covered with red ochre, and surmounted by a mound or kurgan. It is clear

¹ Cf. W. J. Perry, *The Growth of Civilization*, 1923.

² See V. G. Childe, *The Aryans*, chap. viii.

that they were generally tall, dolichocephalic, orthognathic, and leptorhine, that is of the Nordic racial type. The area in which their remains are found stretches from the Caspian to the Dnieper; so far it appears that they have not been traced to the east of the Volga, and it is, therefore, purely a hypothesis to assume that they may have roamed in the area between the Carpathians and the Hindu Kush.¹ The most that can be said for it, is the fact that few kurgans in Turkestan have been explored, and that the Volga would presumably not present any serious obstacle to expansion. The actual remains point to a low but uniform culture, and this consists no doubt with uniformity of language such as may be postulated of the Indo-Europeans. Further, the uniformity in mode of disposal of the dead attests uniformity of religious belief. There is unquestionably a temptation, as suggested by Professor Childe, to advance to the doctrine that these people were the Indo-Europeans, and the worshippers of Djeus. The real question, however, is whether this is mere plausible hypothesis or whether it can be made into something approaching certainty, as would be the case if the similarity between the civilization revealed in the graves and that attributed to the Indo-Europeans were, as has been suggested, extraordinary in character.

But is this really the case? Are there any essential similarities of a truly distinctive character? The kurgans contain bones of sheep, cattle and the horse, presumably either the swift desert horse of Transcaspia or the steppe horse of Przybalski, but this takes us nowhere. It would be more to the point if it were the case, as Childe holds, that like the Indo-Europeans they used wheeled wagons which served as habitations, proving their nomadic character, suggested also by the poverty of the graves. But the wagon turns out to be a tent,² and the nomadic character of the Indo-Europeans is a hypothesis which is implausible. Curiously enough, this belief in nomadism induces Messrs. Peake and Fleure to view with scepticism the plain evidence of agriculture revealed by the presence of grain in some of the kurgans. While Childe admits that, if not from the first and everywhere, still the prehistoric inhabitants of South Russia did practise a little agriculture, Messrs. Peake and Fleure suggest that the grain was obtained by barter or forcible seizure from some neighbouring settled folk. Childe much more probably admits that at a mature phase of the development of this civilization its authors began to settle down in regular villages in the more fertile valleys and on the coasts. This, as opposed to the nomadic theory, would accord satisfactorily enough with what we have inferred above as to the culture of the Indo-Europeans, but it is lacking in distinctive character. The same observation applies to the fact that the civilization of the graves is chalcolithic, and that the South Russian armoury accords well with that deduced for the Indo-Europeans, as may be concluded from the perforated axes of stone and copper, flint arrow-heads, and copper blades which could equally well be fitted to serve as pike-heads or as daggers, reminding us of the change of meaning between Sanskrit *çaru*, spear and Gothic *hairus*, sword.

¹ H. Peake and H. J. Fleure, *The Steppe and the Sown*, p. 21.

² Peake and Fleure, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

A further attempt to identify the two cultures is based on the argument that the Indo-European language undoubtedly showed traces of Mesopotamian influence, and that the ochre-grave people were unquestionably influenced from the same quarter.¹ This argument, clearly, is without cogency unless, and until, it is proved from other sources that the two civilizations were most probably identic. In that event the agreement in exhibiting Mesopotamian influence would serve as an important confirmation. As there is no sufficient independent evidence, the coincidence, if it exists, is of no value against those who argue that the Indo-European home was in Turkestan, for Mesopotamian influence might well have reached the people when resident there. But it must be added that the proof of Mesopotamian influence on the Indo-Europeans is far from imposing; it reduces itself to conjectures² of very dubious value. There is no proof that Greek *πέλεκυς* and Sanskrit *paraçu* are derived from Assyrian *pilakku*, and not from a common source, still less that the word was Indo-European; the archaeological evidence of Mesopotamian influence in India renders independent borrowing by Greece and India perfectly natural, even assuming a Mesopotamian source. Still less evidence is there for an Indo-European *roudhos* derived from a Sumerian *urud(u)*, and the allegation that the Indo-European *guou*, cow, is derived from Sumerian *gu(d)* is quite unsupported by any evidence. That a Semitic origin can be ascribed to the word for bull is wholly uncertain, apart from the fact that it is not proved that Indo-European had a *stauros*. There is no doubt of the Indo-European existence of some form like *aster*, star, which is comparable with Akkadian *ishtar*, but there is no necessity to accept borrowing from the latter source. It may be the true explanation of these and other similarities, but certainty is quite out of place. Childe,³ indeed, argues that clay figurines of females are found, though rarely, in the ochre-graves; that they bear a distinct likeness to models of the goddess Ishtar found in Assur and elsewhere in Mesopotamia; and that this must be taken in conjunction with the identity presumed between the Indo-European term for star and Ishtar, whose Babylonian ideogram is a star. But as against this combination it may be remarked that we have nothing whatever in Indo-European religion as deduced from language to suggest that stars were worshipped in the form of idols of women.

For the South Russian hypothesis we have another argument⁴ in the view that the importance of the bee in Indo-European is best explained by the view that the people lived near the Black Sea where there are abundant lime-trees to attract bees. Now, despite the absence of an Indo-European appellation of bee, there is no possibility of doubt that the Indo-Europeans knew the insect well, for honey is clearly Indo-European. The point has some weight against the ascription of the home to Turkestan. Similarly, against an eastern home there is often urged the argument from the beech,⁵ assumed to be Indo-

¹ Childe, op. cit., p. 185.

² Ipsen, *Indoger. Forsch.*, xli. 174 ff. The Babylonian influence on numerals clearly need not have been Indo-European.

³ Op. cit., p. 186.

⁴ A. Carnoy, *Les Indo-européens*, p. 87.

⁵ Still insisted on by Hirt, *Indoger. Gramm.*, i. 92, 94. J. Bender (*The Home of the Indo-Europeans*, p. 33) uses the birch to prove a location between the Vistula and the Niemen.

European, and asserted not to be found to the east of a line drawn roughly from Königsberg to the Crimea and extending thence to the Caucasus. In this case there is again no certainty; the Greek *φῦγός* denotes the oak, the correspondence of Latin *fagus* and Gothic *boka* does not, in the least, even prove that the ancestors of Greeks, Romans, and Teutons once lived in a land where beeches were found. Still less does the Kurdish *būz*, elm-tree, or the Russian *bozū*, elder, prove that the beech was known in Indo-European times. The argument, of course, is just as valid as others that are freely used in the controversy, and still less weight attaches to the contention that the Indo-Europeans could not have been settled on the Black Sea because they knew of eels and of salmon, of which the former probably, and the latter certainly, are not found in rivers running into that sea. The evidence that the terms for either of these creatures are Indo-European is totally inadequate. It is legitimate, but not conclusive, to note the existence of the mystic stream Rasā, in the Vedic tradition, the Iranian Ranhā, and the old name of the Volga, Rhā, and the fact that beside the river-names Danube, Don, Dnieper, Dniester, we have the Sanskrit Dānu, but these coincidences are not conclusive.

An *a priori* argument has, however, been derived from the nature of the Indo-European speech. It was, we are assured by Childe, and by P. and F. Peake and Fleure, a superior language, and the latter commit themselves to the view that steppe nomads, making many contacts with cultivators, would probably develop a language adapted to spread, a language with fewer inflexions and less complicated sounds than would be characteristic of those spoken by groups of peasants and forest-dwellers.¹ There seem, however, not to be the slightest grounds for these assertions. We can only guess what the structure of Indo-European was, and all that we can say suggests that it was a very complex language, so that the assumption that it was simpler than other speeches seems to be implausible. But in our complete ignorance regarding the other languages the argument is really of no cogency.

But, if the grounds for accepting the ochre-grave people of South Russia as the Indo-Europeans are not conclusive, in so far as they rest on the evidence of culture, the same consideration applies more strongly to the suggestion of Jutland or Central Germany as the Indo-European home.² The question is largely bound up with the issue whether the civilization of South Russia was prior to and the cause of the civilization of Scandinavia, and the evidence on the whole favours the south-east.³ The specific form of battle-axe appears much more satisfactorily to be accounted for through Mesopotamian influence than when regarded as a creation of Scandinavia. No argument in favour of the latter can be derived from the undoubted close connexion between the Indo-Europeans and the proto-Finns, nor from the probability that the Lithuanians and the Slavs are among those Indo-Europeans who have least moved away from the early home. The latter argument must be accorded a certain weight, especially as regards the antique character of Lithuanian. It is

¹ Peake and Fleure, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

² G. Kossina, *Die Indogermanen*, 1921. Cf. Hirt, *Indoger. Gramm.*, i. 94-6.

³ Child, *The Aryans*, chap. vii and viii; Peake and Fleure, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-38.

useless to meet it by contending that the Indo-Iranian languages show greater antiquity, for the point is that Lithuanian has persisted to the present day in its remarkable fidelity to the Indo-European model, while the eastern languages, which may fairly be ranked as 'colonial speeches', have suffered as vernaculars great alterations. Against connexion with the Baltic or the Black Sea it has been contended that the Indo-Europeans show no knowledge of the sea, nor of the eating of fish, nor of salt, but this contention is based on the extremely dangerous argument from the absence of proved correspondences in the Indo-European speeches as a whole, and is in no wise conclusive.

Dr. Giles,¹ again, has suggested that Hungary was the home, but there are some difficulties, though these also are far from conclusive. It is useless to object that nomads could not have dwelt for long on the fertile soil of Hungary, for it is a gratuitous assumption that the Indo-Europeans were nomads. Still less weight attaches to the argument from the unfamiliarity of the Indo-Europeans with fish-eating. Nor is it consistent in Childe² to argue that the cult of a mother goddess is un-Indo-European, when he assigns to Indo-Europeans in South Russia female figurines not essentially different from those found in Hungary. The paucity of weapons in Hungarian graves is interesting, but it might be pointed out that in the Vedic funeral ritual the bow is deliberately taken away from the dead man, whence we might conclude that the Indo-Europeans did not care to waste good arrow-heads by placing them in graves. A somewhat intangible argument is based on the view that the Hungarians, as peasants, must have secured a peasant mentality of the type familiar in eastern Europe or China, which is incompatible with the eager activity of the Indo-Europeans. Childe admits that cases are not unknown in which sedentary peoples have taken to wandering, and in our total ignorance we cannot possibly deny that some ground may have impelled bands of Indo-Europeans to leave their Hungarian home. All that can really be said is that Dr. Giles's theory possesses no clear superiority over the South Russian hypothesis. Nor is it possible to strengthen it by assuming that cremation was initiated by Indo-Europeans in the Danubian region, for there is no tolerable evidence to prove that cremation is specifically Indo-European, or indeed that it is any test of nationality.³

If, however, we seek to locate the Indo-European home in Central Asia, we find ourselves in no better case. At Anau, for instance, we find evidence that the people who had painted vases had domesticated the Asiatic *Urus* and the *Ovis vignei*, as well as the desert horse *Equus caballus Pumpellyi*, asserted to be the ancestor of the Bronze Age horses of Europe and Hither Asia. But we look in vain for any decisive argument; if the Indo-Europeans were inventors and disseminators of vase-painting, we might reasonably expect to find some trace of the fact in the common speech, since *ex hypothesi* the art was carried with them, but such traces have not been discovered any more than have terms reflecting the peculiar battle-axes and corded vases by which the civilization of the people of the ochre-graves is traced in other parts of Europe. If we lay

¹ *Cambridge Hist. of India*, i. 68-70.

² *The Aryans*, p. 143.

³ Keith, *JRAS.*, 1912, pp. 470-4; *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, ii. 626-9.

aside prejudices in favour of Europe or Asia, we must confess that there is really no adequate ground for localizing the Indo-Europeans in either, if we adopt as our criterion a comparison between the hypothetical Indo-European civilization and that revealed by archaeological research in either continent.

The other only possibility lies in consideration of the historical facts of the presence of Indo-European peoples in various parts of the two continents, as these may lend support to one or other of the rival theories. We may in the first place dismiss the suggestion of Ipsen that the Sumero-Akkadian loan-words in Indo-European prove that the Indo-Europeans were still united as late as 2000 B.C. Even those who accept the borrowings admit that the evidence on which Ipsen seeks to found this date is quite untenable.¹ Where, then, are Indo-European tribes first recorded? Of India and Iran little or nothing positive can be said. It is quite possible that the Aryans entered India 2000 B.C. or some centuries later, but the limits are wholly vague, and, while it is probably unreasonable to place the date after 1400 B.C., it is quite possible that it was not before 1500. As little again can we be certain as to the Iranians. Some measure of assurance is first given by the well-known discovery of names of gods recognized by the Mitanni; the effort to make them out specifically Indian seems an error;² they must rather belong to the Aryan period proper before Indian and Iranian were sharply differentiated; the other words which have come to light correspond neither to Vedic nor to Iranian; allowing for the distortion of transcription, they are compatible with Aryan. Aryan again may be the words which are preserved as elements in the names of Kassite kings after 1760 B.C., and the names of the petty princes recorded as ruling in Syria by the Tell-el-Amarna records. Beyond this it has been suggested to carry the Indo-Europeans by the argument that they introduced the horse, which was known in Hammurabi's time, perhaps between 2067 and 2034 B.C., and by the contention that the rulers of Su-bartu about 2700 B.C. were Indo-European. This suggestion is clearly ill-founded. It appears to be argued³ that the speech of the Su was akin to that of the Mitanni, and to one dialect of Hittite, and that, as these two speeches had some Indo-European affinities, so the speech of Su and the neighbouring Gu had connexions with Indo-European speech, best explained by assuming Indo-European dynasts. This purely speculative reasoning is clearly invalid in the absence of any actual Indo-European elements recorded. Nor are we carried beyond 1500 B.C. by the curious phenomena of 'Hittite', Forrer's Kanesian. But it is contended that the evidence of that speech reveals to us either a *centum* variety of Indo-European as opposed to the *satem* Aryan speeches, or a speech which stands to Indo-European in the independent relation of development from a still earlier form of speech, while on another view Kanesian is an artificial literary language elaborated by court scribes and priests, which incorporates some Indo-European borrowings of unknown provenance—possibly merely Aryan.

¹ e.g. Childe, *The Aryans*, p. 87, n. 2.

² Keith, *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 81–92; *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, ii. 617.

³ Peake and Fleure, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 40. Contrast Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 17, n. 2.

What we must admit is that early evidence of Indo-European is distinctly lacking in Asia.¹

Unhappily the date of the presence of Indo-Europeans in Europe is not much more certain. In Greece it is clear that we must allow a considerable period before the Dorians and the West Greeks for the tribes of Aiolian, Ionian, and Arcadian speech, who presumably at one time were in close proximity, the Ionians being probably the first comers, while at a yet earlier date all the Greek-speaking tribes lived in contact, though perhaps scattered over a considerable area, for Meillet's² theory of an original common speech seems perfectly justified. Beyond these facts all is obscure, but there is a good deal to be said for the view that the proto-Hellenes must be comparatively early in Greece, even if we reject the effort to fix their appearance as early as 2300 B.C.³ The matter is complicated by the suggestion that Antaravas of Ahhiyava, mentioned by the Hittite Myrsilos, is Andreus of Achaia, and that Tavagalavas, possibly his son, is Eteokles, who with Andreus figures as a founder of the Minyan dynasty of Orchomenos. A century later we have Attaraššiyas of Ahhiyava raiding Caria and Cyprus and allied to the Hittite king, while Mutallis between 1310 and 1290 B.C. mentions Alakšandus of Uilusa; Atreus and Alexander suggest themselves, while Tavagalavas has the epithet Ayavalaas, which may be regarded as Aiolian. Even if we accept these identifications, which are problematical, it merely goes to show that Achaians and Aiolians had effected control over some part perhaps of Pamphylia and so had come into contact with the Hittite kings. There can be little doubt that Achaians and Aiolians had their earlier and proper home in Greece.

Phrygians again we may fairly assign to Asia Minor by 1287 B.C. when Rameses II found them among the allies of the Hittites; how early they were there is purely hypothetical, though some case may be made out for the view that a cultural community existed between the peoples on the two sides of the Dardanelles about 2000 B.C., which may point to the presence of Indo-Europeans.⁴ This accords sufficiently with the probably early date of proto-Hellenic tribes in Thessaly. In the case of the proto-Italians also we probably must admit an early date. There is considerable weight of authority for the view that the proto-Italians were in the Po valley in the fifteenth century B.C., when the Oscans and Umbrians were still in union with the Latins. Others place the date of unity a millennium earlier.⁵ This is dubious, but it is difficult to make the Italians late comers into Italy. The Celts unhappily are difficult to fix with precision, but an Italo-Celtic period of unity must be admitted before Celtic differentiation. It has, indeed, been suggested that we can trace them definitely to Asia;⁶ in de Morgan's view the civilization of the iron age was brought by the Celts from Asia. In point of fact the Hallstatt civilization was undoubtedly diffused by Celts and Illyrians. But the evidence that it was brought from Asia by the former is wholly unsatisfactory. Its chief support is

¹ Contrast L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Indo-européens*, p. 36.

² *Langue grecque*, p. 18. Contrast P. Kretschmer, *Sprache*, p. 67.

³ Childe, *The Aryans*, p. 61. Cf. Peake and Fleure, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 56.

⁴ Peake and Fleure, pp. 94-9.

⁵ F. von Duhn, *Ital. Gräberkunde*, i. 116, 147, 189.

⁶ Refuted by Childe, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-24.

the parallelism between the civilization of Hallstatt and that revealed at Koban in the Caucasus. But despite the similarities there is abundant evidence to show that the relation of Hallstatt to Koban is not that of borrowing. The commonest axe-form in Central Europe is unknown in the Caucasus; the former affects the long sword with blade for slashing, the latter the short thrusting weapon. Moreover, in many cases there are found in the Caucasus types which can be traced in their development in Europe in the Bronze Age, and appear isolated, and therefore borrowed, in the Caucasus. Iron-working, it is probable, originated in Hittite Asia Minor, whence it spread to Europe and the Caucasus respectively, and there is not the slightest reason to ascribe an Asiatic home to the Celts. The same remark applies to the Teutons, however we interpret their relation to the Celts, and there is not a scintilla of evidence that the Lithuanians and the Slavs were in Asia rather than in Europe before the Christian era. The ordinary view which sees Slavs in some of the tribes, such as the Neuroi, mentioned by Herodotos is unexceptionable; the Aestii of Tacitus must be connected with the Lithuanians, and it is impossible to attach any value to the argument that they had only recently arrived at their home because they did not appreciate the value of amber; to read this idea into Tacitus' words *pretiumque mirantes accipiunt* is to forget the distinctly romantic character of the *Germania*. There is, of course, absolutely no warrant for the suggestion that the Lithuanians and Slavs were induced to leave their Asiatic homes by some migration of Asiatic peoples, perhaps in connexion with the building of the Chinese wall. The conception that the history of the Indo-Europeans is to be understood in the light of periodic movements from east to west, possibly due to climatic conditions in Asia, is attractively simple, but it has the demerit of disagreeing with the facts. Nor is it possible to derive any valuable conclusions from the discovery of the Tocharian language; its relations with Celtic have naturally suggested that we must look to the eastern movements of the Celts famous in history, while Pokorny¹ has argued for affinities with Armenian, which itself may be reckoned to have been carried from Europe into Asia.

These facts are sufficient to render it impossible to accept the view still maintained by some scholars that the earliest peoples to leave the Indo-European home were the Aryans as late as 2400-2300 B.C.² If the original home was Asia we must admit much earlier migrations to account for the historical facts as to the Greeks and Italians, and probably the other European peoples. Certainly 2000 B.C. is far too late for the first movements towards the west. Doubtless also the comparatively late date at which we can prove Indo-European peoples in Asia is some support for the theory of European origin. To assert, as does de Morgan,³ that the ancestors of the Aryans could not have started from South Russia is a mere postulate which cannot be supported by any conclusive arguments. A *via media*, of course, lies in the suggestion of

¹ *Indoger. Jahrbuch*, 1924, p. 43. Cf. Hermann, *KZ.* 1. 302; H. Pedersen, *Le groupement des dialectes indo-européens*, 1925. Nothing is proved.

² Hirt, *op. cit.*, i. 96, assumes unity as late as 2000 B.C.

³ *La Préhistoire Orientale*, i. 191.

Peake and Fleure, who would assign as the area of Indo-European development not merely South Russia but the steppes to the east. This involves, of course, two assumptions; first, that the ochre-grave civilization is Indo-European, and, second, that this civilization will ultimately be traced as existing to the east of the Volga. Both assumptions may be sound, but it is unfortunate that nothing that is known to us of Indo-European religion accords with the practice of the authors of the ochre-grave civilization of burying their dead in a contracted position and covering them with red ochre.¹ The true conclusion from all the evidence remains that there have not yet been adduced any grounds which justify us in identifying the Indo-European home, and that in all likelihood the question is one which does not permit, at present, of an answer of a scientific character.

The most promising evidence recently adduced is undoubtedly the argument based on the interpretation of 'Hittite' as a speech parallel to Indo-European, because, if this doctrine were established, there would be *a priori* a fairly strong case for assuming that Indo-European existed as such in Asia, where it is found to have a sister speech in Hittite. It would be natural to assume an original Asiatic home for the ancestor of both Hittite and Indo-European, and development of each separately in Asia. The difficulty regarding this argument, of course, is simply that, despite the interesting suggestions of various scholars,² the character of Hittite remains far from ascertained. The extremely different views which the various exponents of the Hittite forms take of the same words, and their own changes of opinion, while natural and inevitable, leave a considerable amount of misgiving as to the validity of the essential contention, and favour the view of speech-mixture³ rather than the belief that Hittite is a genuine sister speech of Indo-European. Moreover, as against this hypothesis, supporters of a European home may adduce another, the view⁴ that in the speech of the Veneti we are to recognize a trace of an Indo-European prior to the division into *centum* and *satem* dialects.⁵ Our ignorance is tantalizing, but it is better than the assumption of knowledge.

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¹ Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, ii. 628, 629.

² See, e.g. F. H. Sturtevant's papers in *Language*, vols. iii-vi.

³ Cf. Oertel, *Study of Language*, pp. 253-8.

⁴ Conway, *Annual Brit. School, Athens*, viii. 152; Whatmough, *Language*, iii. 226.

⁵ Whether dialects is a legitimate term may be doubted; cf. Meillet, *Langue latine*, p. 13.

THE NAME AHURAMAZDA

MUCH interest and much importance attaches to the determination of the date at which Zoroaster lived—Zoroaster, the prophet and the founder of the national religion of Ancient Persia, which survives even to this day in Persia and flourishes in India. And yet scholars are not of even approximately the same opinion¹ on this matter: the evidence—such of it as can lead to a precise date—is neither harmonious nor objectively convincing.

Out of all the various pieces of evidence, or of near-evidence offered collaterally to support the opposing theories, the most important seem to me to be the following, which I list without desiring to indicate by their order their relative importance:

1. The tradition of the Pahlavi commentaries² as to the time which elapsed between Zoroaster and Alexander the Great; this results in setting the lifetime of Zoroaster at 660–583 B.C.
2. The appearance of the divine name *Auramazdā* in the cuneiform inscription of Darius the Great, King of Persia 521–485, on the great rock of Behistan.³
3. The discovery of a divine name *As-sa-ra Ma-sa-aš* in an inscription of Assur-bani-pal, King of Assyria from 668 to his death in about 626.⁴
4. The finding of a personal name *Mazdaka* in an inscription of Sargon II, King of Assyria 722–705; the inscription is datable in 715, and the name is that of two princes of Media.⁵

These items, unlike much that is found in Oriental records, attach to definite dates; but the third and the fourth, if acceptable at face value, require us to place the foundation of the Mazdayasnian religion considerably before that given by the Pahlavi tradition.

Now this whole subject has been handled so frequently, and in such minute detail,⁶ that it seems quite rash to expect to add anything new to the discussion. Yet I cannot help feeling that insufficient stress has been placed on the linguistic evidence inherent in the divine name *Ahuramazda* and its various forms. The data have already been given in several places,⁷ but always with minor errors and omissions; this is my excuse for presenting here the complete evidence from the earlier texts, without which completeness my

¹ A. V. W. Jackson, *J.AOS.* xvii. 1–22; *Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, pp. 150–78; *Zoroastrian Studies*, pp. 17–18.

² Jackson, *Zoroaster the Prophet*, pp. 157–69.

³ Cf., e.g., H. C. Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*.

⁴ Hommel, *Proc. Society for Biblical Archaeology*, 1899, p. 132; J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 31.

⁵ Ed. Meyer, *Enc. Brit.*¹¹, xxi. 205; K. Geldner, *Enc. Brit.*¹¹, xxviii. 1041; J. H. Moulton, *Early Zor.*, pp. 30–1.

⁶ Cf. the references in footnote ¹, with bibliography.
⁷ C. P. Tiele, 'Iets over de Oudheid van het Awesta,' in *Mededeel. d. k. Ak. d. Wet. te Amsterdam*, Afd. Letterk., 1895, pp. 364–85; I have used the German version in *Archiv für Religionswiss.* i. 337–60 (1898). Pp. 355–7 deal with the name. Cf. also the concordance to the Gathas in Chr. Bartholomae, *Die Gāthās und Heiligen Gebete des Altiranischen Volkes (Metrum, Text, Grammatik, und Wortverzeichnis)*, Halle, 1879, and the lists of passages in the same scholar's *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1904, s. vv.

argument will lose in clarity and in cogency. The material will be divided into: (1) the name in the Gathas, (2) the name in the Gatha Haptanhaiti, (3) the name in the later Avesta, (4) the name in the Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions, (5) the name in Pahlavi and Modern Persian.

(1) In the Gathas, the earliest part of the Avesta, the divine name¹ appears as *ahura-* alone, or as *mazdāh-* alone, or as the two names together in the stanza.² There are the following occurrences:

ahura- alone,³ 15 occurrences:

ahurā, Yasna, xxxi. 15; xxxiii. 3, 13; xlv. 5, 6, 12, 13, 19; xlv. 6; xlviii. 1, 7.

ahurəm, xxviii. 8; xxix. 2; xlv. 9.

ahurahyā, xlv. 15.

mazdāh- alone,⁴ 69 occurrences:

mazdā, xxviii. 1, 7; xxix. 8; xxxi. 3, 11, 13; xxxii. 8, 9, 11, 13; xxxiii. 4, 7, 8, 9, 10; xxxiv. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12; xliii. 2, 4, 6, 8, 13, 14; xlv. 20; xlv. 4, 8, 18, 19; xlvii. 3, 4; xlviii. 4, 9, 10, 11, 12; xlix. 1, 2, 3, 10; l. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11; li. 1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

mazdā, xxx. 11; xxxii. 12; xlvii. 2.

mazdā,⁵ xxx. 10; li. 19, 20.

mazdāš-, liii. 3.

mazdāi, xxxi. 1, 6; xxxiii. 14.

When *ahura-* and *mazdāh-* both are used in the same stanza in the Gathas, they are always separately declined: that is, they never form a compound word of which only the second part shows variations to indicate the case-forms. Further, the two words may be used in case-forms which require or permit them to form a phrase meaning 'the Wise Lord' or 'the Lord Wisdom', or they may be used in different case-forms, showing that they do not form a single phrase, but are to be taken separately. Even when the endings of the two words indicate the same case, the two words may stand in distinctly different phrases or clauses, which forbids the taking of them as a single unit, or at least permits them to be taken separately. The passages are as follows, 120 instances:

mazdāh- ahura- in the same case-form and in the same metrical pāda, not separated by intervening words except the enclitic *-čā*; 30 occurrences:

mazdā ahurā, xxviii. 2, 10, 11; xxxi. 5, 9, 16, 17, 22; xxxii. 16; xlv. 11; xlv. 10; xlvii. 5, 6; l. 1, 4, 10.

mazdā ahurō, xxxii. 2; xxxiii. 5; xlv. 5, 6; xlv. 17; li. 16, 17, 22.

mazdaqm ahurəm, xlv. 8.

¹ Cf. especially the lists in the concordance in Bartholomae's metrical text (see preceding note).

² But the mere fact that the two words come in the same stanza does not necessarily mean that they form a phrase-unit.

³ i.e. in a stanza not containing a form of *mazdāh-*.

⁴ i.e. in a stanza not containing a form of *ahura-*. I have not listed *mazdānhō* xlv. 1, which stands in Bartholomae's metrical text, because (as Bthl. *Ai.W.* col. 1181 recognizes) it is only a part of a wrongly divided verb *mazdānhō.dūm*.

⁵ This orthography is used to mark the metrical value; other similar spellings will be found later. Bartholomae in his metrical text used *mazd, ā* etc.

mazdaqmča ahurəm, xxviii. 3.

mazdaā ahurahyā, xxviii. 4; xxxii. 4.

mazdāšča ahurāphō, xxx. 9; xxxi. 4.

mazdāh- ahura- in the same case-form and in the same metrical pāda, separated by a single word; 18 occurrences:

mazdā . . . *ahurā*, xliii. 5, 7, 9, 11, 15; xlv. 1, 5; xlix. 8, 12; l. 5.

mazdā . . . *ahurō*, xxxi. 21; xliii. 1; xlv. 3, 7, 10; xlv. 12; li. 21; liii. 4.

mazdā- ahura- in the same case-form and in successive pādas, separated by a single word; 1 occurrence:

mazdā . . . *ahurā*, li. 2.

mazdāh- ahura- in the same case-form and apparently forming a unit, but in different pādas and separated by two or three words; 5 occurrences:

mazdā . . . *ahurā*, xlv. 14.

mazdā . . . *ahurō*, xlv. 9; xlv. 13, 16; xlvii. 1.

There are the following instances in which *ahura-* is the prior member of the phrase; 15 occurrences:

ahura- mazdāh- in the same case-form and in the same pāda, not separated; no occurrences.

ahura- mazdāh- in the same case-form and in the same pāda, separated by a single word; 3 occurrences:

ahurō . . . *mazdā*, li. 6.

ahurahyā . . . *mazdaā*, xxxii. 1; xxxiii. 2.

ahura- mazdāh- in the same case-form and in successive pādas, not separated except by the metrical pause between the pādas; 5 occurrences:

ahurā mazdā, xxviii. 9; xxxiii. 6.

ahurō mazdā, xxix. 6; li. 15; liii. 1.

ahura- mazdāh- in the same case-form and in successive pādas, separated by a single word; 4 occurrences:

ahurā . . . *mazdā*, xxxii. 7; xxxiv. 10.

ahurō . . . *mazdā*, xxxi. 2.

ahurō . . . *mazdāšča*, xxxiii. 11.

ahura- mazdāh- in the same case-form and apparently forming a unit, but in different pādas and separated by three or four words; 3 occurrences:

ahurā . . . *mazdā*, xliii. 16.

ahurō . . . *mazdā*, xxix. 7.

ahurəm . . . *mazdaqm*, xxx. 5.

There are also 51 stanzas in which both words occur, but so placed in different phrases or clauses that even if the endings permit them to be taken together, there is no grammatical compulsion. They are separated by three or more words except in two instances, where only one word intervenes (xliv. 17; li. 18):

The case-form is the same; *mazdāh-* precedes; 17 occurrences:

mazdā . . . *ahurā*, xxviii. 6; xxix. 11; xxx. 8; xxxi. 7; xxxiv. 1, 14, 15; xlv.

2, 3, 7; xlviii. 8; xlix. 5, 6, 7.

mazdā . . . *ahurō*, xxix. 4; xlviii. 6; liii. 2.¹

The case-form is the same; *ahura-* precedes; 25 occurrences:

ahurā . . . *mazdā*, xxix. 10; xxxi. 14, 19; xxxii. 6; xxxiii. 12; xxxiv. 3, 4, 13; xlv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18; xlviii. 2; li. 18.

ahurāi . . . *mazdāi*, xxviii. 5.

The case-form is different; *mazdāh-* precedes; 3 occurrences:

mazdā . . . *ahurāi*, xxx. 1.

mazdā . . . *ahurəm*, xxxi. 8.

mazdā . . . *ahurō*, xlv. 4.

The case-form is different; *ahura-* precedes; 6 occurrences:

ahurāi . . . *mazdaqm*, xxix. 5.

ahurəm . . . *mazdā*, xxxi. 10.

ahurō . . . *mazdā*, xliii. 3; xlviii. 3; li. 3; liii. 9.

It is clear from this classification of the occurrences of the divine name in the Gathas, that the usual order was that in which *mazdāh-* stood first and *ahura-* second; and that the reverse order is very rare, being found only with an intervening word or an intervening metrical pause, or when the two words stand in different phrases or clauses, and are therefore not to be taken as a single unit.

I do not wish to imply that these words of necessity always denote the Deity; certainly *mazdāh-* may be, so far as formation is concerned, either an abstract noun 'wisdom' or an adjective 'wise'. Neither do I necessarily interpret *ahurā mazdā* as in all instances a vocative phrase; for the form *mazdā* may be an instrumental like *ašā*.² But the elimination of a few examples through such differences of interpretation will not in any way affect the conclusions drawn in the present article.

(2) In the Gatha Haptaŋhaiti, there are the following examples, which I list in the order of their occurrence, enclosing in square brackets the words which Baunack³ excised in his attempt to reconstruct an original text of this section of the Avesta:

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| xxxv. praef. | <i>ahurəm mazdaqm</i> |
| xxxv. 3 | [<i>ahurā</i>] <i>mazdā</i> |
| xxxv. 5 | <i>mazdāi ahurāi</i> |
| xxxv. 7 | <i>ahurahyā-zi</i> [<i>aṭ vā</i>] <i>mazdā</i> |
| xxxv. 9 | [<i>ahurā</i>] <i>mazdā</i> |
| xxxv. 10 | <i>ahurā</i> |
| xxxvi. 1 | <i>mazdā ahurā</i> |
| xxxvi. 2 | [<i>mazdā ahurahyā</i>] |

¹ Listed here only because the forms may both be nominative singular. But *mazdā*, if a correct reading (Bthl. in his metrical text has the dative *mazdāi*), must be a genitive functioning as a dative.

² For such possibilities I refer to the doctoral dissertation of my former student, Miss Maria Wilkins Smith, *Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas of the Avesta*, issued as *Language Dissertation* No. 4 of the Linguistic Society of America (address, Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penna., U.S.A.) at the end of 1929.

³ Th. Baunack, 'Der Yasna Haptaŋhaiti', pp. 328 ff., in *Stud. auf d. Gebiete d. gr. u. d. ar. Spr.* II, by J. Baunack and Th. Baunack.

xxxvi. 3 a	<i>mazdā̃</i> [<i>ahurahyā</i>]
xxxvi. 3 c	[<i>mazdā̃ ahurahyā</i>]
xxxvi. 5	<i>mazdā ahurā</i>
xxxvi. 6	<i>mazdā</i> [<i>ahurā</i>]
xxxvii. 1	[<i>ahurəm</i>] <i>mazdqm</i>
xxxviii. 1	[<i>ahurā</i>] <i>mazdā</i>
xxxviii. 3	<i>ahurahyā</i>
xxxviii. 4	[<i>ahurō</i>] <i>mazdā̃</i>
xxxix. 4 a	[<i>ahura</i>] <i>mazdā</i>
xxxix. 4 B b	<i>mazdā ahurā</i>
xl. 1 b	<i>mazdā ahurā</i>
xl. 1 B f	[<i>mazdā</i>] <i>ahurā mazdqm-ča</i> ¹
xl. 3	<i>mazdā ahurā</i>
xl. 4	<i>mazdā ahurā</i>
xli. 1	[<i>ahurāi mazdāi</i>]
xli. 2	<i>mazdā ahurā</i>
xli. 4	<i>mazdā ahurā</i>
xli. 5 b	[<i>ahurā</i>] <i>mazdā</i>
xli. 5 d	[<i>mazdā</i>] <i>ahurā</i>

Should we take these all at their face value, we should find the order *mazdāh- ahura-* in 15 examples, *ahura- mazdāh-* in 10, *ahura-* alone in 2. The words are not separated except at xxxv. 7. If we accept Baunack's restored text, we find *ahura- mazdāh-* only at xxxv. 7, with an enclitic attached to the prior word.

Yet from either standpoint, we find that the order of the two elements of the divine name is undergoing a shift, either at the time of the composition of the text or in its fate at the hands of the later interpolators. The one apparent instance of the compound word *ahuramazdāh-* is at xxxix. 4 a, *ahura mazdā*, without lengthening of the final of the prior element; but this may be only a graphic error for *ahurā* and the dot of separation, or the *ahura* with short *a* may be a later interpolation after the usage of the later Avestan texts.

(3) In the Late Avesta, or other portions of the Avestan texts with the exception of the Gathas proper and the Gatha Haptaŋhaiti, the situation is quite different.² The name *mazdāh-* occurs alone, but very infrequently as compared with its use alone in the Gathas. The name *ahura-* also appears alone a few times, but less often than does *mazdāh-*. When the combination of the two names is used, *mazdāh-* precedes *ahura-* only in imitation of Gathic phrasing or in fixed phrases. In the vast majority of instances, the order is *ahura- mazdāh-*, with no intervening words,³ and both words have the inflectional endings:

Nom. *ahurō mazdā̃*

Acc. *ahurəm mazdqm*

¹ The word *mazdqm* is listed for completeness, but is in this passage only a common noun; cf. Bthl. *Ai.W.*, cols. 1162, 445.

² I rely here on the data in the *Ai.W.* col. 1163, s.v. *mazdāh-* and cols. 286 ff., s.v. *ahura-*.

³ Except in *Vd.* 1; cf. *Ai.W.*, col. 286 *inf.*

Inst. *ahura mazda*
 Dat. *ahurāi mazdāi*
 Gen. *ahurahe mazdā*
 Voc. *ahura mazda*

This represents a great advance over the status in the Gathas, even over that in the Gatha Haptanhaiti, and the way is clear for an amalgamation of the two words into a single compound word of two elements, with the declensional endings on the second element only.

(4) The Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions which contain the divine name begin with those of Darius I, who ascended the throne in 521 B.C., and end with those of Artaxerxes III, who died in 338 B.C. Here the name is a single word, with the following forms,¹ all appearing repeatedly:

Nom. *auramazdā*
 Acc. *auramazdām*
 Gen. *auramazdāha*, also *auramazdāhā*

There are but two exceptions to this usage. In Dar. Pers. e 24 the instrumental *aurā* stands alone, alongside the genitive *auramazdāhā* in 6-7. In Xerx. Pers. ca 10 = cb 17, the genitive *aurahya mazdāha* occurs, with both parts inflected, though the nominative *auramazdā* stands three times in the same inscription (in both copies).

(5) From this point, it is only a step to the Pahlavi *ōhrmazd*² and the Modern Persian forms.

If we should consider only the obvious indications of this development of the form of the divine name, we should unhesitatingly place the composition of the Gathas well in advance of the time of Darius I, with that of the Later Avesta somewhere in the interval; but the surface inferences may be misleading. For there are the following possibilities to be taken into account:³ (1) that the *Auramazdā* of the cuneiform inscriptions may not be the same as the *mazdāh- ahura-* of Zoroaster; (2) that Zoroaster may not have invented a new term as the name of the Deity, but have utilized one already in use.

If we could definitely determine the religion of the Achaemenid rulers of Persia, we should be on our way to settle these difficult points. Gray⁴ examines the evidence and pronounces his belief that the only safe conclusion is that the Achaemenid kings were Mazdayasnians, but not Zoroastrians; in this he expresses his conviction that the name *mazdāh-* was used for the Deity before Zoroaster's coming. On the other hand, Clemen⁵ makes a most ex-

¹ Complete data in E. L. Johnson, *Index Verborum to the Old Persian Inscriptions* (issued with H. C. Tolman, *Cuneiform Supplement*); Vanderbilt Oriental Series VII, Nashville, 1910.

² Thus written only once unambiguously; so Bthl. *Ai. W.*, col. 292 *inf.*, and col. 293 *sup.* (n. 14).

³ Cf. especially A. Meillet, *Trois Conférences sur les Gâthâ de l'Avesta*, pp. 21-32, Paris, 1925. He raises also another point (page 27), that as the speed of evolution varies with different languages, a few decades may have sufficed to transform the free phrase *mazdāh- ahura-* into the fixed compound; one may grant this, but the way in which the argument develops here renders it unnecessary to discuss this possibility.

⁴ L. H. Gray, article *Achaemenians*, in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, i. 69-73.

⁵ C. Clemen, *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion*, pp. 54-94, Giessen, 1920.

haustive investigation and comes to the contrary conclusion, that the evidence favours the belief that the Achaemenids were Zoroastrians, and that none of the evidence, notably that from Greek and Latin sources, seriously contradicts this conclusion.

In this impasse, it might be well to simplify the problem by recounting some inescapable facts. The name *Mazdaka* in 715 B.C. means that there was a worship of Mazda at that date. Sargon's inscription presents a deity *As-sa-ra Ma-za-aš*, who is attended by seven *Igigi* or good spirits, to whom seven *Anunnaki* or evil spirits are opposed; apparently identical with the later Avestan Amshaspands and the daevic opponents. In the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenids, there is no hint of a change in the state religion of which the supreme deity is *Auramazdā*, until Anahita (written *anahata*) and Mithra (written *mitra* and *miθra*) appear in the inscriptions of the second Artaxerxes. No Greek writer even hints at any change in the Persian state religion during this period, though the Greeks were then vitally interested in Persian doings. Greek writers in the middle of the fifth century before Christ speak of Zoroaster as having lived in the remote past; to them he has already become a mythical figure. Finally, the Pahlavi tradition as to the date of Zoroaster comes to us from documents at least fifteen centuries later than his reputed date.¹

We must grant, I think, that the value of the traditional date is much weakened by the interval which elapsed before it was recorded in any text. All the other facts fall into one harmonious whole, if Zoroaster be placed about 1000 to 900 B.C. The name *Mazdaka* is in place in 715. The deity *As-sa-ra Ma-za-aš* in Sargon's inscription, 650 or thereabouts, has had time to be adopted into a larger theology even as Greek gods, and afterwards Egyptian and Asiatic gods, found places in the Roman pantheon. The lack of precision in the phonetics of the name as adopted may be ascribed to the difficulties inherent in the pronunciation of a foreign name,² or to the awkwardness of the cuneiform syllabic writing, or to some slight assimilation to more familiar Assyrian words. It is even possible that at the time when the name was taken into Assyrian the sounds in *ahurah mazdah* were slightly closer to an earlier **asuras mazdās* than our recorded writings in the Avesta and in Old Persian inscriptions would suggest, and that therefore the Assyrian sibilants are not in reality inexact. The remaining facts in the preceding paragraph hardly need interpretation; for whether or not the earlier Achaemenids can be shown to be Zoroastrians, the appearance of Anahita and Mithra in the inscriptions is conclusive for the religious adherence of Artaxerxes II.

I have till now passed over the problem whether Zoroaster invented a new divine name, or accepted one already current. Let us not forget that Zoroaster was preaching a new religion, as against an old prevalent religion; that he does not put himself in the position of a champion of an older faith which has lost

¹ Clemen, op. cit., pp. 23-7.

² For example, Russian adopts German *Hamburg* with an initial *g*-, and Greek *Theodore* with an initial *f*-; Lithuanian changes German *Farbe* to *parva*.

its hold on the people, but claims to have received a fresh revelation direct from the Deity; and further, that he attacks a religious system whose terminology and practices he mentions, whose divinities he calls *daevas*. It is not clear to me how he could use terms already current for the Deity, for the Deity whom he proclaims, without somewhere giving some hint of this fact. Moreover, if there were an already existing Ahuramazda, he could hardly have adopted the name and garbled it into *mazdāh-ahura-*, without giving needless offense¹ to those who might be counted on as his first adherents, namely the followers of the theoretical pre-Zoroastrian Ahuramazda. For the Divine Name was a potent word, not to be dealt with lightly nor altered sacrilegiously. From these considerations, therefore, I believe that Zoroaster did not use an old name,² but selected *ahura-* as an unappropriated but acceptable name for the Divine Being, and in connexion used an adjective *mazdāh-* 'wise', to make definite the less distinctive *ahura-*. He opposed the one 'wise ahura' to the many evil *daevas*, offering a monotheism to which only those doctrines should attach which he might enounce, free from the trammels of a past tradition.³

It must be granted that Zoroaster used a dialect of Iranian which differed from that of the Old Persian inscriptions;⁴ and yet the name *mazdāh-*, if we take it in the case-forms extant both in Avestan and in Old Persian, shows peculiarities in common:

	Avestan	Old Persian
Nom.	<i>mazdā</i>	- <i>mazdā</i>
Acc.	<i>mazdām</i>	- <i>mazdām</i>
Gen.	<i>mazdāš</i> ⁵	- <i>mazdāha</i> (- <i>hā</i>)

The primitive stem in *-ās-* is on its way to become a stem in *-ā-*, and this process is complete in the nominative and the accusative; but the genitive retains its form in Old Persian, as from earlier *-āsas*, and the Avestan shows in the Gathas a metrically dissyllabic ending (despite the normalized writing *mazdā*), which may easily be assigned to the origin from *-āsas*. Other case-forms in the Gathas also show similar dissyllabic values of the termination⁶ attributable to the same cause.

And now, finally, I come back to the forms of the Divine Name. From the more important evidence from other sources, presented here briefly but not without care, I believe that the Pahlavi tradition as to the date of Zoroaster is in error, and that the Prophet flourished about 900 B.C. or a trifle earlier. He used as the name of the Deity either *ahura-* 'the lord' or *mazdāh-ahura-* 'the wise lord' or merely *mazdāh-* 'the wise one'. In the later Avestan writings the two words began to shift position with each other, and the name became *ahura-mazdāh-* or *ahura-mazdā-*, while the words were still occasionally used

¹ Cf. Tiele, op. cit., p. 356.

² That is, not an old name for the Divine Being. The mere word is an old one for a super-human being, and is by origin identical with the Sanskrit *asura*, which has shifted to the meaning 'evil spirit'.

³ In saying this I am not denying nor overlooking the accretion of other doctrines in later times.

⁴ Cf., e.g., Tiele, op. cit., pp. 350-2.

⁵ Cf. p. 2, note 5.

⁶ Cf. lists earlier in this article.

separately; when both words were used, both still had inflexional endings. With the spread of the religion through other parts of Iran, and its adoption by the Achaemenians, the divine name of two words became coalesced into one,¹ doubtless in the vocative *ahura mazdā^h* and in the nominative *ahura^h mazdā^h*, perhaps also in the accusative *ahuram mazdām*, which, if written as one word, would give the Old Persian *a-u-ra-ma-sa-da-a-ma* = *auramazdām*; for doubled consonants were not indicated in the Old Persian cuneiform writing.

And thus the development of the name Ahuramazda, as recorded in the ancient texts, may perhaps yield some slight corroboration of the view that Zoroaster lived and preached not at the traditional dates, but about 1000 to 900 B.C.

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¹ Cf. Bthl. *Ai.W.*, col. 294 *inf.*

A PERSIAN PRINCE—ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES

'And in his estate shall stand up a vile person to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom.'—*Daniel* xi. 21.

I

NO king in history has ever had so bad a press or been so genuinely hated by millions of persons who never saw him as Antiochus IV, otherwise known as Antiochus Epiphanes (the god manifest). He receives frightful abuse in the first book of the Maccabees. He is the villain of the Book of Daniel. Nor is he wholly unconnected with the Great Beast of the Revelations, for the writer of that remarkable work took Daniel's prophecies as his model. Scorn has been poured on Antiochus by writers as different as Livy, Polybius, and Diodorus; and for centuries he has been the 'abomination of desolation' to every Jew and many Christians. In the course of this short monograph I shall sketch this unfortunate king's life and try to paint him in truer, if less lurid, colours.

The first point to bear in mind is Antiochus IV's nationality. He is generally spoken of as a Hellene; but he was really more a Persian prince than a Greek one. The mother of the Seleucid dynasty and the ancestress of Antiochus IV was Apama, the daughter of Spitamenes and an Achaemenian princess. His own mother was Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates II of Pontus, a Persian ruler closely connected with the family of the great Darius. In other words, to use an Indian colloquialism, Antiochus was more than eight annas Persian. Antiochus, however, had not only a mixed descent, but he had a mixed upbringing. He spent fourteen years in Rome. In 189 B.C. his father Antiochus the Great had, after the disastrous battle of Magnesia, given him to the Romans as a hostage. The young prince was then in the early twenties and he was received as an equal in the best society of Rome. From his Hellenic ancestors he inherited their love of literature and art. From his Achaemenian forebears there came to him courage and a strain of cruelty.¹ From his Roman friends he acquired an impatience of opposition and a wish to standardize everything, including religion, manners, and government.

On the death of Antiochus the Great in 187 B.C., his eldest son Seleucus IV became king of Syria and its appanages, which he ruled until 175 B.C. He had inherited an unprofitable patrimony. The Roman war debt pressed terribly on his kingdom. At the same time it had been shorn of all Asia Minor west of the Taurus. Seleucus strove honestly to meet the instalments of the Roman indemnity as they fell due; but in doing so, he so squeezed his subjects that he became extremely unpopular. His unpopularity tempted his prime minister to assassinate him and proclaim in his stead Seleucus' youngest son. But there were two other claimants to the vacant throne. There was Seleucus' eldest son Demetrius, who had been sent to replace his uncle

¹ The Achaemenian kings were not all cruel. Darius was not; but Cambyses was and so was Xerxes.

Antiochus at Rome. He, however, was only nine years old. There was the subject of this essay, Antiochus, who, on Demetrius' arrival, had been released from Rome and was living in Athens as a private citizen. There he received an invitation from Eumenes, king of Pergamum, to become a candidate for the throne of Syria at the head of a Pergamene army.

Pergamum was a small Hellenic state on the western coast of Asia Minor. Its king, Eumenes, had fomented the quarrel between Antiochus the Great and the Romans. Actively helping the latter, he had derived great benefit from the former's defeat. But at this time in Roman history, it was nearly as dangerous to be a friend as an enemy of the Eternal City. The corrupt Roman nobles bled their allies almost as white as their open foes. Eumenes, therefore, sought to create a Hellenic confederacy against Rome. The dead king Seleucus IV had been too bitter about Magnesia to heed Eumenes' overtures; but Antiochus was willing to agree to any terms by which he obtained a throne. He accepted Eumenes' invitation, and at the head of a powerful Pergamene contingent he was soon crowned king at Antioch as Antiochus IV.

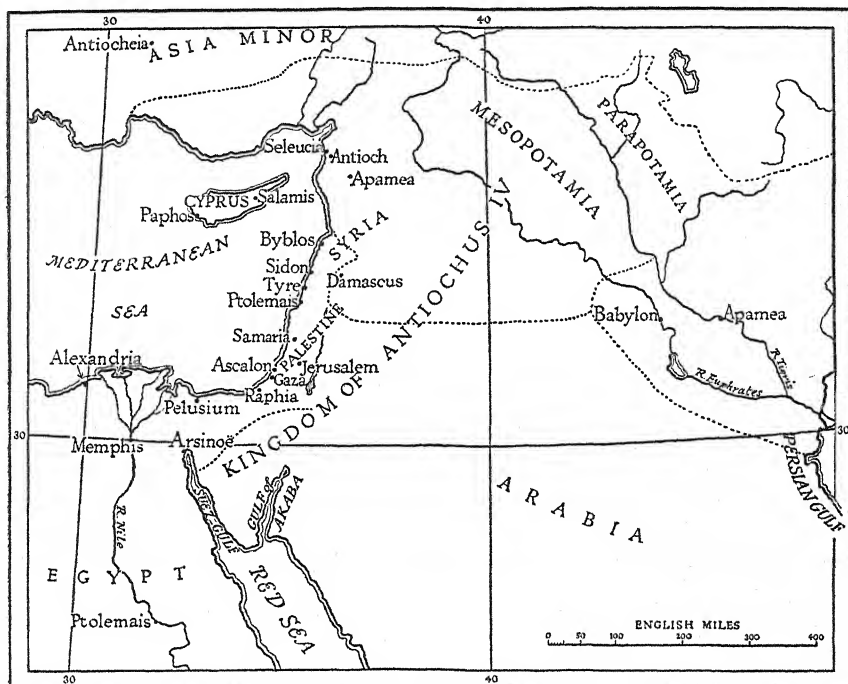
With so many friends at Rome Antiochus had no difficulty in smoothing over any objections that the Senate might have to his usurpation. His danger came from his Egyptian frontier. Palestine had on the division of Alexander's empire fallen to Ptolemy I, king of Egypt. Antiochus the Great had conquered it and added it to Syria. Two years after Antiochus IV's accession, the Egyptian government at the head of which were two eunuchs, Eulaeus and Lennaeus, determined to recover Palestine. They were equally confident and undeserving of success. They led into the Holy Land a small army accompanied by wagons of bullion, gold plate, and jewels. With these they hoped to bribe Antiochus' generals. It never occurred to them to think that the hostile generals might prefer to take the treasure wagons as booty rather than as bribes. They were soon undeceived; for in a few days they had lost their treasure chests and most of their army and were fleeing for their lives back to Alexandria. Even when safe in the capital they could not recover their wits. They sent the young king Ptolemy VI by ship to Samothrace. On the way a Syrian cruiser intercepted the royal vessel and took Ptolemy back as prisoner to Antioch. The Alexandrian mob overthrew the eunuchs and put the king's younger brother on the throne as Ptolemy VII and prepared for a siege. Antiochus posed as the champion of the lawful king, who was his sister's son, and sat down before Alexandria. On the mercantile world the leaguer of this mighty city had as great an effect as the siege of London would have on the mercantile world to-day. Even the Antioch business firms were threatened with bankruptcy. Antiochus found that he might lose more by continuing the siege than by raising it and plundering the countryside. This he did very effectually and returned to Syria in triumph.

At Antioch, however, he found his nephew unmanageable. Ptolemy VI did not want to languish in Antioch while his younger brother ruled in Egypt. He sent a secret message to Alexandria and received in reply a proposal that he and his brother should rule Egypt jointly. The nephew asked

leave of his uncle to return home and the uncle lost his temper. As the author of Daniel (xi. 27) puts it:

‘And both those kings’ hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table.’

Antiochus, however, could not keep prisoner indefinitely the nephew in whose interests he was supposed to be fighting. Ptolemy VI was released and



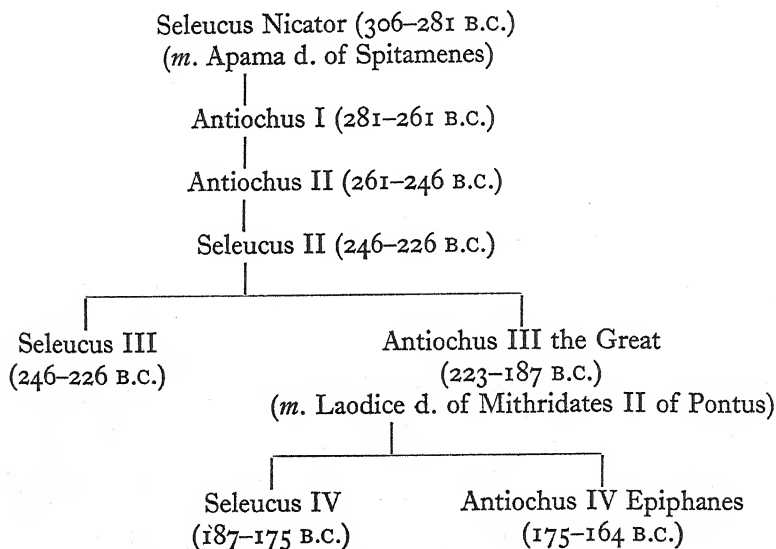
re-entering Alexandria was affectionately received by his brother. Antiochus asked as payment of his services and as indemnity the formal cession of Cyprus and the fortress of Pelusium. Since these were already in Antiochus IV's possession, one might have thought that Ptolemy VI would have acquiesced in their loss. He did not. He called in the Romans.

Ever since Magnesia Rome had been the bully of the Levant. She had realized that she could do what she liked without fear of reprisals from the Greek dynasties. Her conscience never troubled her. She had just driven Perses, king of Macedonia, to declare war and had then destroyed his army at Pydna (22nd June 168 B.C.). She was, therefore, free to start her corrupt interference elsewhere. When the Ptolemaic mission reached Rome, the Senate saw an excellent excuse for meddling in Egyptian affairs and better still of forcing a war on Antiochus IV. The Senate sent Gaius Popilius Laenas as ambassador to Antiochus IV with orders that the Syrian king must evacuate Egypt. The ambassador came up with Antiochus near Alexandria. The latter had known Popilius at Rome and with well-bred courtesy went up

to him to shake him by the hand as an old friend. Popilius affected not to see the outstretched hand and curtly told the king to read the Senate's message. Antiochus took the wax tablets and read a peremptory order to return to his own borders. Keeping his temper, he said that he would consult his foreign secretary and then reply. Popilius, with the customary rudeness that made the Romans so disliked in the East, drew with his walking stick a circle in the dust round the king's feet. He then roughly told Antiochus to answer 'Yes' or 'No' before he stepped outside the circle. Antiochus was not unnaturally furious; but he managed to control himself and said that he would abide by the Senate's wishes. Popilius then affected to be glad to see his old friend and shook warmly the royal hand.¹ The king knew that he could not face the Romans in battle and he pretended to accept this decision cheerfully; but the shock to his pride was such that he never really got over it.

'For the ships of Chittim (the Romans) shall come against him: therefore he shall be grieved and return, and have indignation against the Holy Covenant; so shall he do.' (Daniel xi. 30.)

Genealogical Tree of the Seleucids



II

Although Antiochus dared not attempt to retaliate on the Romans by force of arms, he yet contrived an ingenious method of squaring accounts with them. In 167 B.C. Lucius Aemilius Paullus celebrated at Amphipolis his conquest of Macedonia with great magnificence. To the celebration he invited the whole Greek world. Antiochus waited until Lucius Aemilius Paullus had finished and then celebrated his victories over Egypt with even greater

¹ Polybius, xxix. 27.

splendour. Polybius has described Antiochus' triumph at Daphne with much detail; from his account I give the following passage (Book xxx. 26):

'When the games, gladiatorial shows and beast fights, which lasted for the thirty days devoted to spectacles were over, for the first five succeeding days everyone who chose anointed himself in the gymnasium with saffron ointment out of gold jars. Of those there were fifteen and there were the same number of jars with ointment of cinnamon and spikenard. . . . For the banquets there were sometimes a thousand and sometimes fifteen hundred tables laid. They were all furnished with the most costly dishes.'

The Romans, who had no sense of humour, were so annoyed at these proceedings that they sent the famous Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus to try to pick a quarrel with Antiochus. The latter, however, was not for nothing more than half an Oriental. With his tongue in his cheek he fooled the stupid Roman to the top of his bent. He received with such exquisite courtesy Gracchus and his companions and showered on them so many and costly gifts that the diplomatists were completely deceived. They assured the Senate that Antiochus really entertained the friendliest feelings towards Rome, 'Whereas', as Polybius observes, 'the king's real feelings were not so, but quite the reverse!'¹

Nevertheless in spite of this amusing deception of the Roman mission, Antiochus remained in a very bad temper and he sought for some object on which to vent it. Unfortunately for his subsequent reputation, he found it ready to hand in the Jews. This extraordinary community had been overwhelmed by Nebuchadnezzar and their leaders taken to Babylon. Cyrus had allowed these leaders to return to Jerusalem and rebuild it. Their worship of a single deity commended itself to the followers of Ahura Mazda and the Jews lived happily under Persian rule. The superhuman greatness of the Macedonian Alexander fired their imaginations and they enlisted by hundreds in his armies. On his death the Jews accepted Seleucid rule without dislike; for their kings in the immensity of their possessions and their continual wars were far too busy to persecute their Jewish subjects. Antiochus, cut off from Asia Minor and Egypt by the Romans, had plenty of time on his hands and the Jews became the victims of the royal ill-humour and leisure.

In the reign of Seleucus IV, the king had ordered Onias the High Priest of the Jews to hand over some of the temple treasures. He apparently did so and satisfied his followers by the remarkable story told in the Apocrypha, namely that the royal messenger Heliodorus was held down and flogged by angels.² When Antiochus IV became king, he displaced Onias and appointed in his stead his brother Yeshwa or Jesus in consideration of the handsome bribe of 360 silver talents paid down and a promised yearly instalment of 80 talents. Yeshwa was an ardent Philhellene and built throughout Jerusalem Greek gymnasiums and induced his followers to adopt Greek dress. In this

¹ *καίπερ οὐκ ὦν τῇ προαίρεσει τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον* (Polybius, xxx. 27).

² See 2 Maccabees 3.

way he won the king's esteem. Unfortunately a certain Menelaus offered the king a still larger bribe and Antiochus put him in Yeshwa's place.

When the Egyptian army crossed the frontier Yeshwa returned to Jerusalem, drove out Menelaus, and declared for Ptolemy. Menelaus escaped but Yeshwa put many of his rival's adherents to death. Then the tide turned. The Egyptians were driven back. Antiochus returned and punished the rebel city severely. This the Jews might have pardoned. What they could not forgive was that he entered the temple, penetrated into the Holy of Holies and removed the treasure without hindrance. Not a single angel appeared to flog him. This was the beginning of a quarrel that never ended. It was on these factious subjects that Antiochus sought to vent the ill-temper caused by the rudeness of Popilius.

The king found an excuse in the Jewish objection to Hellenism. The victories of Alexander had so dazzled the civilized world that Persia, Italy, Syria, and even Carthage had thrown aside their own ideas and had adopted Greek canons of beauty, art, and religion. This the stricter Jews or Hasidim resolutely refused to do. There was, however, a Hellenizing party at Jerusalem and to this party Antiochus resolved to lend all the power of his government. He sent to Jerusalem a mercenary leader called Apollonius, who dexterously made himself master of the town and garrisoned it with Macedonian troops. Then the king converted the temple of Jehovah into a temple of Zeus Olympius, whom Antiochus had formally identified with himself. As if that was not bad enough, the king had swine—a beast as hateful to the Jews as to the Musulmans—sacrificed on the old Jewish altar. At Samaria, the other Jewish religious centre, the king converted the temple of Jehovah into one of Zeus Xenios. Having thus treated the two biggest cities of Palestine, Antiochus turned his attention to the countryside. Throughout the villages his officers had instructions to preach the advantages of Hellenism and to kill those Jews, stupid enough—as a Hellene would say—to prefer death to a plate of pig's broth.

At first the country people suffered helplessly; but the Jews were a dangerous people to drive to despair. The popular fury grew and in due time a national leader stood forth in Mattathias. He was an inhabitant of Modin a few miles from Jerusalem and the head of a strictly orthodox family of Jews. One day the royal officers came to Modin to compel him and his relatives to sacrifice to Zeus in the Hellenic manner. Mattathias refused; and when a renegade Jew began to sacrifice, Mattathias lost all self-control. He ran at the renegade and killed him. Mattathias called on his sons and his kinsmen to follow him. Escaping to the mountains, Mattathias and his band retaliated on the Hellenes by brigandage and by killing those Jews who had abandoned their faith. The Jewish war of independence had begun (166 B.C.).

III

Mattathias was an old man and his frame could not support the fatigues of his new life. He died in the course of the same year (166 B.C.) at the remarkable age, if the author of the 1 Maccabees is to be believed, of a hundred and forty-six. His son Judas succeeded him; and because of the terrible blows that he struck at the Seleucids he was nicknamed Maccabaeus or the Hammer.

Antiochus IV did not realize the gravity of the rebellion. The Jews had never given any trouble to his predecessors. He could not imagine that they would ever face regular troops. On the other hand Antiochus had spent on his triumph at Antioch and on his subsequent improvident 'junketings' all the plunder that he had collected in Egypt. The Roman instalments were in arrears. They had either to be paid or a large number of senators must be bribed; either course cost money. He decided to send a force under his general Nicanor with one Gorgias as his second in command, to put down the Jewish rebels, while he himself went raiding into Persia, the land of his ancestors. Neither expedition prospered.

Judas Maccabaeus was a born general and he had with him six thousand men, all red-hot fanatics. He, moreover, knew the country far better than Nicanor or the royal guides. Nevertheless, Nicanor was so sure of victory that he fixed the price of his future Jewish captives at ninety for a talent. The price was so low that slave contractors flocked to his army. The Syrians encamped at Emmaus in the valley of Ajalon, before beginning the drive, that was to push the Jewish rebels out of the hills and into the Philistine plain. At Emmaus Nicanor learnt that Judas Maccabaeus was in the neighbourhood, planning an attack. He thought to upset the Jewish plans by a counter-offensive. One night he sent his second in command with an eighth of his force to surprise Judas' camp; but the country was on the side of the rebels. When Gorgias reached the Jewish head-quarters, Judas had received ample warning and had left them. Gorgias should at once have returned to Emmaus; but he stupidly led his force up and down the Judean hills without ever getting into touch with the enemy. When Judas realized that Gorgias was immobilizing his contingent by this aimless tramp, he made a sudden dash at dawn at the main Syrian army. Satisfied that Gorgias would destroy the rebels in their lair while the general and the rest of the army slept, Nicanor let himself be completely surprised. The Syrian losses were very heavy and Judas Maccabaeus got what the rebels most needed, namely arms and money. The beaten troops furnished the arms and the unlucky slave contractors the money.

The following year (165/164 B.C.) Lysias, whom Antiochus had, during his absence in Persia, made viceroy of Syria, resolved to move against the rebels with all the troops left in the kingdom. The author of 1 Maccabees relates in his fourth chapter a second great victory won by the Jews; but Bevan doubts whether they gained any substantial success. The question is unimportant. The sudden news of Antiochus' death fell like a bombshell and stopped all further fighting; for the new king Antiochus V was only nine years old.

It is outside the scope of this monograph to relate events that happened after the death of Antiochus IV. I shall, therefore, revert to that king's expedition into Persia. There had been a time when the mere appearance of Macedonian troops was enough to render Asiatic populations helpless with panic; but in recent years the reputation of the Macedonians as soldiers had greatly fallen. Magnesia had shown that the terrible phalanx could be overthrown without difficulty by the legion; and when Antiochus the Great had tried to restore his finances by plundering temples in Luristan, the native population had destroyed him and his army.

When Antiochus IV entered Persia and proposed to sack Persepolis in order to balance his budget, he got an unpleasant surprise. As the writer of the Maccabees puts it:

'About that time came Antiochus with dishonour out of the country of Persia.

'For he had entered the city called Persepolis, and went about to rob the temple, and to hold the city; whereupon the multitude running to defend themselves with their weapons put them to flight; and so it happened, that Antiochus being put to flight of the inhabitants returned with shame.' (2 Maccabees ix.)

Having failed to secure any treasure in Persepolis, Antiochus IV resolved to return to Jerusalem and undertake in person the chastisement of the rebels with the full power of the kingdom. On the way back, however, he was thrown out of his chariot and badly hurt. His wounds mortified and he died during the retreat. The epitaph given him by the Jewish chronicler is as follows:

'Thus the murderer and blasphemer having suffered most grievously, as he entreated other men, so died he a miserable death in a strange country in the mountains.'

My readers have now read my sketch of Antiochus' life. They will probably agree with me that he was not a monster after all. If he was not a good ruler, there have been many worse. Why then has he been so universally disliked? Why did the Jews hate him? He persecuted them, it is true, but his measures were mild as milk compared with the appalling cruelties of Nebuchadnezzar. Yet no Jew ever seems to have borne Nebuchadnezzar any malice. The reason seems to have been that as Ezekiel's and Jeremiah's prophecies show, they regarded Nebuchadnezzar as the blind instrument of God, sent to punish the Jews for their tolerance of foreign faiths in Palestine. But Antiochus Epiphanes was the Jews' own king; and when one bears in mind the Hebrew prophets' furious denunciations of Ahab and Athaliah, simply because they did not put to death all those who worshipped Baal and Astarte, one begins to understand Jewish hatred of a ruler, who not only encouraged foreign religions, but actually tried to root out the worship of Jehovah. Antiochus was moreover the first of a long list of persecutors and the Jews no doubt blamed him for the damnable activities of his many successors.

Why did the Christians so hate Antiochus? The only reason seems to be that he was abused in the Apocrypha, which has never been really separated from the Bible in Christian or at any rate Puritan thought.

Why did the Romans and Greeks so dislike Antiochus? They did not do so for the same reason as the Jews. On the contrary his baiting of that unfortunate people commended itself to Roman writers. Tacitus has observed, 'King Antiochus strove to remove their (Jewish) superstitions and to bestow on them Greek customs and in this way to lead this vilest of people to better things. He was stopped by the Parthian war.'¹ Roman writers seem to have disliked the king for his lack of dignity. The Roman aristocracy attached more importance to a grave demeanour than to anything else; and the more corrupt a senator, the more solemn was his appearance. The Greek writers Polybius and Diodorus wrote under the influence of Roman opinion and so came to the same conclusion. At the same time it must be admitted that Antiochus' antics would be thought outrageous even in a modernist 'Lido' party of to-day. Here is an account of the king's behaviour at one of his own banquets, as given by Polybius at chapter xxx, paragraph 26:

'At banquets, again, he stood himself at the entrance and led in some of the guests, and ushered others to their seats, himself leading in also the attendants who carried the dishes. Then he would walk round the room, occasionally sitting down and occasionally reclining; and then putting down, as the case might be, the cup or morsel that he was holding, he would jump up and change his place, going all round the banquet, accepting toasts standing from this man or that and making jokes about the music. Finally when the carouse had lasted a long time and many of the guests had left, the king, entirely wrapped up, was carried in by buffoons and put on the ground as if he were one of themselves. The band was given a signal, and the king would then jump up and dance and play the fool with the others, until all the guests ran away for very shame.'

There is a similar passage in Diodorus, Book xxxi. He adds, however, that when the king was unwrapped he stood up 'gumnos', i.e. stark naked. Monarchs who behave in this light and airy fashion cannot expect to get certificates of good conduct from any class of historian.

Nevertheless Christendom owes a deep and unexpected debt to this half-Persian prince. In their early history, indeed up to the captivity, the Jews had no idea of a future life. All they desired as a reward for virtuous conduct was a long life, health, wealth, and a large and flourishing family, e.g.:

'There shall be no more thence an infant of days nor an old man that hath not filled his days: for the child shall die a hundred years old. . . .

'And they shall build houses and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them.

¹ 'Rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Graecorum dare adniscus, quominus taeterimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est' (Tac. *Hist.* v. 8).

'They shall not build and another inhabit; they shall not plant and another eat: for as the days of a tree are the days of my people and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands.

'They shall not labour in vain nor bring forth for trouble; for they are the seed of the blessed of the Lord and their offspring with them.

'And Sharon shall be a fold of flocks and the valley of Achor a place for the herds to lie down in, for my people that have sought me.' (Isaiah lxxv. 20-23 and 10.)

At the close of the captivity the Jews as I have said came into friendly contact with the Persians. Now the Persians had always had, as the Parsees still have, a clear idea of resurrection, a divine judgement after death, and a future life. This belief was not at once adopted by the Jews, but it must have lain dormant. The persecutions of Antiochus IV made the hidden seed sprout. The Jews who had previously counted on divine rewards during this life, began to look for them after death. Indeed this was the only possible conclusion consistent with belief in an all-powerful Jehovah. Under Antiochus' rule no Jew, who adhered to his religion, could possibly get any reward in this life. He was lucky if he escaped ruin. Either, therefore, Jehovah was a feeble impostor or he gave the faithful their rewards in some future existence. Thus we find in the Book of Daniel, a work written in 164 B.C. shortly after the death of Antiochus:

'And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life and some to shame and everlasting contempt.

'And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.' (Daniel xii. 2 and 3.)

In the second book of the Maccabees written a few years later we find the following passage:

'And when he (Judas) had made a gathering throughout the company to the sum of two thousand drachmas of silver, he sent it to Jerusalem to offer a sin offering, doing therein very well and honestly, in that he was mindful of the resurrection:

'For if he had not hoped that they who were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead.

'And also in that he perceived that there was no great favour laid up for those that died godly, it was an holy and good thought. Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin.' (2 Maccabees xii. 43-45.)

The quarrel between the Jews and the descendants of Antiochus continued until the disappearance of the Seleucid dynasty, although Antiochus Sidetes patched it up temporarily with John Hyrcanus; and as the quarrel continued, the belief in a future life strengthened. Together with their belief came the expectation of a Messiah or Mahdi to announce its coming. This expectation may owe its birth to the expected advent of the three sons of Zoroaster and

Huovi. However this may be, the belief in the appearance of a Messiah was widely spread among the Jews at the time of Jesus Christ. This circumstance rendered possible Christ's success as a teacher; for he convinced his followers that he was the very Messiah for whom the Jews were waiting. Had there been no such expectation of the Messiah's advent, Christ's mission could hardly have succeeded. In other words Antiochus Epiphanes, this strange descendant of Achaemenian emperors, was all unwittingly one of the chief originators of Christianity.

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A NOTE ON THE SAKAS AND ZOROASTRIANISM

SEISTAN, the Saka land, plays a considerable role in the history of Zoroastrianism. According to tradition it was one of the two countries where the prophet first sought to promulgate his religion, and down to much more modern times many remains bear witness to the flourishing state of his faith.

It is not probable that the Sakas, whose name still remains in the geographical term, had come to Seistan in the days of Zoroaster. Professor Thomas has maintained that the 'Sakas beyond the sea' mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius were living on the Hāmūn, i.e. that Seistan was already then peopled by Sakas, but I agree with those scholars who hold that the 'Sea' of those records is the Caspian, and that the Saka invasion took place at a considerably later date.

Our oldest information about the Sakas is to the effect that they were scattered over a wide area, to the east of Sogdiana and the Caspian Sea, and on the Jaxartes. We read about them that they were nomads, and we know that some Saka tribes were involved in the great westward migrations which started in the second century B.C. To me it seems probable that they entered Seistan in consequence of these migrations, and at a somewhat later date they came to India and founded an empire there, which was further developed after the advent of another wave, headed by the Kushāṇas, among whom we can distinguish two dynasties, the Kadphises kings and the royal line of Kanishka.

I shall not, in this place, enter into a discussion of the various views about the origin and nationality of the Kushāṇas, but take it for granted that they were a Saka tribe. My reasons will be found in my edition of the Indian Kharoshthī inscriptions in vol. ii, Part i, of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.

We have no indication which points to the existence of Zoroastrianism among the Sakas before they came to Seistan, and it seems to me that we are justified in assuming that they were converted to the faith after they had settled there. Nor are we in possession of much information about their subsequent role in the history of Zoroastrianism. It is *a priori* possible that they tried to propagate their new religion among other Saka tribes and among peoples who had come under Saka domination in consequence of their wanderings and conquests.

I am not qualified to take up this question in all its bearings. My object in writing this short notice is only to draw attention to a few details which must be taken into account in this connexion.

The earliest Saka invaders of India seem to have come from Seistan, and if they had taken any interest in the propagation of Zoroastrianism we should expect to find some indications in the records they have left. Such is not, however, the case. Their coins and inscriptions point to the conclusion that they adapted themselves more or less to the religious conditions prevailing in their new home. The only religion which can be traced in their records is Indian Buddhism.

An examination of the documents of the first Kushāṇa rulers leads to

similar results. Kujūla Kadphises seems to have favoured Buddhism, while Wima Kadphises' coins characterize him as a *mahiśvara*, a worshipper of Śiva.

The state of affairs is apparently quite different when we turn to the second Kushāṇa dynasty, the royal house of Kanishka and his successors. On their coins we find representations of several Zoroastrian deities, with their names, and this fact might be taken to point to a certain influence exercised by Zoroastrianism. What we know about Kanishka is, however, to the effect that he had nothing to do with Zoroastrian propaganda, and that he extended his protection in the first line to Indian Buddhism. I entirely agree with Mr. Kennedy¹ that the pantheon of these coins, 'a pantheon perhaps without an equal, until Heliogabalus in his youthful extravagance assembled all the gods of the empire on the Capitol of Rome to do homage to the black stone of Emesa . . . had nothing to do with the religion of the Kushans.' In this connexion it is of interest that 'we have no representations of Ahura Mazda, or of fire-altars, or any other mark of official Zoroastrianism'.

Kanishka's coin legends are written in an Iranian language which is comparatively well known from a long series of manuscript fragments found in Chinese Turkestan, and which I now follow Professor Lüders in calling Saka. In the vocabulary of this tongue we might reasonably expect to find traces of Zoroastrianism, if that religion had played a role with the Sakas outside Seistan. Let us, therefore, examine the stray facts which might point in that direction.

One of the first Saka words which were identified was *gyastā*, which corresponds to Zend *yazata*. Here we apparently have a Zoroastrian term in the Saka language. The correspondence is, however, only formal, and the two terms do not cover the same idea. *Yazata* has, in the Avesta, a somewhat specialized meaning and might just as well be translated as 'angel'. Saka *gyastā*, on the other hand, is the regular translation of Sanskrit *deva*, a god, and we even, in an unpublished fragment of the Saṃghāṭasūtra, find the feminine *gyasta* used to render Sanskrit *devī*. Moreover, we find the word *gyaysnā*, from the same base, and used to translate Sanskrit *yajña*, and we can see from the context that a regular sacrifice is meant, because cattle (*pasā*, Tibetan *phyogs*) and a man were sacrificed to the goddess.

Such correspondence does not, accordingly, point to the existence of Zoroastrian notions among the Sakas. On the contrary, the Saka words have evidently retained their older meaning, while the corresponding Zend terms have been modified under the influence of Zoroaster's religion.

In a Saka text published by Professor Leumann, *Maitreya-samiti* (Strassburg, 1919), v. 129, we read about the state of things in the coming age of the Buddha Maitreya: when death approaches, man knows beforehand, proceeds to the *ulatāna*, lies down there and dies. The word *ulatāna* is not quite perspicuous. It evidently means the place where dead bodies are deposited. The final *tāna* is perhaps an addition of the same kind as in *kādātāna*, sin; but the first part, *ula*, is evidently the well-known adjective *ula*, high, Sanskrit *ūrdhva*. This term might accordingly lead us to think of

¹ J.R.A.S., 1912, pp. 1003 ff.

the Dakhma and of Zoroastrian customs. But then nobody is, I think, prepared to assert that the Dakhma is a Zoroastrian innovation. On the contrary, we have every reason for assuming that it goes back to pre-Zoroastrian times, so that the Saka term goes back to a remote antiquity and has nothing to do with Zoroaster's religion.

There remains one Saka word, where we seem to be on safer ground: *urmaysde*, which is certainly the Avestan *Ahura Mazda*. The word, however, presents some difficulties. In the first place, it has an entirely different inflection, the genitive being *urmaysdānā*, as if it were an *n*- and not an *s*- base. And, in the second, it does not mean the same thing as in the Avesta, but seems to be the usual word for 'sun'.

It is difficult to understand the semasiological development. There cannot be any doubt that we have to do with the Zoroastrian word. But with the Zoroastrians *Ahura Mazda* is not the sun. It is conceivable that *Ahura Mazda* had, in the popular mind, retained some traces of his predecessor, the great Ahura, the Indian Asura Varuṇa. Now it has often been maintained that the Indian gods Varuṇa and Mitra, and their Iranian counterparts, originally stood for the sun and the moon, Mitra representing the former and Varuṇa the latter. It might be urged that the Saka *urmaysde*, sun, points to an old connexion of the great Asura, the Indian Varuṇa, with the sun and not, as is usually assumed, with the moon. Such an assumption would, however, be a mere guess, without any support in ascertainable facts. Moreover, the association of the two Asuras with sun and moon is in my opinion certainly a later development. And, at all events, Saka *urmaysde*, sun, cannot be interpreted as an indication of Zoroastrian influence.

We find the same development as in Saka *urmaysde* in some of the Pamir dialects. We have Ishkashmi *rēmuz*, Zebaki *ōrmōzd*, sun. There can be little doubt about the connexion between Saka and the Pamir languages, and the correspondence in these words for 'sun' does not, in so far, add much to our knowledge. But it shows that the meaning 'sun' is not only found in literary sources, but has its base in the spoken language.

On the other hand, it is *a priori* likely that it is based on some misunderstanding. It is conceivable that the starting-point was the representation of Ahura Mazda floating in the skies, which we know from Zoroastrian art. But then the interpretation of this as representing the sun would point to tribes who were not themselves Zoroastrians. It becomes probable that we have to do with a loan word, adopted with a wrong meaning, and this assumption might find some support in the peculiar inflection of the Saka word.

What we can say with confidence is, however, that here also the state of things is the same as in the instances dealt with above. We have no indications to show that Zoroastrianism has played a role among the Sakas outside Seistan, or that the latter have made any attempt at propagating the religion which had, at an early date, found a home in their country among other Saka tribes.

THE INFLUENCE OF IRANIAN RELIGION UPON HELLENISTIC SYNCRETISM IN THE ORIENT

WHAT the armies of the Achaemenian kings failed to achieve in the days of Persian political supremacy, that the religion of Iran accomplished in the period of Macedonian and Roman hegemony, for it was by the infiltration of its religious beliefs into the West in Hellenistic times, that Persia gained a permanent place in, and made a positive contribution to, the life and thought of the European and Near Eastern world.

The chronicle of this peaceful penetration has not yet, and perhaps cannot yet be written. Many of its details remain *sub judice*, but the spheres of thought to which the contribution was made have by this time been clearly delineated. Of such spheres there are three, or if we include Christianity, where the Iranian influence seems to have come to bear indirectly, four. The one to which attention was first directed is that of Judaism. In this instance, the works of Darmesteter¹ and Scheftelowitz² to the contrary notwithstanding, it is quite generally agreed with Jackson,³ Carnoy,⁴ Moulton,⁵ Smith,⁶ and Moore,⁷ that just as the Persian policy of assisting religious minorities, attested to by the temple inscriptions of Asia Minor,⁸ produced there a corresponding interest in things Persian,⁹ so the re-establishment of Jewish religious and political identity by Cyrus and his successors will have abetted the development of the Jewish conceptions of deity, of the world of spirits, of man's place in the cosmic scheme and of the last things, along lines familiar to us and to them from the Persian religion.

The second sphere in which the influence of Iranian ideas seems destined to be found is that of Greek thought. In the more recent discussions the enthusiastic correlation of apparent similarities between Greek metaphysics and Mazdean speculation, such as characterized earlier works on the subject,¹⁰ has given way to a more mature consideration of the channels by which contact between these two great worlds of thought could have been established. Encouraged by Jaeger's interest in Eudoxos, an Asiatic contemporary of Plato, and a student of Iranian lore,¹¹ as well as by Goetze's attempt to show that the

¹ *The Zend-Avesta, Sacred Books of the East*, vol. iii, 1898, Introduction, pp. lvii-lx.

² *Die altpersische Religion und das Judentum*, 1920.

³ A. V. W. Jackson, art. Zoroastrianism, *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

⁴ Art. Zoroaster, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.

⁵ *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, 1902, pp. 514-27.

⁶ H. P. Smith, *Amer. Jour. Theol.*, 1910, pp. 337-60.

⁷ G. F. Moore, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, 1912, pp. 180-226.

⁸ Cf. the inscription giving Darius' rescript to the officials of the Temple of Apollo at Magnesia on the Maeander in Asia Minor, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, xiii. 529 f.

⁹ Cf. the Cappadocian inscription recording the marriage of the Semitic god Bel with the Iranian deity *Den-Mazdaïasnis*, the Iranian religion personified, Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris f. sem. Epigraphik*, i. 1, 1900, pp. 66-9.

¹⁰ L. H. Mills, *Zarathushtra and the Greeks*, 1905.

¹¹ W. Jaeger, *Aristoteles*, 1923, pp. 133 ff.

writer of the pseudohippocratean tract *de hebdomadibus*, whom Ilberg places in the medical school of Knidos,¹ used the Damdat Nask,² Reitzenstein has proceeded to construct a new basis for the relation of the Iranian tradition to both Hesiod's fourfold division of history and Plato's cosmic soul, the basis being Hesiod's paternal relationship to Asia Minor, where the amalgamation of Greek and Iranian ideas is thought to have been in progress, and Plato's dependance upon Eudoxos and upon the Pythagoreans.³

In neither of these two spheres does the present writer feel able to testify. There is, however, a third point of contact between East and West, that of Hellenistic Syncretism. Syncretism is a new field of study, new first because primary sources for the syncretistic faiths have become accessible in quantity only since 1900, and secondly because prior to Bousset's work upon the texts⁴ the key to the syncretistic maze in the form of a correct definition of Gnosticism, a definition which would recognize its independence of Christianity and the potency of its Oriental elements, was lacking. Due to intensive work upon the documents in Europe and America at least one form of syncretistic belief, Manicheism, has now been universally recognized as predominantly Iranian in character. The conclusions to which the study of Manicheism have led raises the question how much there may be of Iranian influence in the earlier Gnostic systems. To this phase of the problem of Iran and the West attention is here invited.

Iran, it would seem, has contributed to Gnosticism in helping to determine its fundamental philosophic point of view. Our syncretistic faiths frequently manifest a highly intensified type of dualism, accompanied either by a most rigid asceticism or by a violent libertinism. Its peculiarity is that it identifies what is ethically unconscionable with what is in substance inferior. This type of dualism which, needless to say, has no Semitic basis whatsoever, finds its complete explanation neither in the Greek contrast between the world of ideas and that of their material concretion, nor in the Zarathushtrian antithesis of ethical goodness and perversity. It would seem to represent, rather, a combination of the two, achieved by the meeting of the two most potent forces of Hellenistic civilization, Greek speculation, and Iranian religion. Such a combination, projected to explain the phenomena involved, would be most likely to arise in the districts of Syria and Mesopotamia, the actual centre of this double dualism and the only district where it was sufficiently potent to affect orthodox Christianity, in transforming the early Syrian Church into that peculiar ascetic community of the Bne Kyama to which Burkitt has called attention.⁵

A still more fascinating problem, and one in which the role of Iran is not so distinctly visible, is that of the conception relative to the heavenly origin and destiny of the soul. This conception appears not only among the Gnostics and

¹ This school connects with the Persian court and with the Pythagoreans of Italy through Demokedes, physician to Darius I.

² 'Persische Weisheit in griechischem Gewande', *Zeitschr. f. Indologie u. Iranistik*, ii, 1923, pp. 60-98, 167-177.

³ *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran u. Griechenland*, 1926.

⁴ *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, 1907.

⁵ *Early Eastern Christianity*, 1914.

among such earlier sects as the Essenes, but also in Judaism, where it wins a place for itself in the immediately pre-Christian centuries, and in Greek lands, where its first manifestation seems to coincide with the introduction of the Bacchic and Orphic type of religious experience. To connect it organically with the materialistic interpretation of life processes so characteristic of Semitic psychology is as impossible as to derive it from the idea of the shadow existence attributed to the Greek heroes by the Homeric epic. To say that it is fundamentally Thracian would be as incorrect as to call it broadly Arian. As it appears in Syncretism it has definitely Iranian associations, the associations of the soul's slumber, of its being awakened by the messenger of God and of its safe conduct to its heavenly home. Possibly we are dealing, in this instance, with a truly Iranian concept taken over bodily into Syncretism, possibly, too, with a conception that is fundamentally 'vorderasiatisch'.

In describing the divine and the demoniacal worlds Gnostics frequently employ Iranian figures and ideas. Though much has been made of the fact, we should not be inclined to connect the Gnostic tendency to group the persons of the *pleromata* into groups of 8 and 30 and 365 with the Iranian conception of a heavenly hierarchy composed of Ahura Mazda, the Amesha Spentas, and the 24 other powers of which Plutarch speaks,¹ and with the numerical value of the name *Meiθpas*. The reason is that the Iranian parallels are inexact and that numerical symbolism plays as great a part in Semitic thought as almost anywhere else.

Coming from the study of the Manichean texts Reitzenstein was much impressed by the role to which the Primal Man, a pale image of the Iranian Gayomaretan, aspires in Mani's system. This Iranian Primal Man he connected with the Mandeian Anosh and the Son of Man (literally, the man) of the Christian tradition.² As far as the Gospels are concerned, where broadly Hellenistic speculation has no determinative value and where even the Magi are little more than a gesture in the direction of the outside world, Reitzenstein's conclusions will require correction. Yet the Manichean Primal Man can, under the name Anthropos, be traced through a series of earlier syncretistic and gnostic faiths, and thus remains an Iranian element of Syncretism.³

Similar figures confront us in various places. In the Coptic Gnostic documents we meet again the same *παρθένος τοῦ φωτός*⁴ that plays such a role in Manicheism and that with Cumont we may well regard as a manifestation of the goddess Anahita.⁵ Here too we find a messenger *Zorokothora-Melchisedek*,⁶ no doubt a figure in which are combined Zarathushtra and the Priest of Salem. Similar identifications were in vogue in other syncretistic circles. Melito of Sardis speaks of Zarathushtra as being identified with, and worshipped under, the image of the God Hadran in Mabug.⁷ The Clementine Homilies⁸ and Epiphanius⁹ testify to a correlation of Zarathushtra and Nimrod,

¹ *De Is. et Osir.*, c. 46.

² *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, 1921.

³ Cf. my *Anthropos and Son of Man*, 1927.

⁴ C. Schmidt, *Koptisch Gnostische Schriften*, Griech. christl. Schriftsteller, xiii, 1905, p. 8, et al.

⁵ *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, i, 1908, pp. 61-5.

⁶ C. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 237, 8-9 et al.

⁷ *Corpus Apologetarum*, ix. 426.

⁸ Hom. ix. 4.

⁹ *Panarion*, ed. K. Holl, Griech. christl. Schriftsteller, xxv. 3, 2,

a similar identification with the biblical Seth being presupposed in other sources.¹

Next to Manicheism the one Gnostic faith most clearly demonstrative of the influence of Iranian ideas upon Syncretism is that of the Mandeans. These Mandeans, in all probability a Palestinian sect of the late first or early second Christian century that was later transferred to Mesopotamia, went through a series of religious transformations. The latest of the transformations, apparent in the 'Lichtkönigslehre' of certain Ginza texts, is undoubtedly the result of the acceptance of Zervanistic doctrine.² Whether these Zervanistic influences came to the Mandeans by way of the Manicheans cannot be ascertained. The possibility exists, for other echoes of Manichean teaching can be found in the Mandeans' superimposition of a canon of twice five elements over an earlier one of twice two,³ and possibly also, though at this point we are inclined to doubt, in the idea that the heavenly saviour is the image of the soul.⁴

Prior to their late acceptance of Zervanistic monotheism, which must have aided them materially in obtaining toleration from the Mohammedans, the Mandeans had a dualistic outlook. Such Mandaean echoes of Iranian religious belief as have no direct parallel in Manicheism may well belong to the Mandaean theology of this earlier period. It is in the fields of soteriology and eschatology that the most important contributions seem to have been made to the Mandeans at this time by Iran. In soteriology these contributions are evident from the names *padibra*,⁵ *parwanqa*,⁶ and *yawar*⁷ applied to the saviours, as well as in the statement that the messengers Hibil, Shithil, and Anosh, the biblical antediluvians in the guise of heavenly genii, are none other than *Muhur*, *Rush*, and *Rasht*, the Iranian Mithra, Sraosha, and Rashnu.⁸ These messengers rescue the soul from the demons whom the Mandeans prefer to call *daiwa*,⁹ and sometimes style *pathikra*.¹⁰ The influence of Iran upon the sacramental practices of the Mandeans, particularly in the reception of the sacred drink and in the form of the baptismal liturgy has recently received extensive treatment at the able hands of Reitzenstein.¹¹

Particular interest must attach, in this connexion, to the Mandaean doctrine of the future life. Not only is the soul accompanied after death by heavenly guardians who clothe her in celestial raiment, as in Manicheism and in the Vendidad,¹² but her experiences include the passage of a bridge similar to the Cinvat-bridge of the Persians. An interesting passage from the Mandaic *Book of John* can be quoted apropos of this idea in Lidzbarski's translation:

'Meine Auserwählten. Liebet die Almosenspende und liebet den Sonntag, damit ihr (der Seele) eine Brücke über das Meer gelegt werde. Eine

¹ Bousset, op. cit., pp. 278-382.

² Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, 1889, pp. 39-48 and 194.

³ *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*, ed. Lidzbarski, ii, 1915, p. 56.

⁴ *Ginza*, ed. Lidzbarski, 1925, p. 559, 29-32; cf. the Manichean 'maiden in the likeness of the soul', An Nadim, *Fihrist*, in Flügel, *Mani*, 1862, p. 100, who is probably the *daena* of Yasht xxii. 1-36, and cf. further Dr. Jal C. Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, 1926, pp. 46-7.

⁵ *Ginza*, p. 70, 14.

⁶ *Johannesbuch*, ii. 117.

⁷ *Mandäische Liturgien*, ed. Lidzbarski, 1920, p. 281, and Brandt, op. cit., p. 32.

⁸ *Ginza*, p. 284, 14 and note 4.

⁹ *Liturgien*, p. 22, 1 et al.

¹⁰ *Ginza*, p. 277, 36.

¹¹ *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe*, 1929.

¹² xix. 96 f.

Brücke soll ihr über das Meer gelegt werden an dessen Ufer tausend mal tausend stehen. Tausend mal tausend stehen an dessen Ufer doch von tausend wird nur einer hinübergelassen.¹

Beyond the bridge the soul meets Abatur, whose name signifies 'the man with the scales',² and who true to the Iranian prototype, whose name he bears in one passage of the *Ginza*,³ weighs the soul in the balance over against her deeds and their reward,⁴ before passing her through the heavenly gate.

Perhaps the few details thus recorded will illustrate the fact of Iranian influence upon Hellenistic Syncretism. What significance shall we attribute to this fact? It would undoubtedly be incorrect to assume that Oriental Syncretism in Hellenistic times is a direct product of the infiltration of Iranian ideas into a Semitic world of thought. Not all earlier Gnostic faiths are as close to Iranian religious belief as that of the Mandaeans. The farther we move geographically from Mesopotamia the more insignificant the contributions of Iran become.

Gnosticism shows us the Semitic peoples exchanging their stolid, conservative, tribal, cultic, and formal view of religion for one that is restless, flighty, individualistic, intellectual, and fantastic. There is nothing in the religion of Iran by which we could motivate this change, nor would the Semite, if left to himself, have given rise to this metamorphosis. As long as Persia, with its policy of religious and cultural *laissez-faire* controlled the Orient, the Semite was left to his own resources, changes in his religious point of view coming about only very gradually. When the Persians gave way to Alexander and the Diadochoi the Semites came into contact with rulers of a different type, with cultural propagandists. Now the keynote of Greek life and culture is the ideal of freedom and self-expression. Therefore we must assume that just as the political anarchy of the late Seleucid and early Roman Orient is the direct result of the political application of the Greek ideal of freedom, so Gnosticism and Syncretism, by reason of their anarchical features, represent the application of the same ideal to religious matters. The ultimate cause for the rise of Oriental Syncretism must then be found not in Iran but in the liberating influence of the Greek ideal.

If, in spite of this fact, we none the less find Iran contributing mightily to the structure of Gnostic thought, the reason will need to be found in the beneficent influence exerted by the Persians over the Semitic peoples of the Near East in the days before Alexander, in the continued contact between Persia and the Seleucid successors of the great Macedonian, in the rational character of much of Iranian religious belief and in its supremacy over the more naïve and unreflective tribal faiths of later Syria and Mesopotamia.

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¹ *Johannesbuch*, pp. 102-3.

² *Rashna uRasht, Ginza*, p. 284, 11.

² *Ibid.*, pp. xxix-xxx.

⁴ *Liturgien*, p. 82, 6-11.

SOME BABYLONIAN AND IRANIAN MYTHOLOGY IN THE SEVENTH CHAPTER OF DANIEL

IT was recognized years ago by H. Gunkel that the first part of the vision of Daniel vii, which describes the four animals issuing forth from the sea, is ultimately based on the oriental creation myth of which the classic embodiment is the Tiamat myth of Babylon.¹ The primitive mind views the change of seasons not as we do, in the light of a process of nature, but mythologically as a combat between powers of chaos and darkness and the god of light. Hence chaotic phenomena in the sphere of history can also be depicted as a reign of terror on the part of the primeval monsters. This view governs the mind of the author of the seventh chapter of Daniel. It is interesting to observe that the great primeval monster has been divided into four separate monsters. This must be due to the influence of the Iranian theory of four ages of history as held by Daniel.² Such a combination could proceed quite readily from the pessimistic view of the past in Daniel, according to which the oriental imperialism whether Babylonian, Median, Persian, or Greek, was looked upon as the great foe of God. The peculiar conception of a winged lion, and a panther with four wings and head goes back to the imaginary hybrid monsters that are found in oriental art since earliest times and probably originated in Elam. The materials of this first part of the vision are therefore the Tiamat myth, the hybrid monster conception, and the idea of four ages of history.

Now the Tiamat myth is the great New Year's myth. The Epic of creation which records it was composed as a cult legend for the Babylonian Akitu festival. The underlying idea of this festival is the recreation of the earth, which is brought about magically by the religious rites. Marduk defeats Tiamat now, spring conquers winter. The most important constructive act, aside from this actual victory, is the determination of the fates. This takes place, to use Nebuchadnezzar's words, 'in the Duku, the place of the determination of fates in Ubshukkina (the hall of assembly) where, at the New Year's festival on the eighth and eleventh day, the king of the gods of heaven and earth takes his seat while the gods of heaven and earth reverently worship him, kneel down and then stand in his presence, while he here decides the fate of distant days, the fate of life.'³ The myth's account of the primeval 'determination of fates' is re-enacted in the Esagila temple at Babel. The images of the gods were properly set up in the sacred chapel of the temple. The epic represents the gods as sitting down, feasting and drinking and then fixing the fates.

Has this great central idea of the New Year festival any counterpart in the

¹ Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, 1894.

² Cp. Dinkart, ix. 8. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, iv; *Sacred Books of the East*, xxxvii, and Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii, 1925, pp. 190 f.

³ Cf. Langdon, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, p. 126, ii. 54 f., and especially Zimmern, *Das Babylonische Neujahrsfest*, 1926.

vision of Daniel vii? It may be noted that the second part of Daniel's vision introduces us to a celestial scene

'I watched until
All of a sudden thrones were set up
And an ancient of Days did sit.'

Why 'thrones' in the plural when there is only one to occupy a seat? The fact that these 'thrones' do not appear again in the narrative shows that there was a previous stage of the narrative where a plurality of thrones did have a significance. What else is this than the scene in the *Duku* where the many gods are seated with minute attention given to their station and rank? The monotheistic author simply forgot to obliterate this last trace of the pagan origin of his material. In the reference to the 'ministering thousands' we may also find an echo of the ministering of the gods to Marduk, for this of course is the meaning of the Babylonian phrase 'stand before'. From this angle of a determination of the fates the character of the scene in v. 9 f. becomes quite lucid; if we read that the books are opened and that after the fourth beast had been slain, the rest of the beasts have their dominion taken away and the length of their life fixed to the day and the hour, it is evident that we have here the exact equivalent of the fixing of the fates of distant days by Marduk. The case of the fourth beast which is slain and burned stands somewhat apart, it is true, from the general scheme. It may be that an eschatological element creeps into the vision at this point. Meyer supposes that the Zoroastrian idea of the slaying and burning of the serpent-like demon Azi in connexion with the great judgement is responsible for this particular incident of the vision.¹ Since the figure of the 'Ancient of Days' is clearly fashioned after the Persian Ahura-mazda, this explanation is not impossible though it is regarded as improbable by Montgomery.² One might also assume, however, that in the description of the fate of the fourth beast a more original idea of the victory of the hero (in this case the 'one like of son of man') has been intentionally altered by the Jewish author in order to remove all militant notions from the person of the Messiah (cf. below), and to make the hope of the Kingdom of God strictly supernatural.

A third great element of the Babylonian festival was the enthronization of the God of Babylon. In fact it is the result of his victory over Tiamat and the basis also of his presiding over the rest of the gods in the chamber of the fates. Marduk's sovereignty, in turn, is reflected in the sovereignty of the king of Babel over the other city-states of Babylonia. The king received his authority directly from Marduk at the New Year's festival succeeding his accession. As in Egypt the king-drama is basically related to the god-drama. It seems to me that this gives us the key to the last scene of the vision of Daniel vii. The 'one, like a son of man', is brought before the deity to be appointed to his office.

'To him was given dominion
and glory and sovereignty
And all peoples, nations and languages
him do they serve.'

¹ Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

² Montgomery, *Internal. Crit. Commentary*, 1927, p. 298.

What else is this than an enthronization rite? The kingship is conferred upon a certain individual. The objection will be made at once that v. 27 identifies the Son of Man with 'the people of the saints of the most high'. The author, however, has described the saints of the most high as being in conflict with the fourth beast prior to the arrival of the Ancient of Days. How then can they be incorporated a second time in the newly arriving Son of Man? Furthermore, according to v. 17 the beasts represented four kings (not kingdoms) and hence their conqueror, too, ought to be a king. Then, too, the arrival of the Son of Man on the clouds of heaven makes the collective interpretation incongruous; a people cannot come from heaven, but a god, angel, or hero can. Finally, there is the evidence of the Book of Enoch where the Messianic interpretation is indubitable. Hence we may assert with confidence that the one like a Son of Man is imagined as an individual personage: the king who is to be the ruler of the future Hebrew commonwealth.

But to revert again to the question: what did the Son of Man figure mean before it was looked upon as the Messiah? The general celestial scene would indicate that it originally represented a divine or semi-divine personage. Meyer thinks it was derived from the angel Sraosha, the genius of religion that slays the demon Aeshma, fused with the saviour Saoshyant, the scion of Zoroaster.¹ He comes to this conclusion because he connects the scene primarily with the world-judgement idea. But in our opinion this vision is chiefly constructed on the basis of the Babylonian New Year's myth. The fact that the Son of Man figure receives the dominion from the deity reminds one, indeed, of the conferring of the Sovereignty upon the Babylonian king. But since the king-drama, as already stated, is a replica of the god-drama, and since the god-drama is more apt to be carried about in the guise of a floating myth, it would be more probable to assume that the Son of Man figure has its prototype in that of Marduk, not, indeed, the Marduk of the proud Chaldean days, but rather of a later age. In other words we must infer the existence of a Marduk myth that was adjusted to Persian environment and in which Ahuramazda, who has replaced Marduk as chief god, conferred upon the latter the sovereignty over Babylonia.

But under this supposition the name 'son of man' seemingly remains an enigma. The question is: does it belong to the original myth or is it a designation given by the author of Daniel? On the basis of the former assumption Carl H. Kraeling has argued that the title goes back to the Iranian Gayomart, who was fused with the Marduk figure in Babylonia and became a primeval champion.² This hypothesis, which has been carefully wrought out on the basis of extensive studies in Mandaean and Manichean literature, seems far preferable to that espoused by Meyer. But the possibility still exists that the designation 'manlike one' was not of foreign origin, but rather a new Jewish formulation. There is one circumstance favourable to this latter view, viz. the arrival of this individual on the clouds of heaven. This motif seems to presuppose the idea of a translation. Thus Moses and Elias can reappear on earth because they were taken away in supernatural fashion, and Jesus, too,

¹ Meyer, op. cit. 199.

² C. H. Kraeling, *Anthropos and Son of Man*, 1927.

comes back on the clouds of heaven, because he departed from the earth in this fashion. The title 'one like a son of man' might then simply point to *the previous earthly life* of this celestial figure, i.e. the idea of the David redivivous, but in a vague, non-dynastic form.

Daniel vii is thus of composite character. The trail of some of these materials leads eastward to Babylonia and Iran, and affords us a vivid insight into the fusion of mythologies that must have taken place in the Euphrates valley in the late Persian and early Greek periods.

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THE 'DAĒNĀ' IN THE GATHAS

AMONG the great religions of the world Zoroastrianism is by far the first to have developed a word denoting the full conception of Religion, as we understand it now, in the sense of a theological, ethical and liturgical, combined system. The word 'Religion' itself has been derived from the Latin *religio*, which had originally a much more limited meaning, and does not seem to have obtained the more universal sense before the fifth century of our era. In ancient Greek and in Syriac, for example, we only find such words as 'worship', 'creed', or 'law' denoting the several aspects of the Christian religion, nor does Judaism or Buddhism seem to have grasped in one word the full meaning and value of what we nowadays call a religion.

Zoroastrianism, on the contrary, has in the Avestan texts the word *daēnā*, which in that early period was already used for the whole of the religion of Zoroaster. In the middle-Persian period this meaning is still more accentuated, until, in modern Persian, *dīn* has become—not without influence from the language of the Qur'ān—the common word for 'religion'. It is also of high importance that since the third century Manichaeism and since the seventh century Islam have adopted the same word in their vocabulary, in the same sense.

The passing of the word, however, into the religious language of other creeds has given it an extension, which it did not as yet possess with the Zoroastrians themselves. In the middle-Persian period, *dēn* was only used with reference to the religion of Zoroaster, other religions being denoted by the word *keš* (Av. *ṭkaēša*), as, for example, in the 'Mēnōkē xrat'. On the other hand, *dēn* has in middle-Persian still other meanings, the most important of which is that of 'revelation' or 'scripture'. And if we go back to the Avestan texts themselves, we meet still other significations that must be attributed to the word *daēnā*.

Now there already exists a very considerable literature on this word, and the generally prevailing opinion nowadays is still that given in Bartholomae's *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *daēnā*. Bartholomae's view is that we must distinguish between two totally different meanings of *daēnā*, namely, that of 'religion' and that of 'spiritual individuality' ('inneres Wesen, geistiges Ich, Individualität') and that, as long as a nearer relation between these different meanings cannot be proved, we have to accept the existence of two different but homophonous words. Bartholomae admits, however, that both words may have been originally identical, while he points to the fact that in metrical texts *daēnā* is trisyllabical in both cases (Andreas in *Nachr. K. G. d. Wiss.* Göttingen, 1911, p. 16, gives the reconstruction *dōyonō*). The acceptance of two different meanings for *daēnā* does not go back, however, to the middle-Persian tradition, as the Pahlavi translation of Avestan texts always renders the word by *dēn*, but the later philological study of those texts has shown that it is impossible everywhere to apply the translation 'religion'. The interpretation by 'spiritual individuality' in a certain number of passages

is largely due to the fragments of the Hadhokht Nask, in which the 'daēnā' is represented as a woman who meets the soul after death in the shape of a beautiful young girl or of an old hag. A very instructive discussion about some of the later views concerning the 'daēnā' is to be found on pp. 28-9 of Dr. Pavry's book on *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, 2nd ed., New York, 1929.¹

The purpose of the present note is to inquire into the meaning which the word *daēnā* may have had in the oldest extant part of the Avesta, viz. in the Gathas, without regard for the later texts. Such an attempt may be justified firstly by the consideration that there are several terms and expressions which have a different meaning in the Gathas from that in the later Avesta, except in so far as these later texts contain quotations from the Gathas. An instance of this occurrence is the word *gaēvā*, which, in the Gathas and some later Avestan texts, means just as in ancient Persian, 'the material possessions of man', while, exclusively in later texts, it has the sense of 'world', in which case it is used in the plural. Another instance is *dāman*, which in the Gathas means a 'living place' and, in the later Avesta, a 'creature' or in general 'creation'. Both instances show a passing from a concrete to a more or less abstract meaning. This leads to the second justification of the attempt to find a more original meaning of *daēnā* in the Gathas, namely, that the conception of 'religion', occurring in certain religious texts, is probably of a later date than the origin of that religion itself, just as has been shown above with some examples.

The theses which will be defended here with regard to the problem exposed are the following:

- (a) that in the Gathas *daēnā* is everywhere the same word;
- (b) that the oldest meaning of *daēnā* is 'a group of persons', 'a faction' or 'a crowd'.

In this inquiry all etymological arguments, such as the comparison with Vedic *dhenā* (vide Bloomfield in *JAO.*, vol. xlv, No. 4, pp. 303-8) and with Lithuanian *daina*, and also the derivation of the word from a verbal root (generally the root *dāy-* is accepted) have been excluded. Likewise all arguments, with few exceptions, have been drawn from the text of the Gathas.

The Gathic stanzas, where the word *daēnā* occurs, are the following: Y. xxxi. 11, 20; xxxiii. 13; xxxiv. 13; xlv. 9, 10, 11; xlv. 2, 11; xlv. 6, 7, 11; xlviii. 4; xlix. 4, 5, 6, 9; li. 13, 17, 19, 21; liii. 1, 2, 4, 5; and we may add to it the well-known prayer of Y. liv. 1. In the reading of the texts the text-form of Bartholomae in his *Air. Wb.* has been followed.

To begin with it is easy to state that the verbs with which *daēnā* is connected as subject all give expression to actions exercised by human beings: Y. xxxi. 20 (*naēsaṭ* 'will bring'); xxxiv. 13 (*urvaṣṣaṭ* 'walk'); xlv. 11 (*xraodaṭ* 'will frighten'); xlix. 9 (*vahištē yūfēn miždē* 'will acquire the best reward'); li. 13 (*marədaītē . . . haiθīm* 'spoils . . . the reward'); liv. 1 (*vairim hanaṭ miždem* 'deserves the precious reward'). In other Avestic passages all these verbs are used in preference for living persons. Less convincing, though not at all contradictory, are the instances where *daēnā* is the object of a verb:

¹ See lastly the remarks of H. S. Nyberg in *Le Monde Oriental*, vol. xxiii (1929), p. 235.

xxxi. 11 (*tašō* 'have created'); xxxiii. 13 (*daēnā fradaṣṣayā* 'teach the *daēnās*'); xliv. 9 (*yam yaoš daēnəm [yaoz]dānē* 'the *daēnā* which I will make perfect'); xlv. 6 (*hyaṭ daēnā . . . dā* 'since thou hast created *daēnās*', cf. Y. xxxi. 11); xlix. 5 (*yā daēnəm vohū sāreštā mananhā* 'who joins the *daēnā* with a good mind'); xlix. 6 (*ərəš vičidyāi . . . təm daēnəm* 'to choose rightly that *daēnā*'); liii. 2 (*yam daēnəm ahurō saošyantō dadāt* 'the *daēnā* of the Saošyant, which Ahura has instituted'). Thirdly there are passages where *daēnā* is used in connexion with words which imply that it must have, there also, the sense of human beings: xliv. 10 (*təm daēnəm yā hātəm vahištā* 'the *daēnā* that is the best of existing beings'; Bartholomae's translation 'die Religion, die für die Seienden die beste ist' is not grammatical); xlv. 7 (*təm mōi dastvəm daēnayāi fravaoča* 'preach that teaching to my *daēnā*'); liii. 1 (*daēnayā vaphuyā uxδā šyaoθanāča* 'with the saying and the acting of the good *daēnā*'); liii. 4 (*hanhuš . . . mazdā dadāt ahurō daēnayāi* 'may Ahura Mazda give the reward to the *daēnā*').

So the *daēnā* is something that is the best of existing beings, to which sayings and actions are attributed, that walks, which can be preached to, which is taught something, that may be rewarded, that may be chosen, that may be made perfect, that can frighten, and that is created. It is true that these statements may not yet be regarded as conclusive for the view that *daēnā* denotes one or more human beings, because the character and the language of the Gathas admit a rather wide fluctuation in the meaning of some words, which must make us cautious. We see, for example, that the term *vohū manō*, which certainly does not originally contain the meaning of a human being, is used sometimes as equivalent for the religious man and the religious community (cf. A. J. Carnoy, 'The Character of Vohū Manah', in *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Professor Edward G. Browne*, Cambridge, 1922, p. 96). In the case of *daēnā*, however, the arguments in favour of a meaning denoting human beings are more numerous.

But there are two passages in the Gathas which seem to exclude every doubt. Y. xlix. 4, after having described in its first two lines the evil-doers, who are the enemies of cattle-breeding, concludes by saying: *tōi daēvōng dan yā dragvatō daēnā*. Bartholomae's translation: 'die—in der Daeva Haus für das Ich des Druggenossen' is little convincing. If, on the contrary, we translate 'those, the faction of the Drug-adherer, constitute (or 'favor') the Daevas', the text gains considerably in clearness. The second passage is Y. xlv. 11. Here the first three lines describe the pious people who will despise the Daevas; lines 4 and 5 continue: *saošyantō dēng patōiš spəntā daēnā* (4) *urvaθō brātā ptā vā mazdā ahurā* (5). If taken as the predicate of the foregoing words, this may be translated: '(those are) the holy faction of the Lord Saošyant, (his) friend, brother or father, O Mazda Ahura'. It must be admitted that this text is a little less clear than that of Y. xlix. 4, but the enumeration of several persons who belong to the *daēnā* justifies again the taking of *daēnā* as a group of persons. Bartholomae's translation: 'des gebietenden Herrn heilige Daena wird (ihm) Freund, Bruder oder Vater sein' seems in any case more artificial.

In the two foregoing passages mention is made of two different *daēnās*, that of the pious and that of the wicked, which is entirely in agreement with the social and religious sphere in which the Gathas must have been composed. This explains several terms with which *daēnā* is combined in the Gathas. The 'good faction' is evidently meant where *daēnā* is preceded by the adjective *vanuhī*, as in Y. li. 17 and liii. 1, to which may be added Y. xlv. 10, where the *daēnā* is *hātqm vahištā*. Also the passages where the *daēnā* is connected with the Saošyant, as in Y. xxxiv. 13; xlv. 11; and liii. 2; it is significant that Bartholomae's translation of the first two of these—all three of which apparently belong to the same order of thought—renders *daēnā* by 'individuality' and in the third by 'religion'. In Y. li. 17, likewise, the rightly chosen faction (*ərəš vičidyāi*) is meant, which is Ahura Mazda's *daēnā*, while the texts of Y. xlv. 9, 11; xlv. 7; xlix. 5, 9; liii. 4; and liv. 1 prove that here also the good faction is spoken of. The faction of the wicked (*dragvatō daēnā*) is mentioned in Y. xlix. 4 and li. 13, while Y. xxxi. 20 and xlv. 11 clearly show that this same faction is meant.

There are a few passages where *daēnā* is apparently not used in a good or in a bad sense, but refers to groups of human beings in general. Amongst these Y. xxxi. 11 and xlv. 2, where *daēnā* stands in the plural form, refer to the general order of things in the world. Y. xxxi. 11 (*hyaṭ nō mazdā paourvīm gaēθāscā tašō daēnāscā*) uses *daēnā* in combination with *gaēθā*, which two conceptions form together the existent world: 'material goods and human crowds.' And these crowds are already represented as divided into two kinds of groups in Y. xlv. 2, where the good spirit speaks to the evil one: 'There is no agreement between our minds, our teachings, our desires, our convictions, our sayings, our actions, our factions (*daēnā*) nor our souls'. In this passage *daēnā* is used in an enumeration at the side of *šyaobanā* and *uxdā*, which is also the case in Y. li. 21 (*hvō čišti uxdāiš šyaobanā daēnā ašm spənvat*). It is probable that in these places *daēnā* is to be considered as an expression for the crowd of followers or adherents of a person whose views and especially whose religious views they sustain. In Y. xlviii. 4 there seems to be a similar relation between *daēnqm* and *šyaobanācā vačanphācā*, but the correct interpretation of this text presents difficulties. Equally the somewhat dark passages Y. li. 19 and liii. 5, where the instrumental case of *daēnā*, once in the singular and once in the plural, is used with a derivative of the verbal root *vaēd-*, 'to know', might be interpreted by giving to *daēnā* the sense of group or groups of adherents. A similar interpretation might be given to the already cited passage of Y. xxxiv. 13, where *daēnā* is also used in the plural, so that we may render *daēnā saošyantqm* by 'the crowds that follow the Saošyants'.

The only passage which is seemingly in contradiction with the view that *daēnā* means a group of followers is Y. xlv. 11 (*yaēibyō mazdā θwōi vašyetē daēnā*), which must be translated, according to Bartholomae, by 'denen deine Religion verkündet wird'. The form *vašyetē*, however, does not occur anywhere else and belongs in Bartholomae's interpretation to the rare passive verbal forms (cf. Reichelt, *Avestisches Elementarbuch*, § 615). If, however, *vašyetē* belongs at all to the root *vak-* there does not seem to exist any strong

objection to rendering the passage by 'who are called thy *daēnā*', in favour of which view several other passages may be pointed out where forms of the root *vak-* have the sense of 'to be called' (*Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1331).

If the preceding remarks about the original meaning of the word *daēnā* contain some truth, it remains to be explained how the word has acquired in post-Gathic times the sense of 'religion'. For this we can start from the use of *daēnā* in the Gathas in a favourable sense, as the '*vanuhī daēnā*' or the '*daēnā* of Ahura Mazda', who must have constituted the first group of adherents to the prophet Zoroaster's teachings. They formed together the primitive Zoroastrian church and it is certainly not too hazardous to assume that a word meaning 'church' has obtained the meaning of the religion followed by the members of that church. In some passages of the later Avesta the meaning 'church' may very well be maintained, especially in the often recurring combination *daēnā māzdayasniš*.¹

An interesting sidelight is perhaps thrown on the congregational character of the first Zoroastrian communities by a passage in the first book of Herodotus, where this author describes the religious customs of the Persians. In chapter 132 we read: *ἐωντῶ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἰδίῃ μοίνῃ οὐ οἱ ἐγγίνεται ἀρᾶσθαι ἀγαθὰ, ὁ δὲ τοῖσι πᾶσι τε Πέρσησι κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῷ βασιλείῃ· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ᾗπασι Πέρσησι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται.*

'But the sacrificer is not allowed to ask for goods only for himself, but he prays for the good of all the Persians and of their king, for he belongs also himself to all the Persians.' This passage of Herodotus gains more importance from the recent studies of Professor Herzfeld, who has put forward many arguments to prove that Zoroaster lived in the time of King Darius I and that the Achaemenians certainly followed Zoroaster's teachings (*Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, herausgegeben von Ernst Herzfeld*, Bd. I, Heft 2, Berlin, 1929, pp. 76 sqq.). Herodotus' words, then, show us one of the liturgical functions of the *daēnā* of Zoroaster.

It is less easy to find an explanation for the curious meaning which *daēnā* has in the eschatological fragments of the Hadhokht Nask. One might venture to combine these texts with the Gathic passages Y. xlix. 4 and xlv. 11, which imply that there is a dwelling place for the *daēnā* of the wicked as well as for the *daēnā* of the righteous. Now in the Hadhokht Nask this *daēnā* may have been personified under the influence of foreign eschatological conceptions; a careful reading of the text shows that it is not necessary to assume that it is every time a different girl who meets the soul of the deceased. The word *χ^ναῖπαῖθε-τανῶ*, which only occurs in this place, does not necessarily imply that the apparition is his personal *daēnā*, for it may be simply a paraphrase of the preceding reflexive pronoun *hava*, so that the meaning would be the *daēnā* to which the righteous man himself belongs. The text is in any case more recent than Gathic times; this is also proved by the description of the *daēnā*-girl in words that properly belong to the description of the goddess

¹ In a Manichaean middle-Persian document (S.W. dial.) the word *dēnā* is likewise rendered by 'Gemeinde' in Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, Berlin, 1926, p. 60 (*Abh. pr. Ak. Wiss.* 1926, Phil. Hist. Kl. Nr. 4).

Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā. It may even be doubted whether the compiler of the Hadhokht Nask texts had yet a full understanding of the Gathic passages.

There exist in the Gathic language a few other words which have been interpreted by a sense kindred to that of 'religious community'. The word *maga* (only Gathic), in Geldner's interpretation—followed by Bartholomae—means 'Bund, Geheimbund' (cf. also *magavan*), especially with regard to the religious community of Zoroaster; A. J. Carnoy, however, has put forward arguments to prove that the real meaning of *maga* is 'wealth' (*Muséon*, 1908, p. 132). As to the word *sar-*, this term has more the function of a verbal noun and means 'uniting', 'communion', and never conveys the idea of human beings. So it seems that there is really place in the Gathas for a word denoting the group of adherents of Zoroaster and his teachings, and the interpretation here proposed of *daēnā* may perhaps contribute at the same time to the better understanding of the social and religious surroundings in which the prophet lived and taught.

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THE NORIA OR PERSIAN WHEEL

IN his *Systema Agriculturae, The Mystery of Husbandry Discovered* (2nd ed. London, 1675, p. 18), J. W. Gent has the following notice on the Persian wheel:

'The most considerable and universal is the Persian wheel, much used in Persia, from whence it hath its name, where they say there are two or three hundred in a river, whereby their grounds are improved extraordinarily. They are also much used in Spain, Italy, and in France, and is esteemed the most facile and advantageous way of raising water in great quantity to any altitude within the diameter of the wheel, where there is any current of water to continue its motion; which a small stream will do, considering the quantity and height of the water you intend to raise. This way, if ingeniously prosecuted, would prove a very considerable improvement; for there is very much land in many places lying near to rivers that is of small worth, which if it were watered by so constant a stream as this wheel will yield, would bear a good burthen of hay, where now it will hardly bear corn. How many acres of land lie on the declining sides of hills by the rivers sides, in many places where the water cannot be brought unto it by any ordinary way? Yet by this wheel placed in the river or current, and a trough of boards set on tresles to convey the water from it to the next place of near an equal altitude to the cistern, may the land be continually watered so far as is under the level of the water. Also there is very much land lying on the borders of rivers that is flat and level, yet neither doth the land-floods overflow the same, or at most but seldom; nor can the water be made by any obstruction thereof, or such-like way to overflow it. But by this Persian Wheel placed in the river in the nearest place to the highest part of the land you intend to overflow, therewith may a very great quantity of water be raised. For where the land is but little above the level of the water, a far greater quantity of water, and with much more facility may be raised, than where a greater height is required; the wheel easier made, and with less expence.'

Gent offers a good woodcut of the Persian wheel, and his account goes to show that in the latter part of the seventeenth century no better method of raising water for irrigation purposes was known in Europe. The term 'Persian wheel' is still used in English in the same sense, and is registered as such in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

The Persian wheel is familiar to us under the name *noria*, which we adopted from the Spaniards. The latter, on their part, received it from the conquering Arabs. The consensus of opinion is that the word is based on Arabic ناعورة *nā'ūra* or *nā'ōra*, with the article *an-nā'ōra*, which is still preserved in the Spanish forms *anoria* and *añoria*; in old Spanish it was *naora* and *alnagora*. Both the Arabic and Spanish word refers to the same hydraulic device. The Portuguese form *nora* is still nearer to the Arabic prototype, and the Arabic

etymology is listed as early as 1830 by J. De Sousa (*Vestigios da lingua arabica em Portugal*, p. 169: 'Maquina hydraulica, que serve de tirar agua dos poços, cisternas, e rios'). L. Marcel Devic (*Dictionnaire étymologique des mots français d'origine orientale*, 1876, p. 177) states that the Arabic noun is derived from the verb نعر *na'ar*, which means 'laisser jaillir le sang par saccades, en parlant d'une veine; ce qui s'applique assez bien aux norias, formées d'une série de seaux en chapelet qui se remplissent au fond du réservoir et viennent se vider l'un après l'autre à l'extérieur'. The Arabic etymology of *noria* has remained uncontested, and has been adopted by W. Meyer-Lübke (*Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1911, No. 5856; also by K. Lokotsch, *Etym. Wört. der europ. Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs*, 1927, No. 1561) and by all our English dictionaries. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *noria* as 'a device for raising water, used in Spain and the East, consisting of a revolving chain of pots or buckets which are filled below and discharged when they come to the top'. Another Spanish-Portuguese word has a bearing on the same contrivance: Spanish *arcaduz* or *alcaduz*, Portuguese *alcatrúz*, which represent Arabic القادوس *al-qādūs* and signify 'the bucket of a noria' (Devic, p. 6; Meyer-Lübke, No. 1456).

From Italy the Persian wheel spread to Warsaw, Poland, where Peter Mundy (*Travels*, iv. 203, Hakluyt Society, 1925) saw one in operation in 1643 and described it under the title 'A Strange Water Work' as follows:

'The gardener's servant showed me a house in a garden near the palace, which by wheel works drew water out of a well of itself, which he gave me to understand after this manner, viz.: among other is one great principal wheel unto which are fastened a great number of pots. This wheel, having once motion given it, forces up a quantity of water through pipes by the help of pump holes, leathers, etc., as I have seen in other water works. Of this water, part runs to the palace and the rest runs back into the vessels fastened on the great wheel, which being of a great compass, a little weight on the circumference causes it to go about. Having once motion, it forces up so much water that supplies the king's house and itself again to continue the said motion of itself, so that if this be true, as I think it is, it may be rightly called a perpetual motion: the water in the well supplied by his own spring. It was contrived by an Italian, who dieing and the work coming out of frame, there has been none since can be found that can bring it into order again, so that at present there must be twelve Tartar slaves to supply the work which the wheel alone performed of itself.'

Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Mundy's editor, comments justly, 'Mundy is describing what is known in India as the 'Persian wheel' (*rahat*), in this case driven by water machinery supplied by itself. In India, Persia, and Mesopotamia it is driven by a bullock. Such wheels are still common in Italy and Portugal'. Mundy himself (*Travels*, ii. 228, Hakluyt Society, 1914) had observed them also in Spain and India. 'In Spain', he writes, 'we call them noraies' (*noria*).

A. von Kremer (*Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, ii. 322)

maintained that the water-wheel was brought by the Arabs to Spain, but added judiciously that he hardly believed that its invention was a merit of the Arabs; and I concur with him in this opinion. G. Staunton (*Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China from the Papers of the Earl of Macartney*, ii. 1797, p. 479) writes: 'Most Eastern nations seem to have been acquainted at an early period with the machine for raising water, known by the name of the Egyptian wheel, which was however unknown in Europe till the Saracens introduced it into Spain, in an imperfect state, and under a very awkward form.' Ibn al-'Auwām, an Arabic agricultural writer, who lived at Seville in the twelfth century, has given a technical description of the noria in his famous treatise on agriculture (*Le livre de l'agriculture d'Ibn al-Awam*, traduit de l'arabe par Clément-Mullet, i, 1864, p. 129). The most interesting contributions to our knowledge of water-raising devices from Arabic sources we owe to the eminent Arabist and physicist, the late Eilhard Wiedemann (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, vi, 'Zur Mechanik und Technik bei den Arabern', Erlangen, 1906, pp. 13, 50; x, 'Zur Technik bei den Arabern', p. 331). The water-wheels are also styled *zurnūq*, *daulāb*, *hannāna*, and in Egypt *sāqiya* ساقية. *Hannāna* means 'the constantly groaning ones' from the creaking sound produced by the wheels, which even impressed the poets as beautiful. *Daulāb* or *dulāb* دولاّب, a word of Persian origin (*dol-āb*), means a 'wheel', and specifically refers to a water-wheel drawn by oxen or horses and designed for drawing water from a well, while *gharrāf* غراف is a water-wheel drawn by oxen or horses and designed for drawing water from a river. The word *nā'ūra* (plural *newā'ir* نواعير) is chiefly used in the Maghreb, but also in Syria and Persia. The water-wheels are constructed by a special class of artisans whose craft descends from father to son; the most skilful ones live in Syria. Historically the noria can be traced to the earliest times of the Caliphs. Man-power also was then enlisted to operate it, sometimes for the purpose of inflicting a punishment. The earliest example cited by Wiedemann refers to the year A.D. 884-5, and is an account by Ahmad Ibn al-Tayyib.

There was a celebrated noria at Fez, Morocco, which raised the water of the river up to the royal garden and which became proverbial (Gaufrey-Demombynes, *Masālik El Abšār*, p. 156, Paris, 1927, who remarks that the norias and their sighs are a theme of Arabic poetry). The *sāqiya* of Egypt is described by E. W. Lane (*Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 5th ed., 1871, p. 26): it mainly consists of a vertical wheel which raises the water in earthen pots attached to cords and forming a continuous series; a second vertical wheel fixed to the same axis, with cogs; and a large horizontal cogged wheel which, being turned by a pair of cows or bulls or by a single beast, puts in motion the two former wheels and the pots. T. Shaw (*Travels, or Observations Relating to Barbary and the Levant*, Oxford, 1738, p. 431) writes: 'Persian wheels, called *sakiah* in Egypt, were in general use along the banks of the Nile, from the sea to the cataracts.' Again, the term 'Persian wheel' is noteworthy.

In Syria and along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates the norias are

still in operation. At Basra the water-wheels were also driven by camels. Near Mecca norias were likewise employed. Yāqūt writes that 'the water of Ma'din al-Burm is well-water which irrigates the fields by means of the *zurnūq*.' Dimashqī, who wrote a cosmography about A.D. 1325, refers to the norias of Ḥamā on the river 'Āsī (Orontes) as being of a construction as seen nowhere else, in order to maintain considerable streams of water for the irrigation of numerous gardens abundant in fine and excellent fruits such as the apricot of camphor and almond flavours not found in any other country (A. F. Mehren, *Manuel de la cosmographie du moyen âge*, p. 281, Copenhagen, 1874; see also Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 1923, p. 106; S. Guyard, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, ii, pt. 2, 1883, pp. 40, 138). Yāqūt likewise speaks of the irrigation of the gardens through the water of the 'Āsī. Large water-wheels still exist at Ḥamā (R. Oberhummer and H. Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien und Kleinasien*, p. 92). Illustrations of such wheels may be viewed in the book of A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* (New York, 1923), Figs. 66, 71, 76.

In the environment of Constantinople the Persian wheel was noticed by G. Jacob (*Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, 1897, p. 228), and it likewise occurs in Asia Minor (K. Kannenberg, *Kleinasien's Naturschätze*, 1897, p. 83, under the name *sakie*). In other words, it is widely diffused all over the Islamic world, including northern Africa.

The tendency of certain Egyptologists to draw retrospective conclusions from present-day conditions is well known, and it is even more drastic among Assyriologists. Thus we are treated to the gratuitous speculation that the ancient Egyptians 'perhaps utilized also the *sāqiya*' (F. Hartmann, *L'Agri-culture dans l'ancienne Égypte*, 1923, p. 118, who, however, adds cautiously, 'an ancient design of which has not yet been found'). There is no tangible evidence for this assertion, and the fact remains that the *sāqiya* was introduced into Egypt during the Middle Ages by the conquering Arabs. Again, there are Assyriologists who from the modern water-wheels existing in Mesopotamia conclude naïvely that they must have been in existence in ancient times (cf. Handcock, *Mesopotamian Archaeology*, p. 369: 'What the larger machines were we do not know, but as Johns suggests, they may have very possibly consisted in a set of buckets fastened to a wheel, etc.: but whatever the machine was it must have been fairly elaborate, for it sometimes required as many as eight oxen to work it.' (B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i, 192, in discussing the methods of irrigation in ancient Babylonia, says nothing about this alleged use of the noria). It might be confidently stated that if the noria had been known in ancient Egypt and Babylonia, it must have spread to Greece and Italy, or that at least some notice of it would have been preserved by Greek or Roman writers, neither of which, however, is the case. The passage in Vitruvius x. 5, as already pointed out by J. Beckmann (*Beyträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*, ii, 1788, p. 14), relates to water-mills, not to water-wheels for irrigation (cf. M. H. Morgan, *Vitruvius*, 1914, p. 294, and A. Neuburger, *Technik des Altertums*, 2nd ed., 1921, p. 232).

Abu 'Abdallah el-Maqdisi, called El-Muqaddasi, wrote in A.D. 985: 'Aḍud

al-Daula dammed the river which flows between Shīrāz and Iṣṭakhr by means of a gigantic wall whose foundations he closed with lead. Behind, the water is stowed, and is higher than the river. On both sides he set up ten water-wheels and beneath each water-wheel a mill—at present one of the wonders of Fars. There he built a city and conducted the water into canals and supplied three hundred places with water.' In another manuscript the following version occurs: 'And on each side he made arches from which the water flowed roaringly and impetuously into the lowest parts of the norias and set these in motion. Around the felloes of the wheels there are boxes which fill themselves with water. When they have performed a revolution, they pour the water into canals from which it is distributed among three hundred places' (Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 324).

According to Rashīd-ad-Dīn, when the Mongol forces laid siege to Baghdad in A.D. 1258, their lower camp was pitched at a place called Dūlāb-i Baqal, which means 'the Water-wheel of the Vegetable Garden' (G. Le Strange, 'Baghdad during the Caliphate', *JRAS.*, 1899, p. 882).

F. von Schwarz (*Turkestan*, 1900, p. 346) refers to the peculiar water-wheels used in Russian Turkestan, which he says are called *čigir* (in W. Radloff's *Wörterbuch der Türkdialekte*: *čikir*, given as Jagatai). He describes them 'as paddle-wheels crudely patched together from wooden rods and operated by the current of the channel water. To the periphery of these wheels are usually attached earthenware pots which draw water in the canal at the turning of the wheels and empty the water into a wooden gutter. Beside the garden of the Tashkent observatory a Sart had once set up such a water-wheel which had a diameter of about six metres and which irrigated a small cotton plantation. Owing to the frequent need of repair these wheels are but seldom utilized at Tashkent where there is no lack of water. Among the agricultural Kirgiz, who have an abundance of draught-cattle, water-wheels driven by oxen are also used' [as also in China]. F. von Schwarz concludes, 'The water-wheels used in Central Asia agree perfectly with those of Egypt, which goes to prove that the Central Asians derived them from the Egyptians' (which, of course, is an untenable conclusion).

H. Moser (*L'Irrigation en Asie centrale*, 1894, p. 266) states that the word *čigir* is Turkish in origin and that the Bukharians still bestow upon this apparatus the name 'Persian wheel' (*roue persane*). He observed these Persian wheels on the banks of the Amudarya and in Khiwa. They reminded him of the *sāqiya* of Egypt, and he thinks it probable that the latter is akin to the *čigir* in origin and that this origin is very ancient. His description is as follows:

'Il se compose essentiellement d'une roue en bois, de 3 à 4 mètres de diamètre, tournant dans un plan vertical au dessus d'un puisard de façon à ce que la circonférence de la roue plonge, en bas de sa rotation, au dessous du niveau de l'eau. Sur le pourtour de la circonférence sont fixés, à des intervalles convenables, des cruchons de poterie ou de bois évidé, obliquement au rayon de la roue, de façon à ce qu'ils s'emplissent dans le puisard, puis se déversent à la hauteur voulue dans un canal récepteur. A l'aide d'un engrenage à roues dentées en bois, le tchiguir est mis en mouvement par un

cheval, chameau, bœuf, âne ou quelquefois plusieurs de ces bêtes de somme disparates accouplées ensemble. Cet appareil peut élever de 4 à 5 mètres cubes d'eau à l'heure.'

Peter Mundy (*Travels*, ii. 228) observed Persian wheels at Fatehpur Sikri in the palace of the Moguls: 'The water to water it is also to fill the tanks aloft, first into one tank and then from that into another higher, and so into four or five until it come aloft, by that which we in Spain call Noraies [noria].' Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Mundy's editor, annotates that 'the ruins of the series of Persian wheels and reservoirs, by which water from the lake outside the city was supplied to the palace, still exist.'

John Fryer, who travelled in India and Persia from 1672 to 1681, noticed the use of Persian wheels both in India and Persia. They have 'pans or buckets of leather hanging round about a wheel, some always in the water, others rising up, and at the same time others pouring out as the wheel turns round: and thus are their best gardens kept alive.' While in Persia, he speaks of 'the Indian wheel drawn up and let down by oxen, with as little intermission day or night, as Sisyphus's repeated trouble is reported' (*New Account of East India and Persia*, ii. 94, 171; iii. 156, Hakluyt Society, 1912, 1915).

A. Neuburger (in H. Kraemer, *Der Mensch und die Erde*, ix. 306) pleads for India as the home of the water-wheel, 'as may be concluded from various criteria'; but no evidence for this assertion is forthcoming.

'Persian wheels', N. G. Mukerji writes in his *Handbook of Indian Agriculture* (2nd ed., Calcutta, 1907, p. 142), 'are in use on the Malabar coast, in Rajputana, Kathiwar, and the Punjab. Some are of very simple and cheap construction. This type is used chiefly on the coast of Kathiwar, Gujarat, and the west coast of India generally. A bamboo or wooden drum of light framework turns on an axle which rests on two pivots. A sitting man turns the drum with his hands and feet. Round the drum is attached an endless garland of mud vessels which are brought up by the revolution of the drums carrying water in them, and discharging the water (from three mud vessels at a time), into a trough of stone whence it flows out to the field. With this implement one man can irrigate one-tenth of an acre a day. The Persian wheel of the Punjab pattern is the same as the Egyptian-Persian wheel.'

Mukerji further refers (p. 145) to the noria or bucket-pump as another form of improved Persian wheel, which consists of buckets chained one to another in an endless series and worked by hand or animal power.

Discussing the subject of irrigation in India, W. Crooke (*Things Indian*, New York, 1906, p. 282) writes,

'Lastly comes the curious machine known as the Persian wheel, of which the history is obscure. It does not seem to be used in Persia [this is erroneous], but it is represented by the Egyptian *sāqiya*, and it appears in Palestine. Possibly the Indian title merely implies that the idea came from the West. In Egypt it was probably a late invention, as it has not been recognized on the tomb frescoes. The Burmese have a somewhat similar machine, the

yit, in which, as in the Persian wheel, the water is raised by a wheel, to which bamboo baskets are attached [as in China]. The Persian wheel is known as far south as Malabar, and it is purely a matter of habit or tradition whether the farmer uses the wheel or the leather bag,' &c.

'Pucka wells are usually worked by the *harth*, or Persian wheel. A broad-edged lantern wheel whose axis lies horizontally over the centre of the well's mouth, carries on its broad edge a long belt of *moonj* rope, made like a rope ladder, the ends of which joined in an endless band reach below the surface of the water. To this at every step of the rope ladder, an earthen pot called *tind* is fixed. As the wheel revolves, the large rope belt descends into the water with its pots, the pots become filled with water, and are drawn up: as they reach the top of the wheel, they are by the revolution of the wheel inverted, and their contents poured out into a trough, which is ready to receive them, and which leads to the water-course of the fields to be irrigated. The wheel bearing the belt and waterpots is caused to revolve by having on the same axle another wheel parallel to it, and cogged in one side, the teeth of which work into the cogs of another vertical lantern wheel, whose axis again rests in a bar supported between two upright brick or wood pillars at one side of the well's mouth; this vertical wheel is turned by a pair of oxen yoked to a pole, which is fixed into the axis of the wheel in question. The oxen by walking round and round on a tramway drag the pole with them, and cause the whole apparatus to turn' (B. H. Powell, *Hand-Book of the Economic Products of the Punjab*, i, 1868, pp. 207-8).

In his *Bihār Peasant Life* (Calcutta, 1885, p. 210) Sir George A. Grierson writes, 'The Persian wheel is not used in Bihār. Its name, *rahat*, is however known in Patna.' The sole allusion to the Persian wheel in Sanskrit literature I have encountered so far occurs in Bāṇa's *Harsha-Carita* (translated by Cowell and Thomas, 1897, p. 264): 'His right hand shook a rosary, like a Persian wheel containing the buckets for raising water from the well of all delightful motions.' It seems, therefore, that the Persian wheel was known in India at least in the sixth century of our era.

With reference to the Burmese methods of irrigation good information is contained in J. G. Scott's *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (pt. 1, ii, Rangoon, 1900, pp. 342-3). The *yit*, referred to above by W. Crooke, is described there as 'an ordinary water-wheel with lengths of bamboo tied transversely opposite the floats. These act as buckets for lifting the water and, as the wheel revolves with the current, are tilted so as to empty themselves into a trough or channel, which carries the water into the fields. In some places in the Shan States where the rivers have a deep channel, these wheels are forty or fifty feet high and raise water enough to form quite a considerable rivulet.'

The *noria* is also widely distributed throughout the Far East, and is a conspicuous and indispensable adjunct of Chinese and Japanese agriculture. The Chinese water-elevators have attracted the attention of many travellers, and have frequently been depicted and minutely described, but no one seems

to have noticed that they are identical in principle and construction with the water-raising devices of the West, nor has any one ever raised the question as to their origin and historical connexions. In an excellent study, entitled 'Westöstliche Landwirtschaft' (in *Festschrift P. W. Schmidt*, pp. 416-84), P. Leser has recently traced the interrelations of the East and West in matters of agricultural implements, but he has not dealt with machinery for irrigation. The older literature relative to the noria in China is listed by J. H. Plath ('Die Landwirtschaft der Chinesen', *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie*, 1873, pp. 815-17). A brief summary of the subject is given by W. Wagner (*Die chinesische Landwirtschaft*, Berlin, 1926, pp. 189-99) and F. H. King (*Farmers of Forty Centuries*, Madison, 1911, pp. 300-3, 363, 411, with good illustrations; see also S. Syrski in *Anhang Berichte über österr. Exped. nach Siam, China und Japan*, 1872, p. 79; G. Schlegel, *Ouranographie chinoise*, 1875, p. 457; S. W. Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, 1901, ii. 7; H. R. Davies, *Yün-nan*, 1909, p. 158; J. G. Anderson, *The Dragon and the Foreign Devils*, 1928, p. 27; and others).

As regards the water-wheel of Japan I shall refer only to E. S. Morse (*Japan Day by Day*, ii, 1917, p. 284), who gives a sketch of it, saying that it is a Chinese device, rare about Tokyo and farther north, but not uncommon in the southern provinces of Japan. According to G. Sarton (*Introduction to the History of Science*, i, 1927, p. 580), the introduction of the noria into Japan is ascribed to Yoshimine Yasuyo, a scholar and son of Kwammu-tennō, emperor from A.D. 782 to 805.

F. H. Nichols (*Through Hidden Shensi*, New York, 1902, p. 31) writes,

'Every quarter of a mile or so a donkey at the end of a long pole may be seen walking around a windlass. He is raising water from a well by a chain-pump, whence it is discharged into the furrows that cross the fields in every direction. Some of the wells are very deep, and are constructed on the Artesian principle, a series of hollow bamboo-rods taking the place of an iron pipe. A well-donkey is a thing essentially Chinese. No one drives him or apparently takes the slightest interest in him. He wears big straw blinders over his eyes, which prevent his seeing anything. He is oblivious of his surroundings. All the ordinary aims and ambitions of donkey life he seems to have forgotten. Hour after hour he walks slowly around the windlass, only a speck on the flat landscape, only a cog in the simple but vast system of agriculture which keeps millions of men alive.'

In the Chinese standard work on agriculture, the *Nung cheng ts'üan shu* 農政全書, published in 1640, seven years after the death of its author, Sü Kwang-k'i 徐光啟, the famous disciple of the early Jesuits, six illustrations of native hydraulic engines are given (reproduced also in *Shou shi t'ung k'ao*, ch. 37, pp. 4-5, and *T'u shu tsi ch'eng*, xxxii, ch. 244) under the generic name *shui ch'o* 水車 ('water engines'). The first, *fan ch'o* 翻車, is the chain-pump (also described and figured by G. Staunton, *Macartney's Embassy*, ii. 481; J. F. Davis, *China*, ii, 1857, p. 258; *Chinese Repository*, v, 1837, p. 494).

The second of these, designated *t'ung ch'o* 筒車 ('tube engine'), corresponds exactly to the noria or Persian wheel, save that, as implied by the term, the buckets are replaced with bamboo tubes, in conformity with the universal use of bamboo as a convenient material throughout China. Williams speaks of buckets, and Anderson of tub-shaped containers. This noria is also figured and described by Davis (ii. 260). The third, styled *shwi chwan fan ch'o* 水轉翻車 ('revolving machine turned by water'), corresponds exactly to the *sāqīya* of Egypt. The fourth shows the same apparatus operated by a water-buffalo; the fifth, the same set in motion by two donkeys; and the sixth, called *kao chwan t'ung ch'o* 高轉筒車, is a double chain-pump running over two sprocket-wheels, a lower one in the water, a higher one in the rice-field.

Those who have not access to Chinese publications will find the Chinese illustrations well reproduced and described in the excellent book of O. Franke, *K'eng Tsch'i T'u, Ackerbau und Seidengewinnung in China* (Hamburg, 1913, pp. 149-52). It is noteworthy that the chain-pump appears in the series of engravings prepared by Lou Shou about A.D. 1145 (Franke, Plate XXXVI; and compare Pelliot, *A propos du Keng Tche T'ou*, Plate XXIII). The principle in all of these machines is the same, the only difference being in the mode of applying the moving power; one is worked by the hand, another by the feet, of a labourer, and the third by an animal (R. Fortune, *Two Visits to the Tea Countries of China*, i, 1853, p. 230). J. Barrow (*Travels in China*, 1804, p. 540) remarks that 'the water-wheels still used in Syria differ only from those of China by having loose buckets suspended at the circumference, instead of fixed tubes.'

In regard to the inventor of the water-wheel, Chinese records refer to the names of two individuals, Pi Lan 畢嵐 and Ma Kün 馬鈞 (see *Shi wu ki yüan* 事物紀原, ch. 9, p. 3b, by Kao Ch'eng 高承 of the Sung period, ed. by Li Kwo 李杲 in 1472, original edition in Gest Chinese Research Library, McGill University, Montreal). Pi Lan is said to have lived under the reign of the Emperor Ling (A.D. 156-189) of the Later Han dynasty and to have constructed a *fan ch'o* used for sprinkling the streets. Ma Kün (Giles, in his *Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, p. 565, mentions him as 'a famous mechanic who constructed a variety of ingenious machines') lived in the third century A.D. under the Wei dynasty, and it is on record that 'when he lived in the capital, he owned a plot of arid land suitable as a garden, but there was no water to irrigate it; thus he made a turning wheel (*fan ch'o*) which he caused to be revolved by boys, and this wheel conducted the water for the irrigation of his garden.' This wheel, as also added in the *Shi wu ki yüan*, is identical with the one now used by farmers for field irrigation and took its beginning from Ma Kün of the Wei. This text is quoted in the *Shi wu ki yüan* from the *Wei lio* 魏略, an historical work now lost, written by Yü Huan 魚豢 and covering the period from A.D. 239 to 265; portions of it are preserved in the commentary of P'ei Sung-chi to the *San kwo chi* (Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*,

1905, p. 519). As the *Wei lio* is a reliable work, the passage cited from it in the *Shi wu ki yüan* may correctly reflect the tradition of the Wei period (see also *Ko chi king yüan*, ch. 48, pp. 7-8; *Shi wu yüan hui* 事物原會, ch. 23, p. 3; *T'u shu tsi ch'eng*, and others). There is no doubt that Ma Kün was a good hydraulic engineer, for the *Shi wu ki yüan* (ch. 9, p. 26b) has preserved another tradition according to which he made for the Emperor Ming of the Wei artificial fountains in the shape of animals, fishes, and dragons.

The *Shi wu yüan shi* 事物原始 ('Origin and Beginning of Things') connects the invention with the name of the Emperor Ling, but attributes its inception to another engineer, called K'o Mien 渴免, who used the device of bamboo tubes attached to the wheel. Fang I-chi 方以智, in his *Wu li siao shi* 物理小識 (written toward the end of the Ming dynasty, ch. 8, p. 31), refers solely to the Emperor Ling and concludes that the method of irrigation by means of water-wheels was known in China from under the Han; he also points out a passage in a poem of Su Shi or Su T'ung-po (A.D. 1036-1101) relative to the raising of water by means of bamboo tubes from the wells of Se-ch'wan.

In the palace of the Mongol emperors at Peking there was east of the Wan-sui Hill a stone bridge in the middle of which there was an aqueduct leading the water of the Kin-shwi to the top of the hill; the water was pumped to the top of the hill by means of machines, and was poured from the jaws of a stone dragon into a square basin (E. Bretschneider, 'Arch. and Hist. Researches on Peking', *Chinese Recorder*, vi, 1875, p. 319, after *Ch'o keng lu*).

The history of the water-wheel for irrigation cannot be dissociated from that of the water-mill which is based on the same mechanical principle. As formerly pointed out by me (*Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, p. 33), the invention of mills driven by water is attributed by the Chinese to Tu Yü 杜預 (A.D. 222-284); and this event coincides exactly with the time of Ma Kün, the inventor of the irrigation water-wheel. I also drew attention at that time to the curious coincidence that water-mills sprang up in China at about the same time as in the Roman empire. Strabo is the first to mention a water-mill with reference to Mithridates who had one in his residence at Cabira, and this hints at the fact that water-mills were first known in the Orient (J. Beckmann, *Beyträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*, ii, 1784, pp. 12 et seq.; O Schrader, *Reallexikon*, 2nd ed. by A. Nehring, ii, 1923, p. 27). They gradually spread in Italy in the early days of the Imperium. In view of the fact that the noria did not conquer Europe at the same time it would follow that the use of the water-wheel for mills is older than its use for irrigation purposes, or at least that the Persian wheel had not yet advanced beyond the western boundaries of Iran in Roman times; and this is in harmony with my conclusion that it was the Arabs who brought it from Persia to the empire of the Caliphs and to Egypt. Now, if in the third century of our era Tu Yü constructed a water-mill on the same principle as the water-mills of western Asia, and if simultaneously Ma Kün constructed a noria or what ultimately resulted in this device, we cannot believe in the miracle that these two Chinese engineers

should have independently evolved what pre-existed in the West and achieved the same result; the only possible conclusion is that the two worked out their ideas on plans and models brought to China from some locality of central Asia, which presumably was Sogdiana.

The ancient territory of Sogdiana appears to have the best claim to the invention of water-raising devices by means of wheels. From ancient times Sogdiana enjoyed an unrivalled state of prosperity: its fecund valleys, the wealth of its soil, industry, and commerce, and its powerful cities fired the imagination of the ancients to such a pitch that they styled it Paradise of Asia. It is well known how highly agriculture was esteemed in the ancient Persian religion, how the farmer's good deeds and irrigation of the fields in particular are extolled in the Avesta, and how highly developed the art of gardening was in Persia and how the Persian garden became the model for all gardens of Asia. In Sogdiana (K'ang), it is stated in the Annals of the T'ang Dynasty (*T'ang shu*, ch. 221 B; cf. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, p. 135), 'they have very ingenious machines'. Soon after General Chang K'ien's famous expedition to the West, Chinese engineers wended their way to central Asia (*Shi ki*, ch. 123; cf. Hirth, 'Story of Chang K'ien', *JAOS.*, 1917, pp. 111, 113). There is no doubt that such engineers, on their return to the homeland, brought back plans and specifications of water-raising engines.

Barthold and Petrow have written in Russian detailed monographs on the history of artificial irrigation in Russian Turkestan, which goes back to the times of the first colonizers of the country (F. Machatschek, *Landeskunde von Russisch Turkestan*, 1921, pp. 141, 327). Another method, that of subterranean irrigation, the so-called *kyärise*, is also due to Persia whence it was introduced into the adjoining countries (Machatschek, p. 144, and Vavilov and Bukinich, *Agricultural Afghanistan* [in Russian], Leningrad, 1929, pp. 140, 547). Of this method a Chinese record is also preserved. Ch'ang Te, who in A.D. 1259 was delegated by the Mongol Emperor Mangu to his brother Hulagu in Persia, noticed that the people of Persia dig wells on the summits of mountains and conduct the water several tens of miles down into the plain for the purpose of irrigating their fields (E. Bretschneider, *Chinese Recorder*, v, 1874, p. 326, who annotates: 'This is still the custom all over Persia. The aqueducts are all subterraneous in order to prevent the evaporation of the water. As in Persia it never rains in the summer, agriculture would be impossible there without this artificial irrigation.').

It is possible that the water-mill also is of Iranian origin. Dimashqī (translation of Mehren, p. 254) describes a water-mill at Merend in Aderbeidjān Kedrenos, a Greek monk of the eleventh century, who compiled a Synopsis of History beginning with the creation of the world and terminating with the year 1057, says that under the reign of the Emperor Constantine, Metrodoros a Persian by birth, went off to India and constructed for the Brahmans water-mills and baths—things previously unknown in the country (McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 185).

According to Gauthiot (*Journal asiatique*, 1916, i, p. 251) a water-mill is

called *āsyāw* in Pahlavi, *āsyā* in Persian; in the dialects of the north-east of Iran: *yāva-rēnēm* ('grain-mill'). The Iranian tribes of the Pamir are familiar with the water-mill (Wakhī *khadorg*, Sariqoli *khadorg*, Minjan *khairgha*, Sanglikh *khadari*).

Another type of mill, the windmill, is likewise of Oriental origin. For a long time this was denied. The learned Beckmann (op. cit., p. 32) wrote in 1788, 'It has often been asserted that wind-mills were first invented in the Orient and became known in Europe in consequence of the crusades, but this is improbable. First of all, they do not now occur in the Orient or but seldom, not in Persia (with reference to Chardin), not in Palestine, not in Arabia. Second, wind-mills occur prior to the crusades or at least right in their beginning,' &c. Windmills therefore were believed to be of medieval European origin, and even in the second edition of Schrader's *Reallexikon* (ii, 1923, p. 28) all that is said about the subject is that windmills seem first to be mentioned in an Anglo-Saxon document of A.D. 833; this account, however, according to F. M. Feldhaus (*Technik der Vorzeit*, col. 1326), is a forgery. This opinion of a European origin is no longer tenable. Dimashqī (translation of Mehren, p. 246) describes wind-mills in a country west of Sejstān (Seistān), where the winds and floating sands are very frequent: 'therefore the inhabitants avail themselves of the winds to turn their mills and to transport the sand from one place to another, so that the winds are subject to them as they were formerly to Solomon.' The construction of these wind-mills is then described in detail (see also Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géogr. de la Perse*, 1861, p. 301). Above all, we owe valuable information on the subject to the learned researches of E. Wiedemann ('Zur Mechanik und Technik bei den Arabern', *Sitzber. phys.-med. Soz. Erlangen*, 1906, pp. 44-9). The Caliph Omar I (A.D. 634-644) ordered a Persian, Abū Lulua, to make a wind-mill for him. More information is given by Wiedemann on the wind-mills of Sejstān.

On a former occasion (*Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, p. 19) I have set forth that windmills are unknown in China. F. H. King (*Farmers of Forty Centuries*, 1911, pp. 332-5) has figured and described a sail windmill pumping sea-water into evaporation basins at the Taku government salt-works, but this device is entirely different from our windmill and independent of the development of the latter. The only example of a windmill that has come within my experience during my travels is the windmill employed by the Tibetans for driving their prayer-wheels, and a specimen obtained by me may be seen in the collections of the Field Museum, Chicago. I have no doubt that the Tibetan notion of the windmill is traceable to Tibetan contact with Iranian regions. The fact that the windmill is practically absent in China and in the Roman empire and that it appears in Europe only during the Middle Ages goes to prove that the windmill is a late invention, much later than the water-mill and the water-wheel.

The position of the noria in the history of agriculture remains to be determined. On several occasions I have emphasized the fact that the entire economic structure of ancient Chinese civilization rests on a common

foundation with the other great civilizations of Asia and ancient Egypt. The whole agricultural complex—intensive farming by means of the plough drawn by an ox, cultivation of wheat and other cereals, artificial irrigation, pottery shaped by means of the wheel—is fundamentally the same everywhere (see my *Beginnings of Porcelain in China*, 1917, p. 176). The elements of this economic basis certainly go back to a prehistoric age unfathomable by dates. A system of canals and the use of the well-sweep are features of this prehistoric irrigation. The noria, however, does not belong to this ancient complex. It is plainly an invention of historical times made in an age when mechanical engineering had reached a high stage of development. It is not one of those subconscious or semiconscious gropings of primitive or prehistoric man, but it is the outcome of a volitional, judiciously conceived plan of a thinking engineer well versed with the laws of mechanics. There are good reasons for the conviction that this engineer was an Iranian, probably a Sogdian. The designation 'Persian wheel' is valid. It cannot be fortuitous that this name appears in Europe, in Bukhāra, as well as in India.¹

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¹ After the above article was completed in July, 1929, I received a copy of *A History of Mechanical Inventions*, by Abbott Payson Usher, just published by McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York. On pp. 80-1 the noria is briefly dealt with in a descriptive manner without any reference to Asia. The subject of windmills and water-mills is treated somewhat more critically, and the Oriental origin of the former is admitted (p. 128).

In regard to Japan, reference should be made to the article of J. Troup, 'On a Possible Origin of the Waterwheel,' *Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, xxii, 1894, 109-114.

WANN LEBTE ZARATHUŠTRA?

DER ehrwürdige Forscher und Priester, der der Aufgabe der Parsen, Hüter und Erläuterer von Zoroasters Lehre und Erbe zu sein, in einem langen, an wissenschaftlichen Erträgen reichen Leben in vorbildlicher Weise entsprochen hat, wird es begrüßen, wenn der Frage nach der Lebenszeit des Begründers der im Zendavesta niedergelegten und fortwirkenden hochstehenden Religion und Weltanschauung in diesen ihm gewidmeten Blättern von althistorischer Seite nachgegangen wird.

Gegen die von Eduard Meyer vertretene Anschauung,¹ Spitâma-Zarathuštra sei um 1000 v. Chr. anzusetzen, habe ich mich von vornherein und wiederholt gewendet, ohne jedoch zu der stets beabsichtigten näheren Ausführung gelangt zu sein, die nunmehr hier erfolgen soll. Sie hat auch neuere Forschungen zu berücksichtigen, die der seit Jahren von mir vertretenen Anschauung das Wort reden, aber ohne Kenntnis meiner Stellungnahme, sodass bei beiderseitiger völliger Unabhängigkeit meine frühere Erkenntnis durch die späteren Ermittlungen von anderer Seite gestützt wird.²

I

Es wird sich empfehlen, zunächst meine an verschiedenen Stellen verstreuten Äusserungen zur Sache hier zusammenzustellen.

In meiner Abhandlung *Darius und der Achämeniden-Stammbaum*³ betonte ich:

‘Unter Darius verwaltete sein Vater Hystaspes die Satrapieen Parthien und Hyrkanien; dass er bereits unter Kyros und Kambyzes in einem der beiden Gebiete, wenn nicht in beiden, die Verwaltung führte, ist anzunehmen, aber sicher nicht mit dem Titel König (*khšayātiya*).’ Dazu als Anmerkung (4): ‘Auf das spezifische *Königtum* des Hystaspes dürfen sich diejenigen sicher nicht berufen, die die Frage, ob Zoroaster (Zarathuštra-Spitâma) um 1000 v. Chr. anzusetzen sei (so Ed. Meyer) oder zur Zeit des Hystaspes gelebt hat, im letzteren Sinne—wie u. a. auch ich⁴—entscheiden möchten.’

In meiner Rezension über Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, i. 3. Aufl. hob ich ‘die meisterhafte Charakteristik der verschiedenartigen geistigen Entwicklung’ hervor, ‘die die so nahe verwandten Iranier und Inder genommen haben’ (§ 580) und fügte hinzu:⁵ ‘Interessant ist übrigens dass der Verfasser im ganzen Band I vermeidet, die Zeit Zoroasters zu nennen, was auf eine Änderung des zu hohen Ansatzes (11. Jahrhundert statt 6. Jahrh. v. Chr.) den der Verfasser bisher vertreten hat, hoffen lässt.’⁶

¹ Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 1909, S. 15 f. Artikel ‘Persia’ der *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11. Auflage, p. 205.—² Vom Vorhandensein von Herzfelds *Archäol. Mitteilungen aus Iran* habe ich erst ganz neuerdings auf dem Leidener Orientalistenkongress (Sept. 1931) Kunde erhalten. [Zusatz bei d. Superrevision.]—³ *Klio*, 1908, viii. 494. Vgl. die ersten Spalten meines Artikels ‘Kambyzes’, Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz(yklopädie)*³ x, Sp. 1810–23.—⁴ Von mir jetzt gesperrt.—⁵ *Literarisches Zentralblatt*, 1915, lxvi, Sp. 501.—⁶ Diese Hoffnung erwies sich als trügerisch, s. Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii. S. 71 mit Anm.

In meinem Artikel *Kambyses* äusserte ich¹ im Zusammenhang mit dem Aufstand des Magiers Gaumâta und dem Tode des Kambyses: 'Man darf vermuten, dass die Magier die Vertreter des alten Glaubens ('der Lüge') gegenüber der von den Achämeniden neu eingeführten Lehre des Zarathuštra waren, dessen Auftreten (gegen Eduard Meyer) nicht um 1000 v. Chr. sondern zu Beginn des 6. Jahrhunderts unter Förderung des Hystaspes erfolgte. Der Gottesname *Mazda*, der in medischen Namen des 8. Jahrhunderts vorkommt ist von Zarathuštra nicht erfunden, sondern nur mit neuem Inhalt erfüllt worden.'²

In meinem Artikel *Satrap* heisst es § 3:³ 'Wenn also in dieser Inschrift' (nämlich in der vor Dareios' Satrapienordnung abgefassten Inschrift von Behistun), 'zweimal von Satrapen die Rede ist, so beweist das das Vorhandensein dieses Amtes und dieses Titels vor Dareios' Satrapieenordnung. Genannt werden als *kšatrapavân* Dadaršiš, Satrap in Baktrien (Beh. § 38), und Wiwana, Satrap in Arachosien (Beh. § 45). Dass Hystaspes, der Vater des Dareios, als Verwalter von Parthien und Hyrkanien (Beh. § 35 f.), die gleiche Stellung bekleidete, könnte man vermuten, umsomehr als die späteren Satrapieen ja grösstenteils mehrere Völkerschaften umfassten.⁴ Es ist aber ebensowohl möglich, dass diese Zusammenfassung grosser Gebiete eine besondere Vertrauensstellung, eine Art Generalgouvernement, darstellt.⁵ Abgesehen davon, dass *ξατράπης* wiederholt durch *βασιλεύς* wiedergegeben wird,⁶ würde sich daraus erklären, dass Vištâspa, der Förderer des Spitâma (Zarathuštra) in der Tradition des Awesta als "König" bezeichnet wird, während er, wie Dareios eigne Angaben und der vor ihm gegebene Achämenidenstammbaum zeigen, niemals, "König" 'im Sinne des Dareios, d.h. "Grosskönig", gewesen ist.'

In meiner *Geschichte des alten Orients*⁷ S. 194 führte ich aus:

'In späterer Zeit berufen sich die Juden den persischen Grosskönigen gegenüber mehrfach darauf, dass sie die "Knechte des Gottes Himmels und der Erde" seien, und persischerseits wird Jahwe offiziell als "Gott des Himmels" bezeichnet. Das weist auf eine Auffassung hin, nach der Jahwe dem Ahuramazda, der obersten Gottheit der Perser nach der Lehre des Spitâma-Zarathuštra, wesensverwandt war. Spitâma, mit dem Beinamen Zarathuštra, der aber bald als Eigennamen gefasst wurde und in einer späteren Lautentwicklung des Namens als Zoroaster allgemein bekannt ist, war der Stifter einer neuen, besonders hochstehenden Religion, die zwar zunächst für die Perser bestimmt war, aber von vornherein über den engen nationalen Rahmen hinausgreifen wollte.

'Nun lebte Spitâma im östlichen Iran und erfreute sich der Förderung des Vištâspa-Hystaspes—des Vaters des nachmaligen Grosskönigs Darius—, der unter Kyros und Kambyses die ostiranischen Provinzen Parthien und Hyrkanien verwaltete.

¹ A.a.O. Sp. 1821 f.

² Von mir jetzt gesperrt.

⁴ *Satrap*, § 23.

⁶ *Satrap*, § 2, 9, 155, 165, 166, 170.

⁷ In Band I dritte Auflage von Ludo Moritz Hartmanns Weltgeschichte.

³ *Realenz.*, ii, A, Sp. 85, Z. 29.

⁵ *Satrap*, § 60, 65, 68.

‘Zarathuschtra war also ein Zeitgenosse des Kyros, und es ist keineswegs ausgeschlossen, dass seine Lehre, die unter Darius als die offizielle Staatsreligion der Perser galt, schon auf Kyros Einfluss gewonnen hat.¹ Die Wirren, die zur Zeit des Kambyses unter priesterlicher Führung das Reich erschütterten, sind gewiss zum Teil religiöser Natur und mögen mit dem Vordringen der neuen Lehre zusammenhängen.’

Und weiter:² ‘Wahrscheinlich waren die Magier die Vertreter des alten Glaubens (“der Lüge”) gegenüber der von den Achämeniden geförderten Lehre des Zarathuſtra. Der Magier Gaumâta trat nicht durchaus selbständig auf, sondern mehr als Geschöpf seines Bruders, den Kambyses, ohne von seinen rückständigen religiösen Überzeugungen zu wissen, als Reichsverweser hinterlassen hatte.’

In meiner Besprechung der *Cambridge Ancient History*³ betonte ich: ‘Für die gesammte Beurteilung der Geschichte des achämenidischen Reiches ist es entscheidend, ob man mit der antiken Überlieferung Spitâma Zarathuschtra als Zeitgenossen des Hystaspes betrachtet oder ihn in der Zeit um 1000 v. Chr. verlegt. Letztere Anschauung, bekanntlich auch die Eduard Meyers, vertrat Gray. Dass und warum ich sie für falsch halte, habe ich wiederholt betont. Das Vorkommen des Namens Mazda im Namen eines Mederfürsten Mazdaka ist gar kein Beweis: der Gott einer neuen Lehre wird in der Regel nicht neu geschaffen, sondern nur veredelt und aus seinem frühern Zusammenhange mit andern Gottheiten gelöst und emporgehoben; so ist auch Muhammed mit dem alten Hauptgotte der Araber verfahren. Es freut mich daher besonders, dass Hall, wie schon früher,⁴ so jetzt in Bd. iii. 313 sich zu der späteren Ansetzung des Zarathuschtra bekennt und, ebenso wie ich, den Aufstand des Magiers Gaumâta als eine Reaktion der priesterlichen Anhänger der bisherigen durch die Lehre des Zarathuschtra verdrängten Religionsübung betrachtet. Nur wenn es sich um die Betonung einer neuen Lehre handelt, ist die fortwährende Bezugnahme auf Ahura-mazda in den Inschriften des Dareios wahrhaft verständlich’.

Schliesslich habe ich in meiner Besprechung von Band I des *Handbuchs der arabischen Altertumskunde*⁵ die Frage noch einmal wieder in gleichem Sinne gestreift, indem ich aus den Darlegungen des Herausgebers Detlef Nielsen als besonders wichtig den Nachweis hervorhob, dass Mohammeds *Allah* nicht etwa eine Neuschöpfung ist, sondern der uralte heidnische Hauptgott, den Mohammed von allen Nebenbuhlern befreite, das ist ja überhaupt der regelmässige Weg bei Religionsstiftungen.⁶ Auch Mazda ist vor Zarathuſtra⁶ nachweisbar und von ihm erst mit dem neuen Inhalt seiner erhabenen Auffassung erfüllt worden, weshalb das Auftreten des medischen Namens *Mazdaka* unter Sargon II, nicht verwendet werden darf, um Spitâma-Zarathuſtra, bezeugtermassen Zeitgenossen von Dareios’ Vaters Hystaspes, in eine viel zu alte Zeit, um 1000 v. Chr., zu verlegen’.⁶

¹ Von mir jetzt gesperrt. Vgl. u. S. 277 ff.

² A.a.O., S. 200.

³ *Klio*, 1929, xxii, Heft iii, S. 482 f.

⁴ *Ancient History of the Near East*, 1912, p. 459, 1 und 555, 2, vgl. *Realenz.*², ii A, Sp. 85.

⁵ *Klio*, 1929, xxiii, Heft i, S. 127.

⁶ Von mir jetzt gesperrt.

II

Ich habe also seit mehr denn 20 Jahren immer wieder nachdrücklich betont, das keilinschriftliche Vorkommen des Namens *Mazdaku* in einer Liste medischer Häuptlinge zur Zeit Sargons II von Assyrien könne durchaus nicht als Beweis dafür angesehen werden, dass die in Medien damals wohnhaften Stämme Mazdajasnier waren und dass demnach Zarathuſtra in eine dieser Liste vorausgehende Zeit gehöre.

In seiner Untersuchung *Die Zeit Zoroasters* behandelte jedoch Johannes Hertel¹ 1924 die Widerlegung von Eduard Meyers aus der Liste der medischen Häuptlinge gezogenen Schlüssen als eine vollständig neue Angelegenheit, ohne Berücksichtigung meiner bis dahin erschienenen Äusserungen zur Sache.² Es ist dringend zu wünschen, dass in Zukunft in Fragen, die, gleich der nach der Zeit und der Lehre Zarathuſtra's, die alte Geschichte genau so lebhaft betreffen wie die Iranistik, eine engere Fühlung zwischen Iranisten und Althistorikern herbeigeführt und gewahrt bleibe.

Hertel (S. 37) geht insofern noch über meine im Wesentlichen historische Beweisführung hinaus, als er den Zusammenhang der beiden Namen der sargonischen Liste, die Meyer als *Mazdaku* fasst (*Ma-aš-da-ku* = 'Mazdaku,' Beherrscher der Stadt Amaki, und *Ma-aš-tak-ku* = 'Maztaku'), mit *Ahura Mazdāh* aus folgenden drei philologischen Gründen leugnet:

1. 'Wenn die beiden Namensformen wirklich *Mazdaku* und Ableitungen von *mazdah* sind', so sei es, 'von vornherein unwahrscheinlich, dass sie von dem Namen Ahura Mazdāh abgeleitet' seien, 'da sie dann in der Liste der einzige theophore Name wären.'

Ganz richtig: für Ahura Mazdāh beweisen die beiden Namen nicht das Geringste. Sonst aber scheint mir dieses Argument wenig durchschlagend. Denn wenn, meiner Annahme nach, Mazdāh schon eine vorzoroastrische Gottheit war, die erst vor Zarathuſtra diejenige Prägung erhielt, die sich in dem Namen Ahura Mazdāh ausdrückte, so ist eine Verwendung für theophore Namen vor Zoroaster sehr wohl denkbar, und die Singularität des Vorkommens braucht, angesichts der Zufälligkeiten der Zusammensetzung solcher Listen, nicht aufzufallen.

2. 'Selbst in der rein religiösen Literatur des Awestas', fährt Hertel fort, 'kommt *mazdāh* als Apellativum neben dem begreiflicher Weise viel häufigeren Namen des Gottes noch vor vgl. Ys. xl. 1, wo das Wort mit dem Verbum *kar* verbunden im Sinne von "Gedächtnis" steht. Es ist frühzeitig in die *ā*-Deklination übergegangen, und entspricht vedisch und sanskrit *medhā* "Gedächtnis", "Verstand", "Weisheit" . . . Als Name des Gottes ist dieses Abstractum einfach personifiziert, ohne dass seine Bedeutung

¹ 'Die Zeit Zoroasters'. *Indo-iranische Quellen und Forschungen*, Herausgegeben von Johannes Haessel, Heft i. Leipzig. H. Haessel Verlag.

² Das Gleiche gilt von der Besprechung, die J. C. Tavadier Hertel's genannter und seiner weiteren Schrift 'Achaemeniden und Kayaniden' (*Indo-iran. Quellen u. Forschungen*, Heft v, Leipzig, 1924) in den *Indogermanischen Forschungen*, 1926, xliii, S. 21-29, gewidmet hat.

“Weisheit” irgendwie verblasst wäre. Es gehört zu dem Verbum *mazdā-*, *māzdā-* “memorem esse”, zusammengesetzt aus $\sqrt{\text{mand}} + \text{dhā}$, wozu auch der altindische Name *Mandhātī* gehört (Dies alles in Bartholomae’s Wörterbuch). Der Schluss also, dass der inschriftliche Name *Mazdaku* von Ahura Mazdāh abgeleitet sei, ist auch aus diesem zweiten Grunde unstatthaft.’

Sehr richtig für Ahura Mazdā. Aber wieder mit der Einschränkung, dass die ‘Weisheit’, Mazdā, möglicherweise schon vor Zoroaster als Abstraktion und als Gottheit verehrt worden sein kann.

Hertel bemerkt dann weiter:

3. ‘Man schlage’ das kleine Petersburger’ (Sanskrit-) ‘Wörterbuch nach, und man wird dort folgende Eigennamen finden: *M’asa*, *Medhā* (f.), *Medhācakra* (Fürstennamen), *Medhadhṛti*, *Medhamṛti*, *Medhasudra* (Beiname Kālidāsa’s), *Medhāvati* (f.), *Medhāvāra*, *Medhāvin*, *Medhāvini* (f., Beiname der Gattin Brahmans¹), und unter *medhā* wird man die Bemerkung finden: “Die Einsicht wird häufig personifiziert, insbesondere als Tochter Daksha’s und Gattin Dharma’s als eine Form der Dākshāyaṇī und Sarasvatī”.¹ Nach Meyers Art, zu schliessen, müssten diese Namen, soweit sie mythologisch sind, das Herrschen der mazdayasnischen Religion in Indien, soweit sie wirklichen Personen eignen, die Zugehörigkeit ihrer Träger oder der Eltern ihrer Träger zu dieser Religion beweisen. Jeder Prudentius, jeder Sophokles, jeder Sophus und jede Sophie müssten von mazdayasnischen Eltern stammen.’

Auch wieder durchaus richtig, soweit Ahura Mazdā in Betracht kommt. Dagegen sehe ich in den von Hertel angeführten indischen Belegen, besonders in den von mir durch Sperrdruck ausgezeichneten Sätzen, anders als Hertel, einen Wahrscheinlichkeitsbeweis dafür, dass Mazdā, die ‘Weisheit’ bereits in Iran vor Zoroaster personifiziert und als Gottheit verehrt wurde und dass dann Zarathuſtra, auf dieser Entwicklung weiterbauend und sie verklärend und erhebend, die Gestalt des Ahura Mazdā schuf und mit der Höhe seiner ethisch-religiösen Auffassung ausstattete, z. T. ähnlich wie Muhammed mit Allah verfahren war (s.o. S. 253).

So kommt denn auch Hertel zu dem, lange Jahre vor ihm von mir vertretenen Schlusse: ‘die inschriftlichen Namen Mazdaku und Maztaku beweisen schlechterdings gar nichts für das Bestehen der zoroastrischen Religion zur Zeit der Abfassung der sie enthaltenden Inschrift’ Sargons II.

Und als Ergebnis seiner, wie vorher meiner, Untersuchung ‘bleibt bestehen, dass Zoroaster um 550 v. Chr. gelebt und gewirkt hat’.

Aber zwischen meinen und Hertels Anschauungen besteht ein wesentlicher Unterschied: es ist mir, im Gegensatz zu Hertel, kaum zweifelhaft, dass Mazdā schon in vorzoroastrischer Zeit, wie Medhā in Indien, als Abstraktion und als Gottheit gegolten hat und dass an diese Vorstufe Zarathuſtra bei Gestaltung des Ahura Mazdā und seiner von ihm getragenen neuen, alles

¹ Abgesehen von den Eigennamen von mir gesperrt. C. F. L.-H.

früher Vorhandene weit hinter sich lassenden, religiös und ethisch höchststehenden Lehre angeknüpft hat.

Bei den 'Ariern im engeren Sinne, zu denen die Iranier und die Indien gehören, gab es einen Unterschied zwischen den beiden Götterklassen der sittlichen Mächte, der Asuras (vielleicht "Herren") und der Naturmächte (der himmlischen Daivas), der auch in den ältesten Bestandteilen der Veden vorliegt.

'An diese Unterscheidung knüpfte Zoroaster an... Für den wahren Gott behielt Zoroaster den Namen Ahura bei und verband damit die Bezeichnung einer anderen, ebenfalls bei den Iraniern schon längere Zeit verehrten sittlichen Macht Mazda, "der Weise".'¹

III

Aber nicht nur Älter-Iranisches und Arisches ist von Zarathuštra verwertet worden, sondern es ist auch, wie ich wiederholt betont habe,² eine Einwirkung babylonischer mythologischer Vorstellungen auf Zarathuštra's Lehre zu erkennen.

In einer der Gâtha's, die gewiss grossenteils auf Zarathuštra selbst zurückgehen und, die 'wie alle echten Prophetenreden unmittelbar aus dem Moment geborene Äusserungen der seine Seele bewegenden Empfindungen'³ sind, heisst es: 'Und ich will sprechen vom wichtigsten im Leben, was mir Ahura Mazdā, der wissende, verkündet hat. Diejenigen unter euch, welche es, das Wort, nicht so erfüllen, wie ich es meine und sage, denen wird das Ende der Welt leid werden'.⁴

"Das Ende der Welt" auf das hier angespielt wird, war nach dem Avesta nach vier Weltzyklen von je 3000 Jahren zu erwarten. Dann sollte Ahuramazda über Angramanju triumphieren, eine Auferstehung der Toten stattfinden und nach einem letzten Gericht ein glückliches, von keiner bösen Macht getrübttes Leben auf Erden anbrechen...'

'In den Weltzyklen,' so äusserte ich weiter in meiner *Geschichte des Alten Orients* (S. 219), 'wenn auch nicht unmittelbar in ihrer mehr dezimalen zahlenmässigen Bemessung, war ein ursprünglich babylonischer Gedanke verwertet; babylonischen Ursprungs ist auch die Siebenzahl, zu der sich Ahuramazda mit den sechs Ameša spenta (Amaschpands) zusammenschliesst.

'Auch in anderer Weise hat die babylonische Mythologie den Mazdaismus wenigstens in seinen Ausdrucksformen beeinflusst. Schon an den Bauten des Darius in Persepolis erscheint der König dargestellt im

¹ Meine *Geschichte des Alten Orients*, S. 215 f. Eduard Meyer, der Zarathuštra um 1000 v. Chr. ansetzt, schreibt ihm die Schöpfung des Namens 'Mazda, der Weise' als völlig neuen Eigennamen zu; s. 'Die Religion Zoroasters' (*Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii. Bd. iii, S. 58-94), S. 60.

² In meiner Schrift *Babyloniens Kulturmission einst und jetzt. Ein Wort der Ablenkung und Aufklärung Zum Babel-Bibel-Streit*, Leipzig, 1903, S. 30 f. und in meiner *Geschichte des Alten Orients*, S. 218 ff., vgl. S. 216.

³ Ed. Meyer, a.a.O., S. 73.

⁴ Yasna xlv. 3 f. Geldner, 'Awestaliteratur' (*Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, iii, S. 1 ff), S. 30.

Kämpfe mit einem Fabeltier in sehr ähnlicher Weise wie in der babylonischen Kunst der Schöpfergott Marduk mit dem Chaos-Ungeheuer, ebenso an Darius' Apadana der König im Kampf mit einem gleich dem Chaos-Ungeheuer gebäumten Löwen. Ihnen gesellen sich, sei es von vornherein, sei es an den Bauten des Xerxes und seiner Nachfolger, als vom König siegreich bekämpft das Einhorn und andere Fabelwesen der babylonischen Sage und Kunst. Sicher ist, dass durch diese von den Babyloniern entlehnten Gestalten die feindlichen Dämonen, die Geschöpfe Ahrimans, eine festere Gestalt erhielten.

‘Aber höchstwahrscheinlich liegt die babylonische Beeinflussung tiefer und greift weiter. Bei der Ausbildung des Dualismus’ durch Zarathuſtra ‘haben offenbar die uralten babylonischen Vorstellungen vom Kampfe des Licht- und Schöpfergottes mit dem finsternen Chaos mitgewirkt, die auch nach dem Nordosten Irans’, der Heimat Zarathuſtra’s, ‘gedrungen waren. Sie wurden von Zarathuſtra als Formen beibehalten, erhielten aber durch ihn einen völlig neuen, der babylonischen Anschauungsweise schlechterdings nicht erreichbaren ethischen Inhalt. Die Einwirkung dieser Vorstellungen lässt die feindliche Gegenüberstellung der im altarischen Glauben neben einander bestehenden Asuras und Dewas bei Zarathuſtra minder willkürlich erscheinen.’ Hieran wird auch durch das Vorhandensein eines altarischen Drachentöters Veretraghna (griech. Artagnes), nichts Wesentliches geändert, ‘der mit anderen Gottheiten, soweit sie nicht, wie Indra und seine Genossen, von Zarathuſtra direkt in Teufel umgewandelt wurden, im Volke allezeit lebendig blieb’ und ‘schliesslich unter Artaxerxes II in die offizielle Religion aufgenommen’ wurde.

Ich möchte jetzt, von dieser früher von mir geäußerten Überzeugung aus und über sie hinaus, noch einen Schritt weiter gehen und auch sie als ein bestätigendes Hilfsmittel für meinen chronologischen Ansatz der Zeit Zoroasters in die Generation (oder ev. falls Zarathuſtra älter war als Hystaspes) in die beiden Generationen vor Dareios I verwerten.

Ganz ausgeschlossen ist es ja nicht, dass babylonische mythologische Vorstellungen bereits um 1000 v. Chr. in das östliche Iran, in die nachmals (schwerlich wohl schon damals) von den Hyrkaniern, den Margianern¹ und den Baktriern bewohnten Gebiete vorgedrungen wären.

In die Ebenen östlich des Tigris- und die diese im Osten begrenzenden Gebirge war ja der Kult der Göttin Ištar, wie die Felskulptur nebst Inschriften

¹ Bekanntlich hat A. Christensen (Verh. des 14. Orientalistentages, Anhänge zu 1. Abt. 595) die Möglichkeit erwogen, Margiana als selbständiges Reich aufzufassen und mit dem Awesta in Verbindung zu bringen, und H. Reichelt hat (*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1915, xxix. 364 ff. und ‘Stand und Aufgehen der Sprachwissenschaft’ 1924, 282, (vgl. Lommel, *D. Lit. Zeig.*, 1926, Sp. 943 f.) auf sprachliche Momente hingewiesen, die seiner Ansicht nach für Merw ins Feld geführt werden können. ‘Unter solchem Gesichtspunkt’, sagt O. G. von Wesendonk (*Zeitschr. f. Indologie u. Iranistik*, vi. 200 f.), ‘könnte auch an Margiana gedacht werden, wiewohl andere Gegenden wie das benachbarte Baktrien und namentlich Sistān vielleicht grosse Beachtung verdienen’.

des Lulubäerkönigs Anubanini¹ im Zagros-Gebirge zeigt, schon im dritten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend bekannt. Aber von dort nach Baktrien ist es noch ein weiter Weg. Und eine so genaue Kenntnis der Grundgedanken des babylonischen Schöpfungsmythus, wie sie es Zarathuſtra ermöglichte, sie für seine Lehre verklärend zu verwerten, müsste um das Jahr 1000 v. Chr. zum Mindesten sehr überraschen.

Aber es lässt sich, wie ich glaube, nachweisen, dass eine irgendwie nähere und exakte Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion und Mythologie bei den Iranern erst viel später vorhanden gewesen sein kann, nachdem ein vorausgehendes Stadium vager Vorstellungen und Beeinflussungen auf folkloristischem Wege, durch Erzählungen, Mären und Gesänge, vorausgegangen und bis zu einem gewissen Grade überwunden worden war.

Dieses folkloristische Stadium aber lässt sich nun auch erst für eine wesentlich spätere Zeit als um 1000 vor Chr. nachweisen. Eine nachhaltige Berührung iranischer Stämme mit den Bewohnern und der Kultur des Zweistromlandes erfolgte erst gegen Ende des neunten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. unter Adadnirari III, dem Sohne der historischen Sammuramat-Semiramis, die während dessen Unmündigkeit nach dem Tode ihres Gemahls Samsi-Adad V (825–812) die Regierung 5 Jahre lang selbständig führte. Gerade als in dieser merkwürdigen Weise in Assyrien eine Frau an der Regierung beteiligt war, hatten die Assyrier die ersten ernstesten Kämpfe mit dem iranischen Volke der Meder zu bestehen, und damals begann nachweislich die babylonisch-assyrische Mythologie die iranischen Vorstellungen nachhaltig zu beeinflussen.

Den Medern, die nunmehr zum ersten Male mit den kriegesischen Assyriern in Berührung kamen und von dem Reichtum und der Pracht ihrer Städte hörten, erschien—ebenso wie den Chaldern—die Tatsache, dass bei ihnen eine Frau im Frieden und wahrscheinlich auch im Kriege die Geschicke des Staates lenkte, so wunderbar, dass sie sie als die Gründerin des—in Wahrheit schon viele Jahrhunderte lang bestehenden assyrischen—Reiches betrachteten, und dass sie ihr in ihren Erzählungen die Züge der Ištar, der assyrischen Kriegs- und Liebesgöttin, liehen. So entstand die Sage von der Semiramis, die mit ihrem nach Ninive benannten Gemahl Ninos das assyrische Reich gegründet habe und die, wie Ištar, ihre Liebhaber tötete.²

Die fortwuchernde medisch-persische Legendenbildung in Volksgesängen und Mären war es, aus der dann nach Nöldekes und meiner Auffassung der griechische Arzt Ktesias am persischen Hofe die Semiramis-Sage kennen lernte und den Griechen vermittelte.³

¹ G. Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne des peuples de l'Orient Classique*, II, 603. Eduard Meyer, *Sumerier und Semiten*, S. 25. Meine Schrift, *Die historische Semiramis und ihre Zeit*, 1910, S. 52 f. Es sind 3 Inschriften dieses Königs dort vorhanden, wie E. Herzfeld neuerdings festgestellt hat: s. mein 'Armenien einst und jetzt' II 2, S. 44*, zu (Bd I) S. 534, Abs. 4 v. u.

² S. meine Ausführungen, *Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift*, 1894, Sp. 239. 'Die histor. Semiramis und Herodot', *Klio*, 1901, I, 256 ff. Artikel 'Semiramis' in Roschers *Lexikon der griech.-u.-röm. Mythologie*, IV, Sp. 681 ff. 'Die histor. Semiramis u. ihre Zeit', S. 59 ff; über die Bedeutung des Berossos-Zeugnisses s. *Klio*, 1928–9, XXII, 151, vgl. S. 157.

³ S. meinen Artikel 'Semiramis' bei Roscher *Mythol. Lex.* IV, Sp. 688; *Gesch. des alt. Or.* 147. *Klio*, 1928–9, XXII, 157.

Dieser mehr folkloristischen Verbreitung babylonisch-assyrischer Sagenzüge kann und muss dann eine genauere Vertrautheit zunächst der Meder, dann überhaupt der Iranier, mit der babylonisch-assyrischen Religion und Mythologie gefolgt sein, als die Meder von den Assyriern nach jenen ersten Kämpfen besiegt und ihrer Herrschaft unterworfen blieben, bis im Jahre 677 v. Chr., unter Assarhaddon, dem Enkel Sargons II—aus dessen Inschriften die Liste medischer Häuptlinge mit den Namen Mašdaku und Maštaku stammt—die Meder sich unter dem Dejokiden Mamitiaršu selbständig machten.¹

Zwischen den Medern und den Babyloniern, als beiderseitigen Gegnern der Assyrier, müssen dann mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert lang immer engere politische und kulturelle Beziehungen bestanden haben, bis im Jahre 612 Ninive von den Medern, mit denen als iranischer frischer Zuzug die Nordmänner (Manda, Herodots Skythen,) verbündet waren, und den Babyloniern zerstört wurde, worauf nach wenigen Jahren das assyrische Reich zu Grunde ging,² dessen Erben im Norden die Meder, im Süden die Babylonier wurden, bis der Perser Kyros erst die Meder (550), dann die Babylonier (539) besiegte und die babylonische Königswürde (seit 538) mit der persischen in Personalunion verband.³

Erst seit den Zeiten, da die Meder den Assyriern unterworfen waren, also erst seit dem 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr. ist eine nähere Bekanntschaft mit der Kultur des Zweistromlandes bei den Iraniern—den Medern voran—anzunehmen mit steigender Vertiefung und verstärktem gegenseitigem politischen, kommerziellen und kulturellen Austausch in den nachfolgenden Zeiten beiderseitiger Selbständigkeit. Eine engere Vertrautheit mit spezifisch Babylonischem aber, wie dem Weltschöpfungsmythus, dessen nachweisbare Wandlungen an den Grundzügen—dem Kampf des Licht- und Schöpfergottes mit der Tiamat, dem Chaosungeheuer und Vertreter der Finsternis,—nichts geändert haben, wird man am Ehesten in die Zeit setzen, da Meder und Babylonier in ihrem Gegensatz gegen die Assyrier auf einander angewiesen waren, also in die Zeit vom ausgehenden 7. bis Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts, an deren Ende wir uns nach den vorliegenden Zeugnissen Zarathuštra's Wirken zu denken haben.

So kann auch diese von der Verwertung von Elementen des babylonischen Schöpfungsmythus durch Zarathuštra⁴ ausgehende Betrachtung als sekundäre Bestätigung für dessen allein bezeugten Ansatz in die Zeit des Vištâspa-Hystaspes gelten.

In der Person des Hystaspes als des Förderers des Spitâma-Zarathuštra ergibt sich aber noch ein weiterer Gesichtspunkt, der für die Verwertung

¹ Präšek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, i. 121 ff. Mein Artikel 'Kimmerier', Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, xi, Sp. 408 f.

² Meine *Geschichte des Alten Orients*, S. 171 f.

³ Ebenda, S. 185 f. u. S. 189 f.

⁴ Nachträglich sah ich, dass ich in der Annahme von Beziehungen des Mazdaismus zur altbabylonischen Mythologie in F. Hommel einen Bundesgenossen und Vorgänger habe. S. meine Besprechung von Hommels 'Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients' in der *Historia*, V.

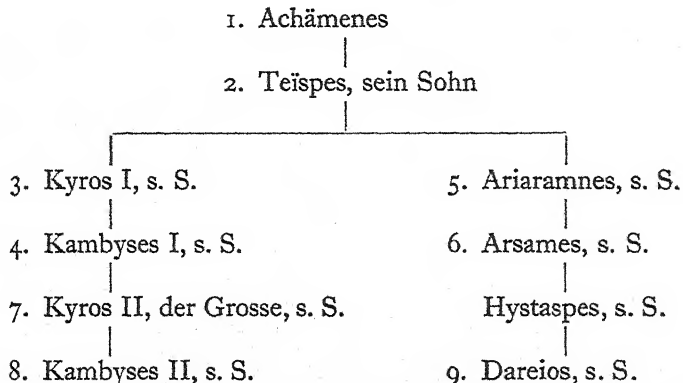
und veredelnde Umprägung babylonischer mythischer Vorstellungen durch Zarathuſtra von Bedeutung ist. Für das Verſtändnis und die Förderung, die Zoroaster bei dem Achämeniden Hystaspes fand, wird der nunmehr zu erörternde Umstand nicht ohne Bedeutung gewesen sein, dass speziell bei den Persern und namentlich bei den Achämeniden eine besondere Vertrautheit mit der babylonischen Kultur vorauszusetzen ist.

IV

Bei Eduard Meyer¹ liest man mit Bezug auf Vištāspa: 'Dass es noch immer Gelehrte gibt, die die Gleichsetzung dieses Königs mit Darius' Vater Hystaspes für möglich oder auch nur für diskutabel halten, gehört zu den Unbegreiflichkeiten, die sich auf diesem Gebiet besonders stark und verhängnisvoll geltend gemacht haben, und zeigt, wie völlig fern so manchem bedeutenden Philologen auch hier alles Verſtändnis für Geschichte und historisches Denken liegt.'

Das würde voraussetzen, dass es zwei Lager gebe: hier die Historiker, die Zarathuſtra um 1000 v. Chr., ansetzen, dort die Philologen, die ihn als Zeitgenossen des Achämeniden Hystaspes betrachten. Die vorliegenden von einem Historiker herrührenden Ausführungen zeigen, dass dem nicht so ist.

Es wird sich empfehlen, zunächst den Achämeniden-Stammbaum, wie ihn Dareios sich nachweislich vorgestellt hat, als er (Behistun § 4) sagte: '8 meines Geschlechtes waren vor dem Könige: ich bin der neunte: *duvī-tāpārnām* (neusussisch *šamak-mar*), d. h. in "zwei Reihen", sind wir neun Könige' auf Grund meiner früheren Ausführungen² hierherzusetzen. Dass der Zweig, dem Dareios angehört, der jüngere war, wird durch das *Naotairja*³ (avestisch für altpersisch *Nautarja*, d. i. Nachkomme von *Nautara* vgl. griech. *νεώτερος* 'der jüngere')⁴ des Avesta bestätigt.



Die Verbindung zwischen beiden Linien wurde dadurch hergestellt, dass Dareios sich mit Atossa, des grossen Kyros Tochter, vermählte, die vorher

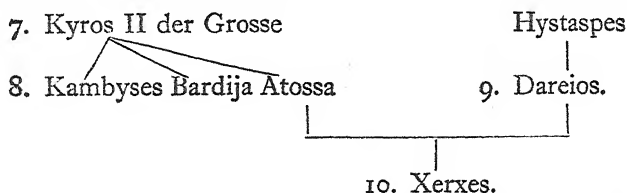
¹ A.a.O. S. 71, Anm. x.

² *Klio*, 1902, ii, Anm.; *Klio*, 1908, viii, 493-6; Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, x, Sp. 1810 ff.; Vgl. ob. S. 251.

³ Yašt, 5, 98; 15, 35; 17, 55 f., usf.

⁴ Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, xi (erschienen 1919), Sp. 1811 Z. 9 ff. und die dort Zitierten.

die Gemahlin ihres Bruders Kambyses und des falschen Bardija gewesen war. Also:



Die Worte, die Herodot VII 11 dem Xerxes in den Mund legt, hätten, wie ich betonte¹, richtig vielmehr folgendermassen gelaute: *μη γὰρ εἶην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω τοῦ Τείσπεος [καὶ ἐκ Ἀτόσσης τῆς] Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσσεω [τοῦ Κύρου] τοῦ Τείσπεος τοῦ Ἀχαμένεος γεγονώς*. Doch liegt hier m. E. sicher kein Textfehler vor, sondern der Irrtum ist bereits von Herodot oder eher noch von seiner Quelle begangen worden. Xerxes stammte tatsächlich in gerader Linie von den grossen Herrschern der älteren, anšanischen Linie durch seine Mutter Atossa ab. Der Umstand, dass die Namen Kambyses und Kyros sich in der älteren Linie wiederholten, hat es erleichtert, sie in die Zeit vor der Teilung in die beiden Linien hinaufzuprojizieren, zu welchem Zwecke denn auch Teïspes verdoppelt werden musste. So wurde es erreicht, dass ein Kambyses und ein Kyros unter den direkten Vorfahren des Xerxes erschienen, unter denen dann naturgemäss der grosse Kyros und sein Vater verstanden wurden.

Hystaspes, der Vater des Dareios, war also Zeitgenosse seines Vettters zweiten Grades, des grossen Kyros, und vermutlich, als Angehöriger der jüngeren Linie etwas jünger als jener.² Er war niemals König, sondern verwaltete unter Kyros die Provinzen Baktrien und Hyrkanien.³

In welcher Stellung haben wir uns nun die älteren Achämeniden beider Linien und die Vertreter des ungeteilten Geschlechtes zu denken?

Kyros bezeichnet sich in seiner babylonischen Zylinderinschrift als König von Anšan und giebt diesen Titel auch seinen Vorfahren einschliesslich des Teïspes, seines Urgrossvaters. Da Kyros die Meder 553–550 v. Chr. bekriegte, Babylon 539 eroberte, und 529 starb, werden wir seine Akme um 550 anzusetzen haben, und kommen für Teïspes, 3 Generationen vor ihm, in die Zeit um 650. Teïspes war also jedenfalls König von Anšan, dem Gebiet um Susa, unter medischer Oberhoheit. Da aber auch die jüngere Linie von Teïspes abstammt, und ihre Angehörigen von Dareios gleichfalls als Könige bezeichnet werden, so ist anzunehmen, dass Teïspes noch eine andere Landschaft beherrschte, die kaum eine andere gewesen sein kann als Persien. Teïspes war also König von Anšan und der Persis unter medischer Oberhoheit, während ihm sein Sohn Kyros in Anšan, dessen jüngerer Bruder Ariaramnes in der Landschaft Persis folgte.

Den Stammvater des Geschlechts, Achämenes, 'entgegen den eigenen Anschauungen des Dareios nur als mythischen Stammvater zu betrachten, liegt keinerlei Grund vor. Fraglich kann der Zeitlage nach nur sein, ob

¹ Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, xi, Sp. 1811, Zl. 16 ff.

² Vgl. unt. S. 280, Anm. 1.

³ Behistun, § 35 f. s. 'Satrap', § 3, Pauly-Kroll-Witte, ii A, Sp. 85, Zl. 34 ff. (vgl. ob. S. 252).

Achämenes, den wir um 680 v. Chr. anzusetzen haben, der medischen Oberhoheit von Anfang an unterstand, oder ihr erst erlag, als Medien sich 677 von Assyrien unabhängig machte.' Im ersteren Falle müssten wir Achämenes als König von Anšan und der Landschaft Persis zunächst unter mittelbarer assyrischer, dann unter medischer Oberhoheit betrachten.¹

Als nun Kyros II das persische Reich begründete und sich dabei nach Herodot auf drei persische Stämme, darunter die Pasargaden, als deren wichtigsten stützte, musste er sich in erster Linie mit den Angehörigen der jüngeren, bisher in der Persis herrschenden Linie auseinandersetzen; und so wird es zu erklären sein, dass er seinen Vetter Hystaspes-Vištāspa mit einem ausserordentlichen Posten, mit der Verwaltung der grossen Gebiete von Hyrkanien und Baktrien betraute.²

Wann aber ist das geschehen? Im Nabonidzylinder sowohl wie in der Nabonid-Kyros-Chronik, ist nur von einer Besiegung der Meder durch Kyros, als König von Anšan die Rede, in ersterem wird er ausdrücklich als 'geringer Knecht' des Mederkönigs bezeichnet, der 'mit seinen wenigen Truppen' den weit überlegenen Gegner besiegte.

Hält man sich daran, so würde die Besiegung der Meder und vielleicht selbst die Verschwägerung mit dem Mederkönige zunächst noch nicht als eine national und allgemein persische Angelegenheit, sondern als eine des Fürsten von Anšan zu betrachten sein, und man würde aus der Tatsache, dass erst im neunten Jahre Nabonids (547) als Kyros den Tigris überschritt, um gegen Lydien *ana māt Lu-u[d-di]*³ zu ziehen, Kyros in der Nabonid-Kyros Chronik zum ersten Mal als König von Persien bezeichnet wird,⁴ schliessen können, dass die Auseinandersetzung mit der jüngeren Linie in der Persis und mit den übrigen persischen Fürsten und Grossen erst in der Zeit zwischen 553 und 547 erfolgt sei, die für uns im Übrigen, soweit Kyros in Betracht kommt, ein unbeschriebenes Blatt ist.

Freilich wird auch in dem babylonischen Kyros-Cylinder aus dem Jahre 538 Kyros durchweg nur als König von Anšan bezeichnet. Aber das wird man schwerlich dahin zu deuten haben, dass die beiden Titel, 'König von Anšan' und 'König von Persien', synonym und promiscue gebraucht worden seien.

Der Kyros-Cylinder diene einem ganz bestimmten Zwecke: der Begründung von Kyros' spezifisch babylonischem Königtum, das er fortan in Personalunion mit seiner sonstigen Herrschaft zu führen gedachte.⁵ Da mochte es geraten scheinen, Kyros' übrige Herrschaft zunächst nicht als die übermächtige über ganz Persien, sondern als die über ein kleineres mit Babylonien vergleichbares Gebiet hinzustellen. Haben doch auch Kyros und seine Nachfolger sich in Babylon immer nur als 'König von Babylon, König der

¹ Zum Vorstehenden s. meine Ausführungen, *Klio*, 1902, ii, S. 341, Anm. 1.; *Verhandl. des XIII. Or. Kongresses* (Hamburg 1902), S. 98 f.; *Geschichte des alten Orients*, S. 185; Vgl. auch Krümmel, *Sitzungsberichte der böhm. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1902, No. 7. Für die Geschichtlichkeit des Achämenes habe ich auf 'Omri verwiesen, nach dem Israel, noch dazu als seine Dynastie schon beseitigt war, keilinschriftlich als 'Haus des 'Omri' bezeichnet wurde.

² Vgl. S. 263, Anm. 3.

³ Siehe darüber meine Äusserungen, *Archäol. Anzeiger*, 1898, 122 f., 1902, ii, 344; 1920, xvii, 113, 1928-9, xxii, 476. *Wiener Studien*, a. a. O. 123 ff. ⁴ *Wiener Studien*, a. a. O. 125.

⁵ Lehmann-Haupt, *Samašsumukin*, 1892, i, S. 49 f., s. ferner die folgende Anmerkung.

Länder' bezeichnet. Erst Xerxes hat in veränderter und verhängnisvoller Politik den Babyloniern gegenüber sein medisch-persisches Königtum betont.¹ An und für sich würde es jedenfalls vorsichtiger sein, für die Begründung von Kyros' Herrschaft über Persien im engeren und weiteren Sinne und deren Vorbedingungen erst die Zeit zwischen 550 und 547 anzunehmen.

Indessen wird sich dagegen alsbald eine Gegeninstanz herausstellen.

Zu jenen Vorbedingungen gehörte in erster Linie der Verzicht der persischen Stammeshäuptlinge auf ihre Herrscherrechte zu Gunsten des Kyros, der für uns am Deutlichsten greifbar ist in der Ausnahmestellung und dem Sonderrecht der bekannten 6 (ursprünglich 7) Familien. Dass diese bereits auf Kyros zurückgeht nicht erst, mit Herodot, als durch Dareios begründet zu betrachten ist, darf als sicher gelten.² Wohl aber wird Dareios als er, als das Haupt einer dieser Familien, nämlich der 'Naotairja', der jüngeren Linie der Achämeniden, das Grosskönigtum errang, die Häupter der übrigen sechs Familien in ihren alten Rechten bestätigt und wahrscheinlich ihnen neue Gerechtsame zugestanden haben.

Bleiben wir nun einstweilen bei den Ansätzen '550 endgültige Besiegung der Meder, spätestens 547 Annahme des Titels "König von Persien" durch Kyros', so werden wir dem hinzuzufügen haben: 'spätestens 547 Betrauung des Hystaspes mit der Verwaltung der wichtigen Provinzen Parthien und Hyrkanien durch Kyros'. Diese Massnahme muss nämlich unbedingt zu den Vorbedingungen von Kyros' Anerkennung als Gesamtherrscher der Perser gerechnet werden. Da die Vorfahren des Dareios in der jüngeren Linie, Ariaramnes und Arsames, von ihm als Könige betrachtet werden, sein Vater Vištāspa-Hystaspes dagegen nicht, so muss Hystaspes mit der hohen Verwaltungsstelle als Entgelt für seinen Verzicht auf das Königtum seiner Vorfahren bedacht und abgefunden worden sein.³

Was ergibt sich nun unter dieser Voraussetzung für die Einstellung der Vertreter der beiden achämenidischen Linien, des Kyros und seines Veters zweiten Grades, des Hystaspes, gegenüber der babylonischen Kultur und für die Frage, inwieweit sie religiösen Vorstellungen und Lehren zugänglich waren, die babylonisches mythologisches Gut verwerteten?

Kyros war, wie sein Name Kuraš mit seiner elamitischen Endung zeigt,⁴ kein reiner Iranier. Er wird mütterlicherseits von elamitischem Blute gewesen sein. Er hat sich auch von Haus als Anšanier, also als Herr einer centralen elamitischen Landschaft und ihrer Bevölkerung mit der Residenz in Susa betrachtet.

¹ *Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.*, 1900, Sp. 950-65; *Festschrift des Innsbrucker Historikerklubs* 1923, 76 ff.—*Gesch. des alten Orients*, 224.

² J. V. Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, i. 202 ff.

³ [Korrektur-Zusatz. Durch die von F. W. König bearbeitete, den Burgbau zu Susa schildernde Bauinschrift Dareios' I (*Mitteil. d. Vorderas.-äg. Ges.*, 1930, xxxv Heft 1), Z. 12 ff. wissen wir, dass, als Dareios die Herrschaft über das Perserreich errang, als sowohl sein Vater Hystaspes wie sein Grossvater Arsames (nahezu 80 jährig) noch lebten. Also muss es Arsames, den Dareios als König nennt, gewesen sein, der auf die Herrschaft in der Persis im Einverständnis mit seinem Sohne Hystaspes verzichtete. Und die Ernennung des Letzteren zum Statthalter von Parthien und Hyrkanien galt als Entgelt für Beide.]

⁴ F. C. Andreas, *Verhandl. des XIII. Orientalischen Kongresses*, 93 ff. Meine Bemerkung, *Klio*, 1908, viii. 495 und *Geschichte des Alten Orients*.

Nachmals residierte dann Kyros zu Pasargadae. Die Pasargaden waren die wichtigsten der drei Stämme, auf die gestützt Kyros das Perserreich begründet hatte; im Gebiete der Pasargaden war auch die letzte Entscheidungsschlacht gegen die Meder ausgefochten worden.¹ Mit den schlichten Worten der in Pasargadae vielfach wiederkehrenden Inschrift, in der auf Kyros' Veranlassung gebildeten altpersischen Buchstabenkeilschrift² und daneben in anšanisch-neusüdischer und in neubabylonischer Sprache und Keilschrift: 'Ich Kuraš, der Achämenide' bezeichnet sich Kyros als den Erbauer der Palastanlagen. Diese Worte standen u.a. auch auf einem riesigen Pfeiler, der geschmückt war mit der Gestalt eines als Türhüter und Schützer gedachten Genius. Er hat vier Flügel, trägt zwar die ägyptische Krone aber elamitische Tracht,³ und Kyros hat ihn offenbar aus Anšan, dem von ihm beherrschten elamitischen Gebiete übernommen⁴.

Die Elamiten aber standen mit den Babyloniern bei gemeinsamer Wurzel der beiderseitigen Kulturen,⁴ in sehr nahen politischen und kulturellen Beziehungen, die sich, anders als früher, in der uns angehenden Zeit auf Grund des gemeinsamen Gegensatzes zu den Assyriern im Wesentlichen friedlich gestaltet hatten.

So dürfen wir Kyros als von Haus aus mit den Elementen der babylonischen Kultur und speziell mit dem Welterschöpfungs-Mythus vertraut denken.

Von einem weiteren Zustrom babylonischer Anschauungen werden wir uns Kyros berührt zu denken haben, als er nach der Eroberung des medischen Reiches und seiner Verheiratung mit der Tochter des İstuwigu-Astyages zunächst in Ekbatana als der medischen Hauptstadt residiert haben wird, das er, woran noch zu erinnern sein wird, als Sommerresidenz dauernd beibehielt.

Und älterer, medischer wie elamitischer, Einfluss und damit schon eine Kunde grundlegender babylonischer mythologischen Vorstellungen ist spätestens schon für Teispes, Kyros' Urgrossvater, als König von Anšan und der Landschaft Persien (oder eines Teils derselben) vorauszusetzen.

Letzteres gilt dann aber auch für die gleichfalls von Teispes abstammende jüngere Linie, also auch für Hystaspes, dessen Urgrossvater gleichfalls Teispes war; und auf Hystaspes' Grossvater und Vater, als Könige unter medischer Oberhoheit, ist alsdann ein verstärkter medischer Einfluss mit babylonischen Kulturelementen anzunehmen, ganz abgesehen von der Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass auch die Landschaft Persis mittelbarer elamitischer, stark babylonisch durchtränkter Beeinflussung offen gewesen ist.

Dazu kommt, dass der offenbar ziemlich enge verwandtschaftliche Zusammenhang zwischen den Mitgliedern der beiden achämenidischen Linien es verbieten würde, die jüngere Linie von den Einflüssen ganz frei zu erachten, die bei den älteren so stark und nachhaltig wirkten.

So werden wir Bekanntschaft und Vertrautheit mit dem babylonischen Welterschöpfungsmythos und mit dem Kampf des Lichtgottes gegen das

¹ Prášek, *a.a.O.* I, S. 210 f.

² E. Herzfeld, 'Pasargadae' (*Klio*, 1908. viii. 1-68), S. 65 ff.

³ E. Herzfeld, *a.a.O.* 63 ff.

⁴ Meine *Geschichte des Alten Orients*, 195 f. [Vgl. Amelia Hertz, 'Die Kultur um den persischen Golf', *Klio*, Beiheft 20, 1930. (Korr.-Zusatz.)]

Chaosungeheuer und damit die Zugänglichkeit für eine neue ethisch hochstehende, diesen Dualismus verwertende Lehre bei Kyros wie bei Hystaspes voraussetzen dürfen.

Und so würde es sich umso eher erklären, dass Viſtâspa-Hystaspes, als er als höchster Verwaltungsbeamter in die Gebiete kam, wo Zarathuſtra Spitâma wirkte, von diesem mit einiger Leichtigkeit für seine neue Lehre gewonnen wurde.

V

Zarathuſtra selbst betet (Gatha I, Yasna 28):

‘Verleih, o Aſa, den Lohn, die Herrlichkeiten des guten Sinns, gewähre Du, o Armatay, dem Viſtâspa den Wunsch, und mir gib es, o Mazdâh und König, das Euer Prophet sich Gehör verschaffe.’¹

Gatha XI (Yasna 46) heisst es: ‘O Zarathuſtra! welcher Gläubige ist dein Freund für den grossen Bund? Oder wer will, dass man von ihm höre.’² Das ist der Kavay Viſtâspa bei dem Schlusswerk.³ Und im übrigen Avesta heisst es:⁴ ‘Um Besitz schneller Rosse baten die Naotariden . . . alsbald darauf (erhielten) die Naotariden ihren Wunsch erfüllt. Viſtâspa kam in den Besitz der schnellsten Rosse in diesen Ländern’ (Yaſt v. 98).

‘Zarathuſtra bat sie’ (die Flussgottheit Arədvī): “Diesen Erfolg schenke mir, o gute gewaltigste, o gewaltige makellose Arədvī: Dass ich den Sohn des Aurvataspas, den heldenhaften Kavay Viſtâspa ständig antreibe, gemäss der Religion zu denken, gemäss der Religion zu reden, gemäss der Religion zu handeln”. Es schenkte ihn da diesen Erfolg die gewaltige makellose Arədvī . . .’ (Yaſt v. 105).

‘Wir verehren die Fravaſay des aſagläubigen Kavay Viſtâspa, des heldenhaften, der das heilige Wort in sich aufgenommen hat . . . des ahurischen . . ., der sich als Stütze und Beistand dieser Religion, der ahurischen zarathuſtrischen bereitstellte; der diese, (die) zum Stehen gebracht, gebunden nun, aus den Banden herausholte, sie (so) niedersetzte, (dass) sie in der Mitte sass, eine unverrückbare Gebieterin in der Höhe. . .’ (Yaſt xiii. 99, 100).

Dies würde nach unseren bisherigen behutsamen chronologischen Ansätzen spätestens zwischen 550 und 547 geschehen sein.

Allein eine weitere Nachricht und Erwägung sichert die einerseits ohnehin feststehende Tatsache, dass als Förderer des Zarathuſtra nur der Eine uns bekannte Viſtâspa-Hystaspes, der Vater des Dareios, in Betracht kommt und ergibt zugleich eine Berichtigung für unseren Ansatz, den sie als zu niedrig erweist.

Im Jahre 232 der Hedjra wurde auf Geheiss des Chalifen Mutawakkil, des zehnten Abbassiden, die heilige Zypresse gefällt, welche an der Stelle stand, wo Zarathuſtra den Viſtâspa bekehrt hatte, und zwar 1450 Jahre nach dem sie gepflanzt worden war.⁵

¹ Chr. Bartholomae, *Die Gatha's des Avesta, Zarathushtra's Verspredigten*, 1905, S. 2 f.

² ‘So viel als: dass er gerühmt werde,’ Bartholomae, *a.a.O.*, S. 84¹³.

³ Vgl. noch Gatha XV (Yasna 50), 3 und dazu Bartholomae, 105³.

⁴ Nach der Übersetzung von Wolf.

⁵ S. Jackson, *Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran*: ‘The Dabistan (translated by Shea and

Dazu bemerkt Viktor Floigl:¹ 'Vor Allem aber beginnt die Ära jener heiligen Cypresse 1450 Mondjahre vor dem Frevel Motawakkel's in 232 der Hegira, . . . 1450 - 232 = 1218 Mondjahre = 1182 Sonnenjahre vor 622 n. Chr. = 560/59 v. Chr.,' das h. im Anfangsjahre des Kyros.

Man ist nun wohl vielfach geneigt gewesen, dieser Tradition den Glauben zu versagen, während sie in Wahrheit als ein historisches Zeugnis allerersten Ranges zu bewerten ist.

Ich habe schon wiederholt darauf hingewiesen, wie zäh sich, auch ohne Unterstützung irgendwelcher Jahresrechnung, Überlieferungen erhalten, die an bestimmte Örtlichkeiten geknüpft sind.²

In unserem Falle haben wir es nun aber mit einer Überlieferung zu tun, die sich an einen sorglich gepflegten Baum, ein sichtbares Glaubens-Symbol, wenn nicht geradezu einen Gegenstand gläubiger Verehrung, knüpfte und die mit einer Jahresrechnung verbunden war, wie sie zu allen Zeiten ihre Anfänge in priesterlichen Händen nahm—man braucht nur an die von den priesterlichen Exegeten geführte Chronik in Athen und an die Fasten in Rom zu denken. So hat Floigl ganz Recht, wenn er die Ära jener Cypresse als die heilige und offizielle Ära der Parsen selbst bezeichnet.

Und diese Ära³ beginnt ganz zu Anfang von Kyros' Regierung.

Damit wird einmal aufs Neue erwiesen, dass Zarathuſtra's Förderer kein anderer als eben Viſtāspa, der Vater des Dareios gewesen sein kann, zum Andern werden wir nun doch gezwungen, mit dem Erscheinen des Hystaspes in seiner neuen Verwaltungssphäre bis in den Anfang von Kyros' Regierung zurückzugehen.

Und wenn andererseits für Kyros erst im Jahre 547 der Titel König von Persien nachweisbar ist, so erkennen wir nunmehr, dass die Einigung der Perser unter Kyros' Oberherrschaft kein einmaliger schnell erledigter Vorgang, sondern das Ergebnis einer allmählichen Entwicklung ist. Die ersten Schritte, darunter die Einigung mit der jüngeren Linie der Achämeniden, die zu deren Thronverzicht führte, erfolgten gleich zu Beginn von Kyros' Regierung und waren die Voraussetzung für seinen Freiheitskampf gegen die Meder. Sein schliesslicher Erfolg gegen Astyages (550 v. Chr.) ermöglichte es ihm dann, die Einigung der Perser durchzuführen; die Fürsten und Stämme, die sich zurückgehalten hatten, wurden nun mehr oder weniger leicht gewonnen.

Diese Regelung—darunter auch die Ausdehnung der Privilegierung auf nunmehr sieben Familien, von denen einige, wie die jüngere Linie der Achä-Troyer)i. 306-9, narrates that the holy cypress which Zoroaster had planted at Khishma in Khorasan and which was cut down by order of Mutawakkil, tenth calife of the Abasside dynasty (846-860), had stood for 1450 years from the time of its being planted to the year 232 of the Hejirah'.

¹ *Cyrus und Herodot* (1881), S. 18* Vgl. J. V. Prasek, *a.a.O.*, i. 205. Obiges würde auch dann gelten, wenn etwa die erstgepflanzte Zypresse früher eingegangen und durch eine neue ersetzt worden sein, ja selbst wenn sich dieser Vorgang mehrmals wiederholt haben sollte.

² Besonders schlagend das Königsgrab von Seddin in der Mark, in dem wirklich, wie die Sage behauptete, ein Held in dreifachem Sarge beigesetzt war, s. *Die historische Semiramis und ihre Zeit*, 1910, S. 68 f.

³ Sie wird bestätigt durch die Ära einer von Südwesten von Iran her in China eingewanderten Sekte: Floigl *a.a.O.*, S. 18.

meniden, die Naotariden, die Bevorzugung schon von vornherein erlangt hatten—wird in der Jahren 550–548 erfolgt sein, sodass Kyros bereits im Nisan 547, also zu Beginn der babylonischen Jahre 547–6 in der Nabonid-Kyros-Chronik als König von Persien bezeichnet werden konnte.

Vištâspa-Hystaspes wurde dann in seinem neuen Verwaltungsgebiet schnell mit Zarathuštra bekannt und dass er für seine neue Lehre gewonnen werden konnte, spricht einesteils in ethischer Hinsicht in gleiche Weise für den prophetischen Lehrer und den fürstlichen Schüler, wurde aber andererseits dadurch erleichtert, dass die neue Lehre in dem Dualismus uralte babylonische Vorstellungen verwertete und veredelte, die dem Achämeniden längst vertraut gewesen waren.

In diesem Zusammenhange ist gegen Hertels¹ Auffassung, als sei Hystaspes erst von seinem Sohne Dareios, als dieser die Herrschaft über das Reich angetreten hatte, nach Parthien als Statthalter versetzt worden, 'weil dieser in Parthien eines besonderen zuverlässigen Vertreters bedurfte und weil in Persien ohnedies für einen Statthalter kein Raum mehr war', nachdrücklich Einspruch zu erheben. Sie würde voraussetzen, entweder dass Hystaspes erst im Jahre 521 im Osten Irans mit Zarathuštra und seiner Lehre bekannt geworden sei, oder aber dass Zarathuštra als Wanderprediger vor 521 nach der Persis gekommen sei und dort den Hystaspes für seine Lehre gewonnen habe. Dass eine ist so unwahrscheinlich als das andere.

Hertel stützt sich auf Her. III. 70, γεγονότων δὲ τούτων ἔξ παραγίγνεται ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα Δαρείος Ὑστάσπεος, τούτων γὰρ δὴ ἦν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ ὑπαρχος. Aber diese Angabe Herodots will so wenig besagen, wie andere Angaben seiner, aus guten tatsächlichen Nachrichten und irrigen der Volkstradition oder eigener Kombination entstammenden Elementen in eigenartiger Weise zusammengeordneten Erzählung.² So wenig wie Herodot ahnt, dass Kyros und seine Vorfahren Könige von Anſan gewesen sind oder dass Kyros nach der Besiegung des Astyages aus politischen Gründen dessen Tochter heimführte; so wenig wir Herodots der Behistun-Inschrift widersprechendem Bericht, als sei Bardiyâ-Smerdis mit Kambyzes in Ägypten gewesen und dann zuerst er und später sein Mörder Prexaspes nach Susa entsandt worden: so wenig ist auf Herodots Angabe, Hystaspes sei bis zur Thronbesteigung des Dareios Statthalter oder Unterstatthalter in Persien gewesen, irgend etwas zu geben.

Sie widerspricht nicht nur der Gesamtsachlage und steht nicht nur mit der durch die Ära der heiligen Zypresse noch erhärteten Erkenntnis in unversöhnlichem Gegensatz, dass Zarathuštra den Hystaspes im nordöstlichen Iran bekehrt hat, sondern sie widerstreitet auch Dareios' I eigenen Worten—Beh. § 35, 'Es spricht der König Dareios: "Parthien und Hyrkänien waren von mir abtrünnig geworden und hatten sich Anhänger des Frawartiš genannt. Mein Vater Hystaspes, der war (so die altpersische und die elamitische Fassung, die babylonische hat: 'wohnte' *ašibma*) in Parthien.

¹ Die Zeit Zoroasters, S. 29 f.

² Vgl. dazu im Allgemeinen meinen Vortrag 'Das Grab der Nitokris', *Verh. der Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner*, Jena, 1921, S. 15 ff.

Ihn verliess das Volk und ward abtrünnig". Hier wird deutlich gesagt, dass Hystaspes in Parthien ansässig war, als der Aufstand begann.

Da wir wissen, dass alle die in der Behistun-Inschrift geschilderten Aufstände (bis auf den nachgetragenen erneuten elamitischen¹) in einem und demselben Jahre, unmittelbar nachdem Dareios König geworden war,² sich zugetragen haben und niedergeschlagen worden sind und dass die Gährung eben durch den Regierungsantritt des zur jüngeren Achämenidenlinie gehörigen Dareios hervorgerufen wurde, so konnte von einem 'Sein' und 'Wohnen', von einem Wurzeln des Hystaspes in Parthien nicht die Rede sein, wenn er erst nach Dareios' Regierungsantritt, der das Signal zu den Aufständen gegeben hatte, nach Parthien entsandt worden wäre, und auch nicht von einem treugebliebenen Teile des Heeres, mit dem nach Beh. § 35 Hystaspes die Abtrünnigen, schliesslich unterstützt durch ein von Dareios gesandtes Heer, schlug.

Es bleibt dabei, dass Hystaspes von Kyros nach Parthien entsandt worden war, wie ich es oben und schon in meinem Artikel 'Satrap', § 3 ff. dargelegt habe.

Danach war die Satrapienordnung des Dareios' I keine völlige Neuschöpfung, sondern eine Neuordnung. Diese kann erst erfolgt sein, nachdem er der zahlreichen Aufstände nach seinem Regierungsantritt Herr gewesen war. Wenn also in der Behistuninschrift zweimal von Satrapen die Rede ist Dadaršis, Satrap in Baktrien (Beh. § 38), und Wiwana, Satrap in Arachosien (Beh. § 45), so beweist das deren Vorhandensein vor Dareios' Satrapieenordnung. Diese Satrapen müssen also vor Kyros—Kambyses und der falsche Smerdis kommen kaum in Betracht—eingesetzt sein, und ebenso Hystaspes, ob er nur Satrap war oder, wie ich für wahrscheinlicher hielt und halte, als Verwalter von Parthien und Hyrkanien eine besondere Vertrauensstellung, eine Art Generalgouvernement bekleidete.³

Dass Parthien und Hyrkanien von Hystaspes verwaltet wurden, schloss und schliesse ich daraus, dass es Beh. § 35 zu Beginn heisst: 'Parthien und Hyrkanien waren von mir abtrünnig geworden und hatten sich (Anhänger) des Frawartiš genannt,' während in der Folge nur von Parthien und dessen Unterwerfung die Rede ist, bis § 37: 'Das ist's, was von mir in Parthien getan wurde'. Offenbar ist also Hyrkanien, das auch später in der Satrapieenordnung des Dareios nicht vorkommt,⁴ als im weiteren Sinne zu Parthien zum Verwaltungsbereich des Hystaspes, gehörig betrachtet worden.

Die Bekehrung des Vištāspa-Hystaspes gehört also in eine sehr erheblich vor 521 liegende Zeit und ist nicht in Persien, sondern im nordöstlichen Iran, wo Zarathuštra wirkte, vollzogen worden.

¹ *Klio* 1920, XVII. 122.

² Beh. 52 und meine *Gesch. des Alten Orients*, S. 202. Dass Dareios seiner Feinde 'in einem und demselben Jahre' in 19 Schlachten Herr geworden sei, ist freilich eine etwas weitherzige Angabe. Ausser den 12 Monaten von Dareios' erstem Regierungsjahre kamen noch die sechs Monate seines Antrittsjahres hinzu, und die beiden letzten Schlachten fielen auf den 1. und 5. Tag des 1. Monats seines 2. Regierungsjahres. S. dazu 'Satrap', § 3 (*a.a.O.*, S. 85) und *Gesch. des Alten Orients*, S. 202.

³ 'Satrap', § 3 ff. Vgl. oben S. 252.

⁴ 'Satrap', Sp. 85; Zl. 52.

In die Zeit um 521 hingegen fällt allem Anscheine nach ein anderes Ereignis, das einen weiteren erheblichen Erfolg der Lehre Zarathuštra's bei den Achämeniden bedeutete.

VI

Im Awesta (Yašt xv. 35 f.) heisst es: 'Ihm (dem Winde) opferte Hutaosâ (das ist Atossa), die viele Brüder hatte, in dem Hause der Naotara' (d.h. der jüngeren Linie). 'Zu ihm betete sie: "Dieses Glück verleihe mir, Wind, (Du) Übermächtiger, dass ich lieb und geliebt und anerkannt werde im Hause des Fürsten Vištâspa".'

Aus dieser Stelle 'hat man, wie Hertel, dem wir hier folgen, betont,¹ 'ohne weiteres', und zwar im Anschluss an die Parsen, 'geschlossen Hutaosâ stamme gleichfalls aus dem Hause der Naotara und sei Vištâspa's Schwester und Gemahlin'.

Dagegen wendet sich Hertel: 'Was berechtigt uns denn dazu, aus dieser Stelle herauszulesen, das Opfer habe in Hutaosa's Vaterhaus und nicht vielmehr in dem Vaterhause ihres Gatten stattgefunden, in das sie soeben eingetreten war? Und wer sagt uns denn, dass sie sich mit Vištâspa selbst vermählt habe? Kann sie denn nicht ebensogut dadurch in sein Haus aufgenommen worden sein, dass sie einem seiner Söhne die Hand reichte?'

So erzielt Hertel die Identification der einen Hutaosâ, von der das Awesta weiss, mit der einen Atossa, die wir in dem älteren Achämeniden-Hause kennen,² der Tochter des grossen Kyros, die erst mit ihrem Bruder Kambyeses vermählt gewesen war und durch deren Heimführung Dareios die Vereinigung der beiden Linien des Achämeniden-Hauses herbeiführte,³ wobei noch zu bemerken, dass an der Identität der Namen aw. Hutaosâ griech. Ἀτосσα kein Zweifel obwalten kann.⁴

Es besteht, was Hertel als eine Bestätigung für seine Auffassung bucht, noch eine weitere Parallele zwischen der Atossa Herodots und der Hutaosâ des Awesta. Hat doch diese, die nach Herodot εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος, es durchgesetzt, dass sie Dareios' Hauptgemahlin wurde und dass der älteste ihrer vier Söhne, Xerxes, unter Hintansetzung eines früher geborenen Sohnes einer anderen Gemahlin, zum Thronfolger bestimmt wurde (Vgl. ob. S. 261).

Yašt ix. 26 aber 'wird behauptet, Zoroaster habe der Göttin Druvâspâ geopfert, damit sie ihm Hutaosâ's Bekehrung zu seiner Religion gelingen lasse. So legendarisch diese Stelle natürlich ist', sagt Hertel, 'so zeigt sie doch, dass der Verfasser noch Kunde von der Macht dieser Königin besass.'

Ich möchte mich Hertel hier anschliessen.

Zwar wäre die alte Auffassung der Stelle Yašt 35 f. an sich nicht völlig undenkbar. Wir wissen nichts über die Gemahlinnen des Hystaspes,

¹ 'Achämeniden und Kayaniden' (*Indo-iran. Quellen und Forschungen*, v, 1924), S. 80.

² Die jüngere Atossa, Tochter und Gemahlin Artaxerxes II, kommt natürlich hier nicht in Frage.

³ Vgl. ob. S. 261.

⁴ S. Andreas und Wackernagel, *Nachr. Kön. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen phil.-hist. Kl.* 1911, S. 8 gegen Iusti.; *ZDMG*, xlix. 684. Vgl. noch Hüsing, *Berichte des Forschungsinstituts für Osten und Orient*, 1918, ii. 90, Anm. 1; Hertel, *a.a.O.*, S. 81.

und da im Achämeniden-Hause die Verwandten-Ehen üblich waren,¹ so wäre es nicht absolut ausgeschlossen, dass Hystaspes eine Schwester namens Atossa gehabt und diese geehelicht hätte. Aber dagegen spricht schon die Tatsache, dass in der Regel im Achämeniden-Hause die Namen der ersten Generation erst in der dritten wiederkehren, dass also auch dort die weitverbreitete Anschauung herrschte, dass der Enkel (der 'Kleine Ahn') im Grossvater wiederkehre.

So unterschreibe ich Alles in Allem auch Hertels Zusammenfassung, der ich Folgendes, verschiedentlich wörtlich, entnehme: 'Wir haben somit das gemeinsame Zeugnis Herodots und des Awestas für die Tatsache, dass in eine zweite oder jüngere Linie' des regierenden Hauses, dessen 'Haupt Vištâspa-Hystaspes' war, 'durch Heirat eine Hutaosâ'-Atossa 'eintrat, welche in diesem Hause ausschlaggebenden Einfluss erlangte. Sie hat 'so grossen Einfluss, dass Zoroaster ein besonderes Opfer zugeschrieben wird, damit ihre Bekehrung zu seiner Religion gelinge', und ihr Gemahl Dareios ist der erste erweisliche Verkünder der Religion Zoroasters (S. oben S. 253 und unten S. 271, 279 f.).

Wenn aber Hertel und ich hierin im Rechte sind, so ist der Erfolg, den Zarathuſtra damit errang, dass er die Atossa für seine Lehre gewann, noch ganz erheblich höher zu bewerten, als es bei Hertel hervortritt.

Denn es darf nicht vergessen worden, dass Atossa nicht bloß die Gemahlin ihres Bruders Kambyzes und des Dareios gewesen ist, sondern dass sie auch mit dem falschen Smerdis, dem Magier Gaumâta (Justin: Cometes), vermählt gewesen war, und dieser Magier und sein Bruder, von dem er abhing, waren die Führer einer der Lehre Zoroasters feindlichen Partei und Bewegung, der Atossa zeitweilig nahe gestanden hatte und von der sie sich durch ihre Vermählung mit Dareios und ihren Übertritt zur Lehre Zarathuſtra's endgültig löste.

'Kambyzes hatte sich,² mit seiner Schwester Atossa aus Liebe vermählt und ihr dann ihre gemeinsame jüngere Schwester als Gemahlin beigegeben. Da nun Kambyzes die letztere mit sich nach Ägypten nahm, während Atossa zurückblieb und später eine der Gemahlinnen des falschen Smerdis wurde, ohne dass sie zunächst etwas zu dessen Entlarvung beigetragen hätte (Herodot, iii. 88), so liegt es nahe mit Prášek auf eine Entfremdung zwischen Kambyzes und Atossa und eine Parteinahme der letzteren für Bardiya und seine Anhänger' und die, die sich unter seinem Namen zusammenscharten, zu schliessen. Dass Dareios die älteste Tochter des Kyros mit ihrer jüngeren jungfräulichen Schwester Artystone (Herodot, iii. 88) ehelichte und damit die jüngere Linie der Achämeniden mit der älteren unmittelbar verknüpfte, verträge sich damit sehr wohl, und wäre auch vom Standpunkte der Atossa aus, selbst unter obiger Voraussetzung, verständlich'.

¹ Darüber s. E. Kornemann, 'Die Stellung der Frau in der vorgriechischen Mittelmeerkultur' (*Orient und Antike* Nr. 4) Heidelberg, 1927.

² Prášek, *Kambyzes*, 1913. Obiges ist, soweit in Anführungszeichen, Zitat aus meinem Artikel 'Kambyzes', Pauly-Wissowa, x (erschienen 1919), Sp. 1914.

Atossa, offenbar eine dämonische und herrschsüchtige Frau—der Olympias, Philipps Gemahlin, und der Arsinoë Philadelphos vergleichbar—hat also eine Zeit lang zu den Magiern gehalten. Ihre Vermählung mit Dareios eröffnete ihrem Ehrgeiz und ihrer Herrschsucht ein unvergleichlich weiteres Feld. Ihr Übertritt zur Lehre des Zarathuſtra, deren eifriger Vertreter der Sohn des Hystaspes war, mag also für sie zunächst mehr ein Gebot der Klugheit als Herzenssache gewesen sein.

Das ändert nichts an der Tatsache, dass die Bekehrung der Magierfreundin ein gewaltiger Erfolg für Zarathuſtra war, dessen Widerhall im Awesta durchaus gerechtfertigt erscheint. Ja, man wird nunmehr fragen dürfen, ob Zoroasters Opfer zur Göttin Druvâspâ für Hutaosâ's Bekehrung zu seiner Religion (Yaſt, ix. 24) wirklich nur legendarisch ist, ob nicht vielmehr diese Nachricht eine wohlverbürgte Tatsache festhält, anstatt uns nur, wie Hertel annahm (ob. S. 270), eine allgemeine Kunde von der Macht der Atossa zu überliefern.

Die Bedeutung und die Wirkung von Atossa's Übertritt werden wir aber vollauf erst würdigen können, wenn die Stellung des Kyros und des Kambyſes zur Lehre Zoroasters und die Gegnerschaft der Magier in ihrer Bedeutung nach Möglichkeit geklärt sein wird—eine Gruppe von Aufgaben, denen wir uns nunmehr zuwenden.

VII

Das Verhältnis des Dareios zur Lehre Zarathuſtra's einer- und zu den Magiern anderseits habe ich (vgl. ob. S. 253) zuletzt so formuliert, dass der Aufstand 'des Magiers Gaumâta als eine Reaktion der priesterlichen Anhänger der bisherigen durch die Lehre Zarathuſtra's verdrängten Religionsübung' zu betrachten sei und dass 'die fortwährende Bezugnahme auf Ahuramazda in den Inschriften des Dareios nur als Betonung einer neuer Lehre wahrhaft verständlich sei.'¹

Dies bemerkte ich in Anknüpfung an H. R. Hall's Äusserung in der *Cambridge Ancient History*, iii. 313. 'The revolt of the Magians against the Zoroastrian religious revolution, the setting-up by them as king of the false Smerdis, and the suicide' (dies ist falsch: s. unten sub IX, S. 279) 'of Cambyſes . . . brought the sternly Zoroastrian Darius . . . (Daryavush), son of Hystaspis (Vishtâspa) to the throne of Egypt. It is highly probable that Vishtâspa (Hystaspis), the father of Dareios, was the Goshtasp who was the convert and disciple of Zarathustra.'

Den Gegensatz zwischen Dareios und den Magiern erkennt auch Hertel an und unterstreicht ihn durch Heranziehung einer eigenen Äusserung Zoroasters. Aber die Entstehung dieses Gegensatzes und die eigentliche Beweggründe des Auftretens der Magier bleiben bei ihm ungeklärt; es fehlt nicht nur an einer ernstlich historischen Problemstellung, sondern dieser Mangel wird durch handgreifliche sehr ernste Irrtümer historischer Natur noch verschlimmert.

Die Tötung des Magiers Gaumâta und seiner Anhänger die der Thron-

¹ Vgl. jetzt die altpers. Ziegelinschrift 9 Dareios' I (Scheil, *Inscr. des Achéménides à Suse*, 1929, und dazu *Arch. f. Or.* vii., S. 45). [Zusatz bei der Superrevision.]

besteigung des Dareios 'nach Ahuramazdâs Willen' und der Übertragung der Herrschaft auf ihn durch Ahuramazdâ vorausging, findet, wie Hertel¹ richtig betont, ihre weitere Ergänzung und Beleuchtung durch Herodots bekannten Bericht von der Magophonie (iii. 79).

In diesen Zusammenhang setzt nun Hertel² die 'recht blutrünstig anmutenden' letzten Strophen der letzten Gatha (Yasna, liii).³ 'Druck erzeugt Gegendruck, und wir können es verstehen wenn selbst der milde Zoroaster in seiner verzweifelter Lage zu blutiger Unterdrückung der Usurpatoren' (d.h. der Magier, Gaumâta an der Spitze) 'und ihrer angemassen Herrschaft auffordert'.

Diese Gatha ist, um mit Bartholomae zu sprechen, 'die einzige, von der wir den äusseren Anlass zur Dichtung kennen. Es war das Fest der Vermählung Jâmâspa's mit Zaraθuštra's jüngster Tochter Pouručistâ, bei der sie gesprochen wurde.'

'Aus Strophe 5 und 6 ergibt sich, dass mehrere Paare zugleich vermählt wurden und dass noch mehrere Gemeindemitglieder zugegen waren.'⁴

Strophe 2 lautet nach Bartholomae: 'Und es sollen sich in Gedanken, Worten und Taten gern um seine (des Mazdâh) Zufriedenstellung bemühen —(ihm) dem Mazdâh zum Preis—und um seine Verehrung Kavay Vištâspa und der Zarathuštrasohn ("nämlich Išatvâstra, wie wir aus anderen Texten wissen"), der Spitâma, und Frašaoštra, die geraden Pfade bereitend der Religion des Helfers, die Ahura gestiftet hat.'

Nach dieser Strophe, meint Hertel, werde man 'annehmen dürfen, dass sich auch Hystaspes in der Versammlung befand, an den ja offensichtlich auch die Mahnungen in den beiden Schlusstrophen gerichtet sind. Die Versammlung dürfte darum gross gewesen sein.'

Auch Bartholomae (S. 119) betrachtet die Anwesenheit des Vištâspa, dessen Gleichstellung mit dem Vater des Perserkönigs Darius I er jedoch (S. 131) für ganz verfehlt hält, als sicher.

Mir erscheint dieser Schluss nicht als unbedingt oder zwingend richtig. Aber Hystaspes' unmittelbare Anwesenheit tut für die Beurteilung des Sinns der beiden Schlusstrophen nichts Wesentliches zur Sache.

Die beiden letzten Strophen (8 und 9) dieser merkwürdigen Gatha lauten nun nach Hertels Übersetzung:⁵

8. 'Darum sollen die Übeltäter (= die Anhänger der *drug*) dem Betrug preisgegeben sein, und der Verlassenheit anheim fallend sollen sie alle aufschreiben. Durch gute Herrscher soll er (Ahura Mazdâh) Mord und blutige Vergeltung und (dadurch) Ruhe vor ihnen schaffen den erfreuten Ortschaften. Kommen lassen soll dieser (oder: er) über sie Qual sammt der Fessel des Todes, und bald soll er der Grösste sein.'⁶

9. 'Den Falschgläubigen haftet die Verwesung an: sie trachten nach

¹ Die Zeit Zoroasters, 35 f.

² Bartholomae, Die Gathas des Awesta, xvii, S. 115 ff.

³ Hertel, a.a.O., S. 45.

⁴ Die Zeit Zoroasters, S. 44.

⁵ Zeit Zoroasters, 44 f.

⁶ Diese Übersetzung scheint Hertel (S. 45, Anm. 1) 'der Konstruktion der Urschrift und ihrem Rhythmus besser zu entsprechen als die Übersetzung Bartholomae: "Qual soll er über sie bringen, er, der der grösste ist, sammt der Fessel des Todes; und alsbald soll es geschehen!"'

Minderung (oder Erniedrigung) der Würdigen, die *arata* (= *aša*) verletzend und haben ihr Leben verwirkt. Wo ist der dem *aša* getreue Ahura (oder: Fürst), der sie des Lebens beraube und des freien Umhergehens? Nun, Mazdäh, dein ist die Herrschaft, auf Grund deren du dem Schwachen das Bessere (oder: die Seligkeit) geben wirst.'

Dass hier Vištâspa-Hystaspes, ob zugegen oder abwesend, zum blutigen Vorgehen gegen die Bedrucker der Ortschaften, eben die Magier, aufgefordert wird, und dass diese Mission eben dessen Sohn Dareios übernehmen soll, dass also unsere Gâthâ zwischen dem Regierungsantritt Gaumâtas und seiner Ermordung verfasst worden ist, also zwischen dem 2. April und dem 29. September 522, und wahrscheinlich näher an letzterem Datum, ist ein durchaus richtiger Schluss Hertels, den er noch durch den Hinweis auf die Menge der beabsichtigten doppeldeutigen Ausdrücke in der beiden Strophen stützt.

Der historischen Gesamtsachlage ist trotzdem Hertel keineswegs gerecht geworden.

Ich gebe hier die entscheidenden Ausführungen bei Hertel (S. 43), und zwar diejenigen Worte, die am Meisten zur Beanstandung Anlass geben, gesperrt, wieder.

'Um 550 muss, wie wir gesehen haben,' (wie wir gesehen haben vielmehr 560—59) 'Hystaspes den Vorsitz über die noch kleine zoroastrische Gemeinde übernommen haben. Versetzen wir uns nun in die Lage, in der sich Zoroaster—falls er damals noch lebte' (und dass das der Fall war zeigt eben die Gatha Yasna 53)—'befand, als die Herrschaft von den Achämeniden auf die Magier übergang.'

'Eine etwa dreissigjährige Arbeit im Dienste seiner Lehre schien schwer bedroht, wenn nicht endgültig gescheitert zu sein. Denn die Magier waren ja eben Vertreter und Verbreiter der *daēva*-Religion, die er bekämpfte. Sie für sich und seine Lehre zu gewinnen, durfte er selbstverständlich nicht hoffen. Gerade gegen Andersgläubige hatten sie ja sofort gewütet und hatten die Tempel zerstört, wie die Behistun-Inscription es bezeugt. Welches Los hatte der Prophet zu gewärtigen, der gerade die von ihnen¹ vertretene Religion so leidenschaftlich bekämpfte?'

'Wollte er seine Lehre retten, so musste er es mit aller Macht zu erreichen suchen, dass den Magiern die Herrschaft wieder entrissen wurde. Die Gelegenheit war insofern nicht ganz ungünstig, als er ja gerade der Schützling der Dynastie war, welcher seine Gegner durch Lüge (*drug*) die rechtmässige Thronfolge entrissen hatten. Freilich war diese Dynastie im Vergleiche zu den Machtmitteln der Usurpatoren nur schwach.'²

Alles nicht gerade falsch und vielfach zutreffend, und doch historisch in der Hauptsache schief, weil Hertel über den Kernpunkt des Problems hinweggleitet, weil er nicht erkennt, dass es sich nicht um eine 'nicht ganz ungünstige Gelegenheit' handelte, den Magiern einen Schlag zu versetzen, indem Zarathuštra zufällig der 'Schützling' der von den Magiern entthronten

¹ Schon bei Hertel gesperrt.

² Sperrung von Hertel.

'Dynastie' war, sondern dass die Erhebung Gaumata's, weit entfernt ein Wüten gegen beliebige Andersgläubige zu sein, vielmehr ihre Spitze von vornherein gegen Zarathuſtra und seine mittelbaren und unmittelbaren Beschützer richtete, und weil Hertel den Übergang 'der Herrschaft von den Achämeniden auf die Magier', den er erwähnt, in seiner eigentlicher Bedeutung und Wesenheit verkennt.

Mit anderen Worten: nach Hertel ist die Erhebung der Magier politisch gegen die Achämeniden gerichtet und dadurch wird dann mittelbar auch Zarathuſtra nebst seiner Lehre betroffen, aber religiös und hierarchisch ist sie ihren Ursachen und Zielen nach für Hertel nicht näher definierbar, und Zarathuſtra wendet sich, Hertels Meinung nach, gegen die Magier nur, weil er sie religiös und religionspolitisch ganz allgemein für gefährlich hält und weil sie nach Hertels Auffassung seine Beschützer entthront haben.

In Wahrheit sollte mit der Usurpation des Gaumâta und der Erhebung der Magier in erster Linie und von vornherein die für die Magier bedrohliche neue Lehre Zarathuſtra's getroffen werden. Zarathuſtra tritt nicht als Nebenpartei sekundär in den Streit ein, der zwischen den Magiern und den Achämeniden aus irgend einem unbekannten Grunde ausgebrochen ist, sondern er ist von vornherein Hauptpartei in diesem Prozess, um es juristisch auszudrücken.

Die hier bei Hertel herrschende Unklarheit tritt besonders deutlich zutage, wenn Hertel sich in die Lage versetzen will, in der sich Zoroaster—falls er damals noch lebte—befand, 'als die Herrschaft von den Achämeniden auf die Magier übergang' (ob. S. 273)

Ja, ging sie denn auf die Magier von denjenigen Achämeniden über, deren Schützling Zarathuſtra war? Vištâspa-Hystaspes, sein Jünger und Beschützer, gehörte ja der jüngeren Naotairja-Linie an, während die bisherigen Beherrscher Gesamtpersiens, Kyros und Kambyſes, der älteren Linie entstammten. Mit der Fiktion einer Einheit der Achämeniden-Dynastie unter Hystaspes als ihrem Haupte darf (gegen Hertel, S. 47) nicht operiert werden.

Das Haupt der Familie, wenn man beide Zweige zusammenfassen will, war zweifellos Kyros und nach dessen Tode Kambyſes, und dieser war es, gegen den sich die Usurpation des Gaumâta und der Magier richtete.

Wenn also Hertels Satz von dem Übergang der Herrschaft von den Achämeniden auf die Magier und von dessen Gefahren für Zoroaster ein Sinn liegen soll, so muss schon die herrschende ältere Linie der Achämeniden, muss vor allem Kyros der Lehre Zoroasters, wenn nicht unmittelbar förderlich, so doch sympathisch gegenübergestanden haben, wie auch ich es—und nicht als der Einzige—annehme.

Das aber steht im Widerspruch zu einem Grundpfeiler von Hertels Anschauungen, wonach zur Zeit Dareios' I und Herodots die Religion Zoroasters erst einen ganz kleinen Kreis von Bekennern hatte und 'dass zu Herodots Zeit die alte Magierreligion unbedingt im Perserreiche noch die herrschende gewesen' sein müsse. Zoroaster müsse 'zu Herodots Zeit noch

in den weitesten Kreisen der Perser unbekannt gewesen sein, könne also ganz unmöglich lange vor Herodots persischer Reise, also lange vor der Regierung Xerxes' I gewirkt haben.'

Dass das, was bei Herodot über Religion, Sitten und Gebräuche der Perser zu lesen steht, beweist, dass Zoroaster nicht lange Jahrhunderte früher, um 1000 v. Chr., gewirkt haben könne, ist richtig.

Aber die mit dieser richtigen Erkenntnis bei Hertel unlösbar verknüpfte Neigung, die Geltung von Zarathuſtra's Lehre innerhalb des sechsten Jahrhunderts als des gegebenen Rahmens zeitlich möglichst herabzurücken und in ihrer Wirkung und Verbreitung möglichst schwach hinzustellen, ist grundirrig und beruht auf einer Verkennung längst festgestellter Grundzüge für die historische Kritik Herodots.

Wie wenig Hertel mit diesen vertraut ist, zeigt schon die Tatsache, dass er allen Ernstes Herodots persische Reise in die Regierung Xerxes' I verlegt, während es feststeht, dass Herodot, der zuerst Ägypten dann Vorderasien besuchte¹, zwischen der Schlacht von Papremis 460 und seiner Vorlesung in Athen 446–5 kurz vor seiner Übersiedlung nach Thurioi (444), also unter Artaxerxes I, gelebt sein muss.

Ja, Ed. Meyer wollte bekanntlich,—wie ich zeigte, mit Unrecht²—Herodots Reisen erst in die Zeit nach 440 verlegen.

Viel verhängnisvoller aber ist, dass Hertel einfach Alles, was Herodot berichtet insofern für bare Münze nimmt, als er ohne Weiteres voraussetzt seine Berichte beruhten alle auf primärer persönlicher Erkundung und beträfen—in Herodots Sinne—die Gegenwart, während es längst feststeht, dass Herodot grossenteils wiedergibt, was sein grosser Vorgänger Hekataios von Milet, zum Teil auch dessen jüngerer Zeitgenosse Dionysios von Milet, ermittelt und berichtet hatten, wie ersteres grundlegend von Hermann Diels³ festgestellt worden ist.

So habe ich längst gezeigt, dass Herodots Schilderung Babyloniens und seines Haupttempels Esaggil für die Zeit, da er Babylon besuchte nicht mehr zutrifft, dass er nach Hekataios die Stadt vor ihrer Zerstörung durch Xerxes schildert und mit Nachrichten über die Wegführung des Belsbildes durch Xerxes, die er Dionysios von Milet verdankt, in Widerspruch gerät, weil er den von Xerxes zerstörten babylonischen Haupttempel in einem anderen unversehrten Heiligtum Grossbabylons, wahrscheinlich dem Nebo-Tempel Ezida in Borsippa, gesucht hatte. Was speziell Herodots Schilderungen von Sitten und Gebräuchen fremder Völker anlangt, so habe ich Herodots Nachrichten über Babylon und das mit Assyrien zu einer Satrapie vereinigte Babylonien (Her., i. 177–87, u. 192–9) als eine der Fundstellen hekatäischen Gutes bei Herodot erwiesen. Strabons verwandte Schilderung der Vegetation Babyloniens und der Sitten der Babylonier (xvi. c. 1, § 14 u. 20) ist nicht aus Herodot entnommen sondern gibt, durch Aristobulos, Apollodoros und andere Mittelquellen übernommen, im Kerne die hekatäische

¹ *Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, 1894, Nr. 9, Sp. 271 Anm.*; *Klio*, 1901, i. 276 Anm.

² *Meine Griech. Gesch.* bei Gercke-Norden, S. 81.

³ 'Herodot und Hekataios': *Hermes*, 1887, xxii. 411 ff.

knappe inhaltlich im wesentlichen reichere Vorlage Herodots wieder. Besonders wird der gänzlich unverständliche Übergang vom Grab zur Ehe bei Herodot (i. 198) erst begreiflich dadurch, dass Hekataios (Strabon, xvi. c. 20 § 2) die geschlechtliche Unreinheit mit der der Toten verglichen hatte.¹

Die gleiche Sachlage aber habe ich schon vor langen Jahren² für Herodots Schilderung der Sitten und Gebräuche der Perser dargetan. 'Wer die Charakteristik der Perser' bei Herodot I, 131 ff. 'mit der Schilderung der Sitten und Gebräuche der Perser bei Strabo', xv. c. 3, 13–20 vergleicht, 'wird bald erkennen dass zwischen diesen beiden Schilderungen eine Verwandtschaft besteht, die unmöglich auf Zufall beruhen kann, und wird sich ferner überzeugen müssen, dass Strabo's Bericht nicht aus Herodot stammen kann, weil er'—gerade wie bei der Schilderung der Sitten und Gebräuche &c. der Babylonier—'bei grösserer Knappheit inhaltlich im Grunde reichhaltiger, dazu folgerichtiger im Gange der Darstellung ist (vgl. im allgemeinen Diels, *Hermes*, xxii. S. 425 f.). Vielmehr ist uns und nicht hier allein; vgl. z.B. Her. i. 193, 195 ff. mit Strabo, xvi. c. 1, § 14 und 20', s. oben 'bei Strabo' (vielleicht durch Aristobuls Vermittlung) 'im wesentlichen nur sprachlich verändert ein Bericht erhalten, an den sich Herodot bei seiner Schilderung angelehnt hat, indem er übergang, was ihm minder wichtig erschien, dagegen, was ihn anmutete, erweiterte und ausspann und ausserdem aus eigener Erkundung und Beobachtung mancherlei Neues hinzufügte. Dieser Bericht kann schwerlich ein anderer sein als der des Hekataios. . . '

Nun ist Hekataios um 520, das Jahr seiner 'ἀκμή', gereist. Seine Ἀσθή schildert jedenfalls den Zustand vor Dareios' Skythenzug 514. Wie ich betonte, war seit der Besiegung sämtlicher Rebellen im ersten Jahre des Dareios Gelegenheit zu ungestörten asiatischen Reisen, und es ist möglich, dass Hekataios bei den Kämpfen gegen die Aufständischen als Offizier in persischen Diensten beteiligt war.

Aber seine Kunde von den Sitten und Gebräuchen der Perser wird erschwerlich erst damals gewonnen haben. Sie wird ihm, als Angehörigem der persischen Bundesstadt Milet, schon früher zugeflossen sein.

So erklärt es sich, dass Hekataios die persischen Zustände ohne Kenntnis der Lehre Zarathustra's schilderte, die ja zu offizieller Anerkennung erst durch Dareios' Thronbesteigung gelangte und deren Einführung als Staatsreligion erst in der docheinige Jahre nach den Ereignissen eingegrabenen Dareios-Inschrift von Behistun dokumentarisch belegt ist.

Und selbst wenn man annehmen wollte, Hekataios' Schilderung der Sitten und Gebräuche der Perser habe die Zustände kurz nach 521 im Auge, so trifft auch dann zu, dass damals der Mazdaismus noch nicht allgemein als Staatsreligion bekannt und anerkannt, sondern erst auf dem Wege dazu war.

Für Hekataios also gilt Hertels Beobachtung, dass er nur die Magier als Priester kennt, von Zarathustra und seinen Lehren aber nichts weiss, und

¹ S. meinen Aufsatz, 'Zu Herodot und Hekataios', *Festschrift für H. Kiepert*, 1898, 305 ff.; *Klio*, i, S. 271, Anm. 2. 'A miscellany presented to J. M. Mackay, LL.D.', p. 102, n. 3. *Hermes*, 1917, lii, 523, Anm. 1.

² *Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1894, Nr. 10, Sp. 304 f; *Festschrift f. H. Kiepert*, 1898, S. 315.

dass die letzteren jedenfalls noch nicht zur Volksreligion geworden waren, nicht aber für Herodot und die Zeit, in der er reiste!

Damit fällt eine störende und irrtümliche Erschwerung der für das Verständnis der Magierbewegung grundlegenden Erwägung fort, wie sich Kyros und seine Kinder, Kambyses, Barziia, Atossa von Haus aus und in der weiteren Entwicklung zur Lehre Zarathuſtra's verhalten haben.

Erst dann kann namentlich die Rolle und Bedeutung der Atossa in diesem Zusammenhange richtig gewürdigt werden.

VIII

Dass Kyros von der Existenz des Zarathuſtra und seiner Lehre wusste, ist selbstverständlich. Ganz abgesehen von persönlichen und verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen, kann ihm als persischem Grosskönig nicht verborgen geblieben sein, dass sein Vertreter in Parthien und Hyrkanien sich als Adept und Förderer einer neuen Lehre betätigte. Er muss das schon auf dem Wege der offiziellen Berichterstattung erfahren haben. Die Tatsache, dass es sich hier um den befremdeten Vetter zweiten Grades und um eine Lehre handelte, die für ihren Dualismus wohlvertraute Elemente des babylonischen in Vorderasien weitverbreiteten Schöpfungsmythus verwertete (ob. S. 257 ff., 263 ff.), konnte sein Interesse nur steigern.

Gemeinhin wird aber höchst irriger Weise jede nähere Beziehung des Kyros zum Mazdaismus durch den Hinweis auf sein Verhalten zu Marduk als babylonischem Hauptgotte abgetan.¹

Das ist aber ein arger Irrtum.

Den Ceremonien, die nötig waren, um die Personalunion zwischen dem persischen und babylonischen Königtum, wie sie Kyros nach assyrischem Vorbilde einrichtete, zu begründen und fortzuführen, hat auch Dareios sich nicht entzogen. Sonst würde er nicht, wie in Babylonien regelmässig und ganz wie Kyros, den Titel 'König von Babylon, König der Länder' haben führen können. Dazu gehörte vor Allem das Erfassen der Hände des Gottes Bêl-Marduk beim babylonischen Neujahrsfeste. Wer nicht diese Ceremonie beim Neujahrsfeste des ersten Jahres nach seiner Thronbesteigung ausführte, konnte nicht als babylonischer König gelten. Und wie uns die Vornahme dieser Ceremonie von Kyros bezeugt ist,² so müssen wir sie auch für Dareios annehmen. Streng genommen musste dieser staatsrechtlich-rituelle Akt alljährlich zu Neujahr wiederholt werden. Davon werden sich aber vermutlich die Perserkönige dispensiert erachtet oder sich dabei haben vertreten lassen.

Wir wissen freilich (Her. i. 183) von einem misslungenen Versuch des Dareios, das Bêlsbild wegzuführen und somit dem babylonischen Scheinkönigtum und der Fiktion der Personalunion ein Ende zu machen.³ Darin wird aber schwerlich eine Bekundung mazdaistischen religiösen Eifers zu erblicken sein, sonder die Antwort auf Aufstandsversuche der stets unruhigen Babylonier nach der Schlacht bei Marathon.

¹ Vgl. Hertel, *Zeit Zoroasters*, S. 16.

² Vgl. ob. S. 262 a. E.

³ S. *Klio*, 1907, VII. 447 f.

Auch Xerxes' Betätigung in der gleichen Richtung, die schliesslich zur Wegführung der Belsbildes, zur Zerstörung des babylonischen Haupttempels Esaggil und der äusseren Mauern und vieler sonstiger Bauwerke Babylons führte, hat nachweislich keine irgendwie hervortretenden religiösen Gründe, sondern ist in ihrer Schritt für Schritt verfolgbaren Entwicklung überwiegend politisch zu werten.

Überhaupt war ja der Mazdaismus von Haus keine exklusive, die Duldsamkeit gegenüber anderen Glaubensformen ausschliessende Lehre, wie das speziell für Dareios I sein nach 494 v. Chr. an Gadatas als Verwalter der daskylitischen Satrapie ergangener Erlass¹ zeigt, der mit einem Lob für dessen Bemühungen auf dem Gebiete der Obstkultur einen sehr scharfen Tadel für Rücksichtslosigkeiten gegenüber den Priestern und Dienern des Apollo in Magnesia am Mäander verbindet. Damit werde die Gesinnung von Dareios' Vorfahren gegen den Gott, der den Persern dauernd die unverbrüchliche Wahrheit (in Orakeln) verkündet habe, verkannt: in dem weggebrochen mit καὶ τῇ beginnenden Schlusse muss sich Dareios dieser Gesinnung seiner Vorfahren angeschlossen haben.

Also wenn wir sonst, wie betont, Gründe und Anzeichen dafür haben, dass Kyros der Lehre Zarathuſtra's wohlwollend gegenüberstand, so liegt in seinem Verhalten zum Gotte Bêl-Marduk von Babylon und seiner Priesterschaft sicher keine ernstlich zu bewertende Gegeninstanz. Zu den bereits erwähnten Anzeichen für eine dem Mazdaismus geneigte Haltung des Kyros treten noch folgende Erwägungen hinzu.

Wie schon erwähnt,² 'berufen sich' in späterer Zeit nicht nur 'die Juden den persischen Grosskönigen gegenüber wiederholt darauf, dass sie die "Knechte des Gottes Himmels und der Erde" seien', sondern, der Gott der Juden Jahweh wird 'persischerseits offiziell als "Gott des Himmels" bezeichnet.³ Das weist auf eine Auffassung hin, nach der Jahwe dem Ahuramazda wesensverwandt war'.

Nun hat bekanntlich Kyros in seinem ersten Jahre als babylonischer König den Juden die Heimkehr und den Wiederaufbau des Tempels nur aus Holz in Jerusalem gestattet. 'Jedesmal' nun, 'wenn in späterer Zeit Verfügungen der persischen Grosskönige zugunsten der Juden ergingen, haben erkennbar Stammesgenossen, die am Hofe zu Ehren und Einfluss gekommen waren, darauf hingewirkt. So wird man es sich auch unter Kyros zu denken haben. Während des Winters 539-8 werden die geistigen Führer der Verbannten die Aufmerksamkeit des Kyros auf sich gezogen und alsbald diejenigen politischen Grundsätze und persönlichen Gesinnungen des Herrschers vorsichtig und besonnen verwertet haben, die den Wünschen und der Sehnsucht ihres Volkes entgegen kamen.⁴

Wenn nachweislich später in gleichen Fällen die Wesensverwandtschaft Jahwe's mit Ahuramazda eine Rolle gespielt hat, so wird sie, da, wie wir sahen, Kyros mit der Lehre Zarathuſtra's bekannt gewesen sein muss, in diesem ersten entscheidenden Falle nicht ausser Acht geblieben sein.

¹ Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, i³, n. 22, p. 20 f.

² Ob. S. 252.

³ Meine *Gesch. d. alt. Orients*, S. 194, 221, 232, 238.

⁴ Meine *Gesch. d. alt. Orients*, S. 192.

Und in dem Erlass des Kyros der in der Sommerresidenz Ekbatana gefunden wurde, die Kyros, im Sommer 538 aufgesucht hatte (Ezra 6), müssen entsprechende Anschauungen des Kyros ausgesprochen gewesen sein.

Nur so erklärt es sich, dass Dareios, der Anhänger Zarathuſtra's, der Verehrer Ahuramazda's, auf die Beschwerden der Juden, 'der Knechte des Gottes Himmels und der Erde' eingeht, die sich gegenüber Sisines, dem Satrapen von Syrien auf den Befehl berufen hatten, 'diesen Tempel zu bauen', den Kyros der König von Babel in seinem ersten Jahre gegeben hatte, und nicht nur diesen Erlass suchen liess, sondern unter Wiederaufnahme von Kyros' Anordnungen den Befehl giebt: 'Nun also bleibt fern von dort. Lasst die Arbeit an jenem Tempel zu. Die Kosten sollen aus den Einkünften der Provinz Syrien bestritten, Opfertiere, Weizen, Salz, Wein und Öl für die ständigen Opfer für das Leben des Königs und seiner Söhne den Priestern nach ihrer Angabe geleistet werden. Wer den Befehl übertritt, soll gepöbelt werden. Ich, Dareios, habe Befehl erlassen. Genau werde er ausgeführt.'¹

Also von Kyros zu Dareios und (z.T.) weiter² religionspolitisch eine derartige Continuität gegenüber Jahwe, dem Gotte Himmels und der Erde, dass man bei Kyros eine wesentlich andere Anschauung als bei Dareios nur annehmen dürfte, wenn sie deutlich nachweisbar wäre, während, wie wir sahen, der gesammten Sachlage nach, für Kyros eine Bekanntschaft und eine wohlwollende Haltung gegenüber Zarathuſtra's neuer Lehre anzunehmen ist.

IX

So wird auch Kambyzes nicht von vornherein etwa dem Mazdaismus direkt abgeneigt gewesen sein; aber sein Jähzorn und sein Ungestüm setzten ihn, wie 'zu dem abgeklärten Wesen des Vaters', so auch zu der Lehre Zarathuſtra's, alsbald in tatsächlichen Widerspruch, und es liegt auch, was bisher nicht erkannt worden ist, eine Verurteilung seines Verhaltens von mazdaistischer Seite vor. Dareios' Worte in der Behistun-Inschrift altpers. *uvamaršiyuš amariyâtâ* = bab. *mītûtu ramanišu mīti*, hat man früher meist übersetzt (und das geschieht fälschlich auch heute noch öfters³), 'er starb von seiner eigenen Hand' und hat darin meist eine Hindeutung auf einen Selbstmord sehen wollen. W. Schulze⁴ hat aber nachgewiesen, dass es bedeutet *morte suimet mortuus est*, 'er starb den ihm bestimmten Tod,' was sich mit Herodots Bericht gut verträgt. Aber was diese Wendung eigentlich besagen wollte und bezweckte, war damit immer noch nicht voll erklärt. Ich erblicke darin die vorsichtige Andeutung einer Verurteilung des Kambyzes durch Dareios vom mazdaistischen Standpunkte aus, er starb den ihm (in Folge seines Verhaltens) bestimmten, den verdienten Tod.

Jedenfalls war Kambyzes Verhalten, vor Allem die Ermordung seines Bruders Bardiya-Smerdes, Wasser auf die Mühle der Gegner des Mazdaismus, der Magier, die mit der Aufstellung des Prätendenten Gaumâta (des Pseudo-

¹ Ebenda, S. 221.

² Ebenda, S. 234.

³ Vgl. ob. S. 271 und Hertel, *Zeit Zoroasters*, S. 42 m., Anm. 2.

⁴ 'Der Tod des Kambyzes', *Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad.*, 1912, 685 ff.; S. meinen Artikel 'Kambyzes', *Realenz.*, Sp. 1822 f.

Smerdes) und mit der Vermählung der Atossa, als von Kambyses vernachlässigter und darob empörter Schwestergemahlin, einen sehr wesentlichen, den Bestand und die Lehre Zarathuſtra's ernstlich gefährdenden Erfolg erzielten.

Und erst dadurch, dass Dareios, der Sohn von Zarathuſtra's Hauptanhänger, den Magier Gaumâta beseitigte, wurde diese Gefahr gebannt und dem schon von Kyros begünstigten Mazdaismus die Anerkennung als Staatsreligion gewonnen.

So erst tritt die letzte Gatha in ihrer entscheidenden historischen Bedeutung in die richtige Beleuchtung; so erst erhält sie ihre genaue Datierung in die Zeit unmittelbar vor der Beseitigung des Magiers Gaumâta und seiner Anhänger. Sie ist also kurz vor dem 10. Bagayadis (= 29 September) 522 vor Chr. von Zarathuſtra gesprochen worden. Geschah dies, wie immerhin wahrscheinlich, in Vištâspa's Beisein (ob. S. 272 f.), so ergäbe sich daraus, dass die Bewegung gegen Gaumâta und die Magier im nordöstlichen Iran ihren Anfang genommen hätte.

So wird es auch wohl kein Zufall sein, dass diese Gatha gerade an der letzten Stelle steht. Wie lange Zarathuſtra den Sieg seiner Lehre und ihre Erhebung zur Staatsreligion durch Dareios noch überlebt hat, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis. Allzu lange kann es nach Zarathuſtra's Lebens- und Alters-Verhältnissen kaum gewesen sein.¹⁻²

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¹ [Korr.-Zusatz. Aus der neuen Dareios'-Inscription von Susa (ob. S. 263 Anm. 3), Z. 57 f., ergibt sich, dass, als sie zwischen 494 und 490 v. Chr. gesetzt wurde, Vištâspa 'als hoher Achtziger' noch lebte. Dazu stimmt Ktesias' Nachricht, er sei bei Besichtigung des Grabmals, das sich Dareios († 486 v. Chr.) bei seinen Lebzeiten (in Naksch-i-Rustum) hatte anlegen lassen, verunglückt. War Zarathuſtra, wie anzunehmen, etliche Jahre früher geboren als sein Jünger Hystaspes, so wäre zu vermuten, dass er das Jahr 522 nicht allzu lange überlebt hätte.]

² [Zusatz bei der Superrevision. Meine, oben 261 ff., gegebene chronol. Ansätze, Teispes um 650, Achämenes um 680 v. Chr., sind noch etwas heraufzurücken, da ein von Weidner (*Arch. f. Orientforsch.*, 1931, vii, Heft 1/2, S. 1 ff.) veröffentlichtes Prismen-Fragment Assurbanabals aus Babylon besagt, dass 'Kuraš' I, Teispes Sohn, König des Landes Parsumaš dem Assyrenkönige Assurbanabal, nachdem er Elam niedergeworfen hatte, Tribut *ana epišardûtu*, um Knechtschaft darzutun, durch seinen ältesten Sohn Arukku gesandt habe (639 v. Chr.)'. Danach ist Kuraš I um 640 anzusetzen (Weidner ca. 645-602). Sein Vater Teispes um 670 (W. ca. 675-645), sein Grossvater Achämenes um 700 (W. ca. 705-675). Bemerkenswert ist, dass Kyros I von seinem Enkel mit dem Titel 'König von Anšan' bezeichnet wird, den er sich selbst und seinem Vater Kambyses I beilegt, während ihn Assurbanabal als 'König von Parsumaš' bezeichnet. Die assyrische Ausdruckweise ist hier offenbar weniger genau und allgemeiner: 'Perser' war der bekanntere und umfassendere Begriff. (Vergl. auch ob. S. 268 f. über Parthien als sozusagen übergeordneten Begriff gegenüber Hykanien). Teispes hatte ja auch noch beide Gebiete beherrscht (ob. S. 264) und wäre mit Recht als 'König von Parsumaš' bezeichnet worden. Die Teilung zwischen seinen beiden Söhnen war anfänglich eine mehr interne Angelegenheit, die den Assyren zunächst nicht bekannt zu sein brauchte. Es ist richtig, dass 'beide Länder eng benachbart waren', aber schwerlich 'deckten sie sich zur Zeit Kyros' I zum grössten Teile'. Und sicher falsch ist es, wenn Weidner (S. 5, Anm. 2), um die Gleichheit und Gleichmässigkeit der beiden Gebietsnamen darzutun, die Nabonid-Kyros-Chronik heranzieht. Allerdings heisst dort Kyros zunächst 'König von Anšan', dann 'König von Parsu'. Aber damit kommt keine Gleichheit, sondern eine historische Entwicklung zum Ausdruck, und an dem oben S. 262 ff., S. 267 f. Dargelegten ist festzuhalten. Eher könnte man den Kyros-Zylinder heranziehen, doch wird das ob. S. 262 f. dazu Bemerkte seine Richtigkeit haben. Andererseits bedarf die Lage und ev. Verschiebung nach Süden des Begriffes Persien im engeren Sinne, der Landschaft Persis, weiterer Untersuchung.]

CONTRIBUTIONS TO AN INTERPRETATION OF THE GATHAS¹

THE dative singular masculine and neuter of the pronominal stem *a-*, Vedic Sanskrit *asmāi*, and the dative locative plural of the first personal pronoun, Vedic Sanskrit *asmé*, have their analogies in the language of the Gathas, both forms being identical in appearance: *ahmāi*. In a number of passages there can be no doubt about the identity of the word used, but this is not always clear at first sight. I will discuss the question first with regard to a passage which Andreas and Wackernagel considered doubtful in their translation of Y. xxx, strophe 7 (*Nachr. der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1909). They could not decide whether 'ihm' (to him) or 'uns' (to us) is the correct translation and have consigned 'uns' to a foot-note as if 'ihm' were more probable. We must nevertheless translate as follows: 'and with Dominion and Good Thinking and Truth shall come to us never-ending Humility and shall give (us) life and the breath of life'. To elicit the meaning of the word *anman-* as 'breath of life, spirit' (from the root *an(i)* 'to breathe') was a fine addition to and a decisive advance in the interpretation of this passage. It has indeed been usually or always translated as if a dative plural were written instead of *kahrpām*, but that is not possible. Bartholomae has tried to justify this translation by explaining the word as a genitive plural used as a dative (column 467), but that cannot satisfy us. For in the first place it is much more normal to let the form stand as an accusative and secondly a genitive with dative functions is syntactically hazardous. It is indeed indispensable that we supply a dative, but we can use as such a tacit repetition of *ahmāi* from the beginning of the strophe. And if Humility should come to a nameless and unknown 'him', then the whole passage would be unintelligible. That, however, Humility accompanied by Dominion will have a special part to play at the end of time, 'at the last turning point of creation' (Y. xliii. 5), 'by the retributions through molten metal' as our passage (Y. xxx. 7) says, *that* we hear in many Gatha verses (xxxiv. 11; xliii. 6; &c.). It has also been mentioned often enough as an essential feature of the Zoroastrian eschatology that thereby a body, and naturally breath as well, is given to the immortal elements of man—soul (*urvan*) and Daena. It has perhaps been doubted whether this dogma, so important from the point of view of the history of religion, is really contained in the utterances of Zarathustra himself. It is, however, presupposed in many things which the Gathas express or suggest with regard to the end of time. It is also clearly expressed in our passage by means of the present translation. And this gives us important testimony for the history of religion.²

The explanation of *ahmāi* as 'for us' in contrast to earlier translators who explain it as 'to him', must also be considered in Y. xlix. 3. Here the subject of the discourse is the decisive choice. This is an important point in Zara-

¹ Translated from the German by Blanche Lommel.

² Cp. my book: *Die Religion Zarathustras* (1930), p. 233.

thustra's teaching. Man must decide whether he will belong to the Truth or to the Lie. This decision of his will is called 'choice'. If we translate the word *varana-* as 'faith, creed' instead of 'choice' this leads to a misunderstanding, partly because it sounds more like Christian ideas. The genuine Zarathustrian conception of the 'choice' assumes only secondarily and after the time of the Gathas the additional signification of 'faith, creed'.¹

Y. xlix. 3 we can translate very simply and word for word: 'And for us, O Wise Lord, is placed for (decisive) choice the truth to (our) salvation, but for the heretic the lie to (his) destruction. I strive thereby for communion with Good Thinking and refuse any friendliness to the Liar.' This interpretation of the strophe is quite intelligible and perspicuous and is in perfect harmony with everything else we hear in the Gathas about the 'choice'. Bartholomae's attempts at translation are scarcely intelligible in comparison: 'And in this belief (of ours), O Mazdah, the Aša is laid down, in order to produce that which is serviceable, in the heresy the Druj, in order to produce harm. . . .'; and Geldner's (*Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*, 2nd ed., p. 13): 'And the prophet of this faith was made responsible, O Wise One, for succoring the true faith, for injuring the lie (heresy) . . .'.²

Y. xliv. 12 I translate as follows: 'This I ask thee, tell me truly, O Lord; who (is) truthful (among those) with whom I converse, and who is a liar? (Am I myself) evil or (is) that (other) the wicked one, who as a liar tries to keep me from thy blessings? Why do they not think of that (other one): "he is the wicked one"?'

From the doubts expressed in the questions preceding this strophe the Prophet had arisen to a new permanency in his faith and from this standpoint he judged antagonistically those who refused to accept his teaching—strophe 11. But upon the condemnation of the unconverted comes the question with intensified bitterness: is not right after all on the other side? The exaltation with which in strophe 11 the doubts were overcome, is followed by a relapse into uncertainties even more torturing than the first. If the disparagers of the new teaching are really wicked, why is it that that is not generally recognized? Why have many of them an influential position among their countrymen? Following close upon the suspicion against the unregenerate expressed at the close of strophe 11 we find the sharpest statement of the alternative in strophe 12 and then in strophe 13 the clear purpose to combat the opponents as liars.

In strophe 12 *angrō* 'wicked' is used twice as a predicate noun; both times the copula must be supplied. In the second case *hvō* 'that one yonder' is the subject, and the copula is 'is': '. . . or (is) that (other) the wicked one . . .'. In the first case, however, not only the copula is lacking but the subject as well.

The necessity of supplying two such important parts of the sentence causes difficulty, but the supplementary words can be employed with the help of the contrast between the two sentences expressed by *vā*. And the opposite of 'that one (yonder)', Sanskrit *asau*, Avesta *hvō*,³ is 'this one (here)', Sanskrit *iyam*,

¹ Loc. cit. 156 f.

² Loc. cit. 158.

³ Cp. Andreas and Wackernagel, *Nachr. d. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen*, 1911, p. 15.

Avesta *aēm*; but 'this one here' stands for 'I'. The result is: 'is this one here (= am I) wicked or is that one yonder the wicked one'. According to the meaning the copula must be supplied in different persons, according to the form both times in the third person. And it is well known that the verb 'to be' is often lacking and can often be supplied, most easily and most frequently, however, in the third person. The contrast between *hvō* 'that one' and *aēm* 'this one' (which I supply in contrast to *hvō*) makes it possible to think of the first and third person, although they are not united with different personal forms of the verb, and to find an explanation simpler and less ambiguous in the grammatical form as well as in the thought than that in Geldner's translation (*Religions-geschichtliches Lesebuch*, 2nd ed., p. 4 of the reprint): 'Are you yourself the evil one or is that one (yonder) the evil one . . .'. It is unusual that the copula must be supplied in a different form and in a contrast of thought. Geldner felt quite rightly that the thought requires a change of person, but he did not find the simple solution that this can take place in the first person by means of the personal pronoun without change in the grammatical form of the copula. He did not even shun the thought, which according to my opinion is impossible, even in Zarathustra's periods of blackest doubt, that Zarathustra should have asked the question 'Art thou the evil one?' of God himself. And thirdly we must consider that the two persons contrasted with each other in the double question are also set against each other in the relative clause which directly follows—in the words *yā . . . mā* 'who . . . me'. This *mā* 'me' proves that the contrast to *hvō* 'that one' must be 'I', the speaker.

It is a noteworthy advantage of Geldner's translation that he recognized that we have to deal with a double question here. Avesta *katārēm ā . . . vā . . . vā* corresponds to Greek *πότερον ἤ . . . ἤ(F)έ*. Here we have a record of a conformity between the Greek and the Avesta language which goes much farther than that mentioned by Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax*, iii. 269, where he translated *katārēm ašavā vā dragvā vā* (Y. xxxi. 17) into Greek. For here we can assume a pronominal question in which *katārēm* designates the object inquired into. It is, however, not at all a question of a syntactically rigid articulation, but of a phraseology which resulted naturally. On the other hand, Y. xlv. 12 shows a particular similarity with the Greek word *ἤέ* from *ἤφέ*, not only in the combination *ā . . . vā . . . vā*, but chiefly in that the phrase introduces a disjunctive interrogation with *katārēm*. This parallel is especially remarkable because the construction *πότερον . . . ἤ . . . ἤέ* does not occur in Homer, but seems to have developed later in the course of the history of the Greek language. In spite of the precise correspondence in the two combinations the chronological difficulty prevents us from deciding whether we can assume a parallel development or whether the Greek form is not older after all than the documents in which it is found.

The passage Y. xlv. 9 we must save from being curtailed. The word *vərəzənyā* can be considered quite plausibly as an adjective in *-ya* derived from *vərəzəna-*. There are variations of it such as *vərəzəndā* and the like, whereby it seems as if by a mistaken i-epenthesis the *y* had been lost and the

preceding vowel had been changed to *i*. In several manuscripts the word is also divided into syllables by points as if into separate words: *varā.zī.nā*, *varā.zīnā*, *varāzī.nā*. Geldner emphasized in his edition, p. xxvii, that the latter form occurs in very good codices, and Bartholomae believed apparently that the grammatical explanation depended upon the script. He explained the syllables *varāzī* as the infinitive of the verb *varz* 'to do, to work'. I need not discuss this mistake in greater detail, and only remark that as a general thing everywhere where Bartholomae accepts a word as an infinitive special caution can do no harm. Bartholomae's infinitives are in many cases only a sign of his feeling of helplessness in the face of text difficulties.¹

The word *varāzēna-* means, as Andreas has taught for some time, the tribal confederacy which has its settlement in the tribal village; *varāzēna-* means also the settlement itself. This explanation leads to a correct text interpretation in most cases of the Vedic *vrjāna-* as well, and it is not necessary to adopt the complicated varieties of meaning for the word which, for instance, Geldner assumes in his Rig-Veda Glossary. In Vedic Sanskrit we do not find an adjective *vrjānya-* corresponding to our *varāzēnya-*, but the Vedic word which occasionally occurs in this form is identical in meaning with *vrjāna-*: *vrjānya-sya rājā* RV. ix. 97. 23. Instead of a possessive adjective the genitive is used in Rig-Veda, and God as the protector of the community or ruler over the village is called *vrjānasya gopā* or *vrjānasya rājā*. This ascendancy, which he exerts over the settlement and its inhabitants, might be expressed in Veda with *vrjānasya kṣatram*. This combination does not occur *de facto*, but the possibility that it might is sufficient to allow us to accept the Avesta combination *χšaθrā varāzēnyā* as not unfamiliar. In B. Geiger's valuable comparisons of the *kṣatra*, *χšaθra* phraseologies in Veda and Avesta (*Die Amāsa Spantas*, Vienna, 1916, pp. 204 ff.) he has unfortunately not mentioned this stylistic concurrence in the two oldest Aryan documents.

We can translate Y. xlv. 9 now as follows: 'May the Wise One as village Lord (Lord belonging to the community) bring our cattle and our men to prosperity (let them prosper) by his Dominion, as a result of the good relationship of Good Thinking with the Truth', or 'as Lord through his Dominion over the village' if we read *χšaθrā varāzēnyā*.

It is well known with what deep and significant piety Zarathustra has determined the position of the cow and its nurture in the religious world of thought. That is the case here as well; but there is more than the usual amount of *naiveté* in the manner in which God is asked to care for the cattle. And it is consistent with this that the Creator and Lord of the world as ruler of the village and lord of the community is addressed in words which remind us of a simple shepherd-God, and can be recognized as a phraseology (similar at least) which was usual in the prayers repeated in the ancestral past.

Geldner (*Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*) and Bartholomae differ considerably from each other in the translation of Y. xliii. 15. Geldner: 'There Tušnāmaiti taught what was best to hear . . . ' Bartholomae: 'as Tušnāmaiti

¹ AF. iii. 51. Bartholomae was nearer to a correct explanation than he was later.

taught me *to proclaim* what is best . . . ' Bartholomae (column 421) derives the infinitive *ušyāi* from the root *vač* 'sprechen'; Geldner seems to find some connexion between this form and *uš* 'ear'. Geldner could justify his position in part by quoting the Pahlavi translation (*pa uš*) and the Sanskrit translation (*caitanyaena*). Bartholomae compares it with Y. xxviii. 11, which says in somewhat different words: 'teach me . . . that I can say . . .'. This parallelism is indeed very obvious, but not, I think, quite decisive.

We may probably accept as certain that *Tušnāmaiti* is the same being as *Ārmaiti*¹. This genius, however, always shows its active nature: attentive and industrious it performs zealously the work of its hands. The Right Speaking and the Good Word which are so highly esteemed are also ascribed to it (Y. xlv. 10; xlv. 17; beside deeds Y. xlv. 10), but good deeds belong to it most of all or are initiated by it (Y. xlv. 6; xlv. 12; liii. 3). This is especially clear in Y. xlvii. 2: ' . . . through the tongue by means of the speech of Vohu Manah and through the hands by means of the actions of *Ārmaiti* . . .'². In consideration of the active and modest nature of *Ārmaiti* it seems confusing to say that it teaches what is to be said. But for *ušyāi* we have the striking etymology with Sanskrit *uc, ucyati* 'to find pleasure in, to like to do'. With that we have a translation which accords very well with the nature of this genius, which is especially suited to the calm and patient nature emphasized in the name *tušnāmaiti*. 'A contented mind taught me to like to do the best' or 'to accustom myself to the best'. It is a fitting expression for the nature of *Ārmaiti* that good deeds should be a pleasurable habit.

The root *uc* 'to have pleasure in, to become accustomed to' has not yet been found in Iranian. On the other hand, corresponding to the Sanskrit word, there is in Armenian *usanim* 'learn' (Hübschmann, Nr. 345), Slavonic *vyknŭti* 'to learn', Lithuanian (similarly Lettish and Prussian) *jūnkti* 'to become accustomed to', and Gothic *biūhts* 'accustomed'. (For a survey of related words see Walde, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, i. 1111, and Trautmann, *Baltisch-Slavisches Wörterbuch*, 335.) If Iranian were lacking in this group of languages it would be a definite gap, and it is an advantage, apart from the apt and strikingly animated translation of the Gatha passage, that this gap has been filled by means of the new etymology.

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¹ Die Religion Zarathustras, p. 62.

² Loc. cit. 67.

THE POEMS OF MIHYAR THE DAILEMITE

IT has often been observed that the most eminent writers of Arabic prose have come from other regions than Arabia. Prominent philosophers like Avicenna, historians like Ibn al-Athir al-Jazari, archaeologists like Abu'l-Faraj of Ispahan, commentators on the Qur'ān like Zamakhshari and Baidawi, were natives of other countries, chiefly Persia, as their names often indicate, whatever may have been their connexion with Arab settlers. The same observation would not be true of the poets, the most popular of whom were for centuries natives of Arabia or Syria, claiming to belong to Arab tribes. Yet when the advent of the 'Abbasids had equalized all Muslims, and Persian influence became dominant in the new metropolis: and when the labours of grammarians, lexicographers, editors, and metricians had rendered the treasures of the Arabic language accessible to students, it was natural that non-Arabs should compete for the rich prizes which success in the poetical profession offered. And the prospects of Persian competitors became exceedingly bright when in the year 334 of the Hijrah a Persian dynasty, that of the Buwaihids, assumed the sovereignty in Baghdad.

Mihyar, son of Marzawaihi, was, we are told, originally a Zoroastrian, but was converted to Islam. His biographers ascribe his conversion to the well-known 'Alawid poet al-Sharif al-Raḍī, and date the event A.H. 394. He himself, however, ascribes it to the Buwaihīd vizier al-Kāfi al-Auḥad (p. 233), and is likely to know best. He asserts that his conversion caused the sparks of the House of Fire to weep blood, because his house had become a mosque; and this view of his importance is in accordance with his claim to be descended from the ancient kings of Persia, a claim so commonly put forward that the name Sasanid came in Arabic to have the meaning *chevalier d'industrie*. The form of Islam which he adopted was Shi'ism, and he was told by a Sunni that his conversion had only brought him from one corner of Hell to another, since he would incur eternal punishment by his abuse of the Prophet's Companions. One of his published odes certainly commits this offence (p. 299), since it attacks the first two Caliphs, and loudly asserts the claim of 'Ali and his descendants to the Caliphate, on the ground that the text which deals with inheritance had been falsified. The Shi'ah system was favoured by the Buwaihids, though they practised toleration, and is likely to have been held by the Sharif al-Raḍī, who himself aspired to the Caliphate in virtue of his descent from 'Ali,¹ though as court-poet he defended the claim of the 'Abbasids.² The Sharif's verse is said to have served as a model to Mihyar, who on the former's death in A.H. 406 composed a dirge on him which was censured for extravagance (p. 249), a charge which elicited another ode certainly not less extravagant than the former. His poetical career seems to have begun somewhat before his conversion, and continued till his death in A.H. 428.

¹ See his *Diwan*, i. 412.

² *Ibid.* ii. 543.

The Cairene Library is issuing a magnificent edition of his Diwan, of which only the first volume of 426 pages has as yet reached the writer of this paper. The odes are arranged in the alphabetical order of the rhyming letters, but within the groups formed by those letters the order is usually chronological. As is often the case, the headings which record the occasion of the composition are to the historical student more valuable than the odes themselves. Of the dates recorded in this volume the earliest is 393 (p. 1), and the latest 427 (p. 146). The period which they cover is one for which fresh information would be very welcome, since the fragment which we possess of Hilal's Chronicle terminates in the year 393, and the accounts on which we have to rely for the history of the Caliphate in the decades which succeeded till the fall of the Buwaihid dynasty are scanty and obscure. Ibn al-Athir in his Chronicle has recorded the names of sultans and viziers, and the dates of their accession to and fall from power, but they have about as much individuality as the pieces on a chessboard; of the affairs of the capital he mentions little besides an occasional riot or some other disaster. Sometimes he observes that a prominent personage was eulogized or lamented by Mihyar.

The subjects of Mihyar's eulogies do not in the first volume rise above the rank of vizier; for the encomium on the Sultan Jalal al-daulah addressed to him on the occasion of his victory in A.H. 420¹ is not here. On the other hand, the volume does contain the ode with the rhyming word *maghlūbu*, addressed by Mihyar to Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Humani, governor of Basrah, which is mentioned by the historian.² The heading is instructive: *Congratulatory ode on the Feast of the Sacrifice, addressed to the Chief Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Humani, on the occasion of his arrival in Baghdad, with allusion to an enemy who had usurped his governorship through influence and not by reason of competence.* The collection also contains a dirge on this person, who died in Baghdad in 408 (p. 190).

It is interesting in the first place to discover what we can from this Diwan about the fortunes of those persons whose career has been told in *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*. The most eminent of these is Fakhr al-Mulk Abu Ghālib Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Khalaf, with whose arrest Hilal's narrative breaks off. The ode addressed to him by Mihyar (p. 357) finds him again in power. On the death of Bahā al-daulah in Arrajan in A.H. 403 Fakhr al-Mulk goes to the palace of the Caliph al-Qadir to obtain investiture for the new Sultan, Sulṭān al-daulah, and is received by the Caliph with unprecedented distinction. This was earned by a victory which he had won or organized in the preceding year against the Banu Khafājah, who had attacked and plundered the pilgrims. It is probably this victory to which Mihyar refers: yet the tribe which he mentions is not Khafājah, but 'Uqail, whose raids were giving trouble at this time. The poet's verses imply that this tribe was threatening mischief rather than that the victory had been over it.

Another personage of importance of whom much is heard in the *Eclipse* is al-Kafi al-Aḥḥad Abu'l-'Abbas Aḥmad b. Ibrahim al-Dabbi, vizier of Majd

¹ Ibn al-Athir, Cairo, 1303, ix. 130.

² Ibid. ix. 105.

al-daulah, Buwaihid prince of Rayy. Mihiyar would appear to have been recommended to him by Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Bundari, called in the heading to a poem (p. 14) the vizier's 'deputy', by Hilal his secretary. One of Mihiyar's odes (p. 354) addressed to the vizier's son Abu'l-Qasim Sa'd assumes that both he and his father are residing in Rayy, and that the latter is vizier at the time. The poet has been at their court, and is now in Baghdad. The same is the implication of another ode, wherein the vizier is called master of the world (p. 15). These, then, must be earlier than the year 392 when this vizier quarrelled with the all-powerful Queen-mother, and had to flee from Rayy. Two odes allude to this event. In one of these, wherein the poet records his conversion to Islam (p. 12) dated 394, after an elaborate eulogy on the vizier's family, he says: 'I find the realm of the Buwaihids has clothed itself with shame in depriving itself of him. If his place be vacant—well the sun is not known until it sets.'

This vizier had retired to Barujird, and, as we learn from Hilal, there was an intrigue to restore him, which failed. According to his enemies he had carried off vast wealth, and he appears in exile to have continued supplying Mihiyar with gifts. An ode (p. 230) sent some time after his retirement explains how he had resigned the vizierate because it was no longer fit for him to hold; his successor was a fool who was not aware of the difficulties which awaited him.

Another acquaintance of the poet who interests us is the historian Hilal, who has supplied the information which enables us to locate these odes. Originally a Ṣabian he, like Mihiyar, was converted to Islam. An epistle addressed to him is to be found on p. 8, and seems to belong to the year of Mihiyar's conversion. It tells us little except that Hilal had wrongly supposed Mihiyar to have severed connexion with him.

We may now put together what we can learn from this volume of the *Diwan* about the viziers in Baghdad. Ibn al-Athir records that in 406 Fakhr al-Mulk was put to death by Sulṭān al-daulah, who appointed in his place Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Sahlan. In 408 this person fled to Hit, but at the beginning of 409 Sulṭān al-daulah appoints him governor of Iraq, and gives the vizierate to Abu Ghalib al-Ḥasan b. Maṣṣur. This vizier seems to have been taken on by Musharrif al-daulah, when he took Sulṭān al-daulah's place in 412, but was killed shortly afterwards by mutineers. Mihiyar's ode to this vizier (p. 51) was addressed to him when he was in Wasit, and 'alludes to the war between him and Ibn Sahlan, wherein Abu Ghalib was victorious'. The event is described by Ibn al-Athir (A.H. 412), though he does not mention Abu Ghalib in connexion with it. Sulṭān al-daulah, having agreed with Musharrif al-daulah not to employ Ibn Sahlan as vizier, broke his word, and endeavoured to regain the supremacy with Ibn Sahlan's aid. The battle at Wasit frustrated this scheme. To the battle there Mihiyar adds one 'yesterday at Anbar', where the result was similar. The line 'how many a dynasty has grown old with thee for brother, while thou art rearing another like a father' seems to refer to the vizier Abu Ghalib serving the two Sultans who have been named successively. The poet claims to have advised Ibn Sahlan

(whom he does not actually name) to be content with a lower place. It may be doubted whether such advice was ever given.

After Abu Ghalib, Muayyid al-Mulk Abu 'Ali al-Rukhkhaji was appointed vizier; Ibn al-Athir gives the year as 413, but as he states in 414 that this person had held office two years and three days, the date of his appointment must have been 412. The historian notices Mihyar's eulogy, and confirms the heading of the ode, which states that Muayyid al-Mulk only accepted office under pressure, having repeatedly refused it. This ode is to be found on p. 44; in one dated 414 (p. 64) the title 'lord of the viziers' (*sayyid al-wuzara*) is given him, but this eulogy preceded his arrest and dismissal by a few weeks; the ode is dated Rajab, and the arrest took place in Ramaḍan. In an ode which bears no date (p. 382), recited to the great man by the subject of many eulogies, Abu Ṭālib b. Ayyub, the same title is employed. The ode asserts that the vizier's ancestors had repeatedly held the office; but it is not easy to verify this statement. After his dismissal in 414 he does not appear to have been again vizier; but he was frequently employed on important missions. In an ode (p. 361) which is likely to belong to this later period he has the fresh title Majd al-Ma'ālī.

Rukhkhaji was succeeded by a vizier whose literary achievements make him a familiar figure to students: al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī al-Maghribī. The historian speaks with much bitterness of his character. Mihyar has an ode addressed to him shortly after his appointment in 414 (p. 75); in the following year he was forced to flee from Baghdad with his master owing to a mutiny of the Turkish praetorians; his tenure of office lasted only ten months and five days. There is also an ode belonging to the period of his flight (p. 281), wherein he is requested to return to sorrowing and devastated Baghdad. The poet's estimate of his conduct is very different from the historian's: 'Thou hast established the religion of justice, whose traces had been obliterated; thou hast erected a tabernacle of glory whose cords and stays had been undone.'

Ibn al-Athir does not mention al-Maghribī's immediate successor; but the next year sees the death of Musharrif al-daulah, and the accession of Jalal al-daulah, who appoints as his vizier Abu Sa'd b. Mākūla. He was arrested in the same year and died in prison in the following (417); his cousin Abu 'Alī was made vizier in his place. This person held office till 419, when his place was given to one al-Ḥasan b. Ṭāhir, who was speedily followed by Abu Sa'd b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm.

This person's family played a large part in Mihyar's life. To his father the Ṣāhib Abu'l-Qasim Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm more than a dozen odes are addressed in this volume; the earliest, which bears date 393, is on p. 3; others are dated 403, 411, and 414; there are besides two dirges over him, which are not dated. In 403 he was sent on an embassy to the court at Shiraz, where he received high honours for the successful discharge of his mission (p. 26); another ode refers to the same affair (p. 21). The explanation of the mission seems to be given in some lines at the end of p. 27: 'The king knew, when he called upon thee, his counsel being feeble and his party discordant, that people's hearts veer treacherously with fortune, but that when you are

entrusted with a secret the golden vessel keeps safely what is committed to it. When danger threatened and a son was blamed for treachery and a father was feared, true aim shot in thee the arrow of a successful marksman, whose butt end in zeal outstripped its barb.' Comment is badly needed to explain the allusions; it may be observed that Mihyar rarely names enemies.

A poem dated 411 (p. 153) records this person's victory over an enemy who attacked him; some lines of it suggest that he aspired to the vizierate, which he does not appear like his son to have held in Baghdad. They are:

'I find that the fangs of the vizierate can be bent by no snake-charmer save thee, however many spells be tried; the tame part thereof (of the vizierate) hopes for thee to mount a slippery back whose riders have been thrown and fallen.'

Three other odes connect the recipient with Wasit. In that which begins p. 267 the Šāhib (as this person is called) is in that place; the poet traces his genealogy to the Persian kings. In another, which is dated 414 (p. 60) the heading informs us that it is to congratulate him on his return from Wasit (to Baghdad), and to recount his deliverance from a reverse which befell him there. If the ode is to be believed, the recipient was no less formidable with his sword than with his pen. 'He maintains the affairs of the empire, healing its disease, a skilled physician of time's ailments, reinforced by his tongue and his sword; if his pens dry or become silent, his sword waxes eloquent.' 'He has been tried both in and out of office; they (the rulers) have led him both straining against the rope and yielding to it.'

The ode which begins p. 387 seems to deal with the same situation; the heading tells us that this Abu'l-Qasim had fallen into disfavour with his Sultan, and that this had necessitated his abandoning his office and keeping to his house. Presently, however, he was restored to higher honour than before. This ode was sent to Wasit.

In the dirge (p. 159) which is not dated we learn that this official was put to death after imprisonment. 'I wept over thee among the prisoners, and when they told me thou wast slain, I wished that thou wert among the prisoners.' 'The sword smote in thee a sword-blade, and in thee one Euphrates was flung into another.' The heading of the other dirge (p. 418) gives more details. After long imprisonment he was put to death in a village of the district of Hit on the bank of the Euphrates. Both poems imply that his body was thrown into the river. The latter dirge is remarkable for the threats of vengeance which it contains.

Some other members of this person's family may be among the recipients of eulogies; the most distinguished is his son Abu Sa'd with whom we resume the series of the Buwaihīd viziers. His first appointment according to Ibn al-Athir was in 419; but in 421 we find his predecessor Abu 'Ali b. Makula restored to office; he, however, dies on an expedition to Basrah, and Abu Sa'd returns to the vizierate with the title 'Amīd al-daulah. He is cashiered in 422, and after some ephemeral viziers Abu'l-Qasim b. Makula (doubtless a relation of the two preceding viziers called Ibn Makula) takes office. For some

years the vizierate is held alternately by these two persons. Mihyar's odes enable us to trace Abu Sa'd's career a little farther back beyond his first mention by Ibn al-Athir and illustrate the details furnished by the historian's scanty narrative.

The first ode addressed to him (p. 261) tells us only that his father had employed him, and that he had triumphed over enemies. The poet here makes the curious admission that some of the charges brought against the subject of the ode may have been true! In a poem of the year 417 (p. 93) Abu Sa'd has the titles al-Ra'is al-Ajall 'Amid al-kufāt, which perhaps imply headship of one of the Bureaux; in that which begins p. 107 he is called Wazir al-Wuzara as well as 'Amid al-daulah, conferred on him according to the historian in 421. It seems, however, to belong to a later date than 421; the heading states that Abu Sa'd had to retire to Awana, which corresponds with what Ibn al-Athir records for the year 425. An ode which begins p. 136 and is dated Shawwal 423 refers to some similar experience; according to Ibn al-Athir the vizier in this year suffered such ill-treatment at the hands of the Turks that he had to go into hiding. The heading tells of misunderstanding between him and his master Jalal al-daulah. It would seem, however, that when the ode was delivered, Abu Sa'd had returned to Baghdad, since that city is said to have had its brightness restored to it.

In the succeeding years, as we have seen, Abu Sa'd alternates as vizier with Abu'l-Qasim b. Makula; and on the occasion of each of his ephemeral vizierates Mihyar addressed encomia to him. He was arrested in 427, but the ode addressed to him in this year (p. 141) is evidently prior to that event.

It is to be regretted that out of so many odes composed on historic occasions so little can be learned about this person, who must have been one of the ablest men of his time. We may believe Mihyar that he was a patron of poetry, but the rest of his compliments are commonplace.

There are some odes in the Diwan addressed to his rival Abu'l-Qasim Hibatallah b. 'Ali b. Makula, but these apparently belong to a period before the rivalry between the two viziers commenced. The heading of one of them (p. 411) reads: 'He had been told that the Ra'is Abu'l-Qasim Hibatallah, &c., had mentioned him favourably, admired his verse, and desired to see him. Hibatallah was at the time residing in the Marsh being minister of War and Finance for that region and for Wasit.' The ode contains no information worth adding to the heading, except that it implies that the recipient's father was an obscure person, and that the family came from Karaj and belonged to the tribe 'Ijl. This tribe claimed the famous Abu Dulaf, whose glories the poet recounts, perhaps for want of other material. The heading of an ode on p. 205 informs us that the poet had now met this Ibn Makula in Baghdad, and that the latter had gone to the Marsh as governor, and describes the vessel wherein he had sailed. The description is vague.

Other distinguished men, both of Baghdad and other cities, receive encomia or addresses in this volume. For the present we have confined ourselves to the viziers of the Buwaihids, regretting that inability to procure the

second volume in time has rendered it impossible to deal fully with even this portion of the subject.

Appreciation of these compositions as poetry is a taste not easily acquired. The style of the odes is so stereotyped that their perusal rarely leaves any permanent impression on the mind; Mihyar has not the epigrammatic brilliancy of Mutanabbi, the smoothness and elegance of Buhturi, or the stateliness of Abu Tammam. The volume contains little or nothing in the shape of satire, and this, though often painful reading, rarely fails to give insight into the thoughts, manners, and customs of the time. An Egyptian poet of great eminence told me that he could detect that Mihyar was a foreigner from his first line. It must, however, be remembered that not only was he at the head of his crowded profession in his lifetime, but that Ibn al-Athir, writing two centuries later, deems his eulogies worthy of notice.

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ZOROASTER AND ABDUL BAHÁ

IF an American Orientalist, whose field is the world of Mohammedan culture, desired to write a work in honour of a High Priest of the Parsis, he would have to touch upon the question of the Zoroastrian elements in Bahaism, because Bahaism is widely spread now in the United States, and being a branch of Mohammedan Sufism, has received through Islam a certain influence of the old Iranian religion.

But this question is very complicated, and the modern literature dealing with Bahaism (or Babism) is very extensive. Owing to this fact, the writer of a short article cannot study the problem deeply, and is obliged to limit his material to popular Bahaist literature, these works being less familiar to scholars than such special ones as, for instance, the works of the late E. G. Browne. Moreover, the oral traditions are very often better preserved in popular books which are published by the direct, personal disciples of their teachers.

The aim of this paper is very modest: to indicate briefly the salient points of the above-mentioned problem, and to encourage scholars to pursue research along these lines.

Zoroastrian influence on Islam has been mentioned by several prominent Orientalists. A. V. W. Jackson says that the founder of Islam adopted certain tenets directly from the ancient Prophet of Iran and that the specialist in Mohammedanism must recognize this influence.¹ In the further development of Islam, the mystic Sufis also derived their origin in great part from the teaching of Zarathushtra's disciples.² We know, too, that Babism (or Bahaism, which faith comes directly from Babism) has little originality in its dogmas, and its mystic doctrine takes its rise from Sufism.³

If we turn to the persons of the two Prophets, we can suppose that Mohammed was considered as an heir to Zoroaster,⁴ and this hint is preserved even in the Sufi verses.⁵ But we find, likewise, the idea of the connexion of Baha Ullah (and of Abdul Baha, his son and successor) with Zoroaster and Mohammed in a work published by an American follower of Abdul Baha.⁶ This idea was well explained also by the Parsis themselves who were received by Abdul Baha on Mount Carmel, Palestine, in April 1920.⁷ Thus a certain chain of succession between Zoroaster and Abdul Baha is established.

Let us look now at the elements of the Zoroastrian faith which were adopted by Bahaism through Islam and Sufism.

To Zoroaster, Light was synonymous with Spirit and Good; Mithra, the ally of Ahura Mazdah and almost equal to Ormazd in power, is the God of

¹ A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies*, New York, 1928, pp. 5, 211.

² L. H. Gray, *Zoroastrian Elements in Muhammadan Eschatology*, Le Muséon, 1902, p. 184.

³ J. Darmesteter, *Persia. Persia and Parsis*, Part I, Bombay, 1925, p. 35.

⁴ Darmesteter, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁵ R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge, 1921, p. 264.

⁶ Ruth White, *Abdul Baha and the Promised Age*, New York, 1927, pp. 16, 163.

⁷ White, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 7.

Light.¹ According to Zoroastrians and Mohammedans Paradise is full of light.² From the point of view of the Islamic cosmogony, the world was derived from Allah's own Light.³ The Sufis' doctrine says that God created the spiritual form of Mohammed from the light of His (Allah's) name.⁴ Abdul Baha teaches that Light or Spirit, i.e., the Heavenly Sun, is God and we must accept our life with radiant acquiescence.⁵ He says also that the world of God is illumined.⁶ On the other hand, Zoroaster taught that Darkness is matter and evil,⁷ and to Mohammedans and Sufis this darkness is Not-Being⁸ and to Abdul Baha it is this world.⁹

The greatest happiness in Paradise is not the reward only of the righteous, for eternal punishment is not a dogma of Zoroastrianism. According to Islam, the Moslems, who have fallen into Hell, enter, after a period of punishment, into Paradise, dwelling of joy.¹⁰ Sufism also cannot allow evil to be permanent; Hell is a temporary state and all must be saved and dwell in Paradise.¹¹ The Bahaist literature is full of passages which state that man, without exception, is created for eternal happiness and Paradise.¹²

Nevertheless, before man enters Paradise, all his actions, according to the Zoroastrian creed, are written and carefully recorded in an Account-Book, and have to be weighed in the balance at the time of the Last Judgement. The Moslems borrowed this eschatological doctrine of the balance from Parsism.¹³ The same idea of the weighing of our deeds in the balance and of the Account-Book is expressed in the Kitab-i Akdas, or 'The Most Holy Book' of the Babis (or Bahais).¹⁴

As a detail of the picture of the future heavenly life, the sweetest of perfumes will be wafted through the Zoroastrian and Mohammedan Paradise.¹⁵ Moreover, different perfumes are assigned, or consecrated, to the different archangels and angels of the Zoroastrian pantheon.¹⁶ From the Bahai works we know that the perfumed fragrance of the Holy Spirit breathes upon the Universe,¹⁷ and that God the Creator, from the beginning of the world, favoured rose-water and fine perfumes.¹⁸

In the Zoroastrian spiritual world Ameretat, the archangel, is a prototype of vigour and endurance, and is especially associated with the sacred white tree.¹⁹ In the Mohammedan and Sufi theology, God created, beneath His Throne, a region like white pearl, in which is the sacred paradisaal Lote-tree, and this is the station of the Archangel Gabriel.²⁰ In the Bahai Tablets the Prophet is usually called the Lote-tree, and his sons—Aghsan or branches.

¹ Jackson, pp. 59, 190.

² Gray, p. 167.

³ E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, London, 1900, i. 34.

⁴ Nicholson, p. 135.

⁵ White, pp. 73 ff., 140.

⁶ M. H. Phelps, *Life and Teachings of Abbas Effendi*, New York, 1903, p. 201.

⁷ Jackson, pp. 190 ff.

⁸ Gibb, i. 20.

⁹ Phelps, pp. 200 ff.

¹⁰ Gray, pp. 167, 168, 176.

¹¹ Nicholson, pp. 133-6.

¹² For example: Cl. Huart, the article 'Baha allah' in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, i. 572.

¹³ Jackson, p. 134; Gray, pp. 164-5; I. Goldziher, *The Influence of Parsism on Islam. Persia and Parsis*, Part I, Bombay, 1925, pp. 51, 52.

¹⁴ A. G. Tumansky, *Kitabe Akdas, 'The Most Holy Book' of Modern Babis*, St. Petersburg, 1899, verses 241, 451.

¹⁵ Gray, p. 167.

¹⁶ Jackson, p. 48 and *passim*.

¹⁷ Phelps, p. 192.

¹⁸ Tumansky, verse 181.

¹⁹ Jackson, p. 51.

²⁰ Gibb, i. 35; Nicholson, p. 263.

One of the ancient Iranian doctrines, centuries before Christ, is the advent of a Saoshyant or Saviour.¹ If we turn to the Mohammedan and Sufi eschatology, we find the idea of the coming of Mahdi.² And in the teaching of Abdul Baha and Baha Ullah we have the same theory of the return, or advent, of the Promised One or Saviour.³ The truly orthodox Iranian view regards the faith as a unity,⁴ and this was expressed by Abdul Baha in the same words.⁵ Moreover, the Sufis taught that the One God is adored in every form of worship and consequently there is no difference between religions.⁶ This is the essential principle of Bahaism, for Abdul Baha says: 'Since all gather to worship God, what difference is there?'⁷

I trust these few words may induce Orientalists to study this most interesting sequence—Zoroaster, Mohammed, Sufis, Abdul Baha.

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¹ Jackson, pp. 149, 220.

³ Tumansky, verse 300; White, p. 164.

⁵ White, p. 200.

⁷ White, p. 47; Phelps, p. 147; Huart, op. cit., *ibid.*

² Nicholson, p. 135.

⁴ Jackson, p. 207.

⁶ Nicholson, pp. 198, 263.

REMARKS ON THE HALL OF COLUMNS AND ROYAL TOMBS AT PERSEPOLIS

HAVING had the advantage of collaborating in the work of the complete *déblaiement* of the Achaemenian palace of Susa and having excavated several necropolises of this ancient city, I visited in 1928 the admirable ruins of Persepolis and Pasargadae. This visit and the experience of long years of archaeological researches at Susa enable me to make the following remarks, which my collaborator in Susa, Dr. J. M. Unvala, told me would be welcomed by learned Indo-Iranists. I feel, therefore, very happy in having the opportunity of publishing them in a memorial volume written in honour of an eminent Iranian scholar.

The palace of Susa was built by Darius I Hystaspes, as we learn from a document of the foundation of the palace, written in cuneiform characters and in Ancient Persian, Anzanite, and Babylonian languages. This document, the fragments of whose duplicates were found dispersed in the ruins of the ancient city, is restored and published last year by the Rev. Father V. Scheil, the well-known French assyriologist, in the twenty-first volume of *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*. The original plan of the palace was slightly changed by successors of Darius, as we learn from their inscriptions published in the above-mentioned volume of the *Mémoires*. The Hall of Columns built by Darius was destroyed by fire in the reign of Artaxerxes I and rebuilt by his grandson Artaxerxes II. Other Achaemenian kings seem to have added to the palace of Darius minor constructions, but they do not definitely state their nature in these inscriptions.

The palace was built on an artificial platform, 250 m. long and 150 m. broad; it is 15 m. higher than the level of the plain. Towards the north it has a *décrochement*, 120 m. long and 60 m. broad, corresponding to a square hall of thirty-six columns, adorned by porticoes on its sides. The palace is oriented 15° west of the magnetic meridian. This orientation is different from those of the palaces of Persepolis, Pasargadae, and Istakhr, which are 22°, 45°, and 17° west of the magnetic meridian respectively.

The palace had three principal square courts of varying dimensions surrounded by apartments. The arrangement of the rooms was similar to that of the rooms of an Assyrian palace. Their walls were of crude bricks and had on the inside a coating of lime decorated with paintings. The floors were covered by a sort of concrete, 0.30 m. thick, formed of small fragments of burnt bricks and lime, and painted with red ochre. The palaces of Kuyunjik and Babylon had similar floorings, whose invention M. Koldewey has wrongly attributed to the Greeks.

Stones seem to have been very little employed in the palace of Susa. Besides the debris of the gigantic stone columns of the *apadāna* we have found *in situ* several big, nicely chiselled stones, brought to Susa from a distance of about a hundred kilometres and employed in the construction of

the palace. But this very fact has contributed to the systematic destruction of the ruins of the palace by successive generations of the inhabitants of Susa, who have exploited them as a rich stone quarry in the absence of other durable building materials. We find these stones very often dispersed on other tells of Susa. Thus we have recovered several interesting fragments pertaining to colossal statues, e.g. a portion of the face of a human-faced bull, similar to those of Persepolis and Khorsabad, and a sandalled foot of an archer. There were also stone decorations, as can be judged from fragments of stone pillars with mouldings and flutes, and from a rectangular block bearing traces of a bas-relief depicting the hind legs and claws of a griffon and plants, which remind us of the ornaments of the walls of Persepolis.

The palace of Susa appears to have been a magnificent residence for the three months of winter. It was kept in good repair, and even enlarged by successive monarchs up to the Macedonian conquest.

Cyrus the Great and perhaps also Cambyses built their palaces at Pasargadae; Darius I Hystaspes and his immediate successors chose as their residence Persepolis, whereas Darius Codomanus had his palace at Istakhr. There were at Persepolis palaces and halls of columns of Darius I, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I. But at Susa and at Babylon the Achaemenian sovereigns inhabited the palace built by Darius I, to which they added from time to time new constructions. Every sovereign had his personal treasury at Susa and at Persepolis. He did not utilize the economy of his predecessor.

We presume that the newly enthroned Achaemenian king was surrounded by his old princely family; on the death of a king his court used to go to Persepolis for his solemn obsequies and stay there. It did not follow the new king, his successor, in his journeys from one place of the empire to the other. This hypothesis permits us to give an explanation of the use of the halls of columns.

These great halls of columns were encircled by walls. The existence of the walls of the Hall of a Hundred Columns of Darius in Persepolis is not doubted. The walls of the hall of Xerxes and of the *apadāna* of Susa have completely disappeared. They must be indicated in the restoration of these edifices. This is also the opinion of Ferguson, Dieulafoy, and Koldewey, with which Perrot, Chipiez, and Curzon do not agree. They seem to us necessary between the hall and the porticoes, not only in order to facilitate the construction, but also in order to contrive in one of them the staircase leading to the terrace.

Dieulafoy and we had noticed the existence of a stone threshold between the west portico and the hall of Xerxes. Our predecessor had marked it in his note-book, but as this threshold was parallel to the wall to be restored, and as it did not seem to him susceptible of serving his hypothesis, he explained it as an entablement of a window. In our opinion it is the threshold of the door of the staircase leading to the terrace, contrived in the wall, whose thickness attained 5 m. It could, therefore, easily support the staircase, without being weakened. The presence of drainage pipes under the flooring, precisely situated in the axis of the walls to be restored, was objected to on the ground that as these pipes must have been constantly cleansed and kept in

repair they had to be accessible. We think that there was possibly a gallery of inspection at the basis of the wall, situated above the sinks. These were constructed for collecting rain-water. How could the water, which was collected on the terrace and directed by gargoyles, be otherwise stored up? The walls were so built, that they could easily permit the introduction of vertical wells, formed of large-mouthed pipes inserted into one another and connected with the water-pipes. The terrace must have been constantly kept in repair, in order to ensure the thorough ejection of the rain-water by means of gargoyles. How was it possible to reach it without the help of a staircase, if not by means of a costly scaffolding? The staircase has undoubtedly disappeared with the walls without leaving behind any trace whatsoever.

Nobody will doubt for a moment the importance of a terrace in Oriental countries, especially in Persia. It is there that the inmates of a house spend cool hours of the evening and sleep at night. The rooms closed in by the walls heated up during the day-time became unbearable. It seems to us that the hall of columns, closed in, as it was, by walls, was inadequate as a hall of pomp, as the great multitude of columns with very little interspace marred not only the pomp of ceremonies, but also made the necessary supervision by the royal body-guards difficult. It served only as a support of the vast terrace overlooking the plain. The study of the Egyptian halls of columns leads us clearly to the same conclusion. The Achaemenian sculptors have largely contributed to clear up this point. They have represented at Persepolis and at Naqshe-Rustam the façades of the halls of columns. The king is represented sitting on a throne placed on the terrace. Before him there is a fire-altar. We think that Ferguson is right, although Curzon contradicts him, in taking this scene as representing the most solemn public function in the life of the king, who rules by divine right. The sovereign takes part publicly in religious ceremonies performed on the terrace of the hall of columns before the people, before the army assembled in the plain, and before the servants and the guards assembled in the courts of the palace. The call to prayers of a Shiite mullah from the terrace of the minaret of a mosque is perhaps the survival of this royal Achaemenian ceremony. Thus we see that the hall of columns was reserved for religious use.

The priests who were appointed by the king during his lifetime continued to officiate at Persepolis as such even after the demise of their royal patron. The new king nominated his own ministers of the cult in a new fire-temple. He did not change the household management of his predecessor, but maintained it. We find the same idea while studying the royal tombs.

The necropolis of Susa shows the persistence of the tradition of the double burial of the dead. The oldest funeral mound, which can be dated at the latest to the fourth millennium B.C., was formed by a heap of closely packed graves, accompanied by painted vases, arms, and objects of toilet; the skull was very often put in a cup, and the big bones were gathered in a long goblet. This shows clearly that a previous burial or exposure of the dead had taken place.

We have an example of the same practice in the time of the dynasty of

Agade. It seems to have been abandoned from the twentieth century B.C. up to the Elamite period. The intermediate burials were in clay sarcophagi and jars, in which we found entire skeletons. At the end of the fifteenth century B.C. the sarcophagi were replaced by vaulted tombs, constructed of burnt or crude bricks. These tombs were at first individual and then collective. Still the use of jars for the burial of children and adolescents was not abandoned. In the twelfth century B.C., which corresponds to the Elamite middle age, the vault was accompanied by a so-called 'well'. It blocked up sometimes the narrow entrance of the vault. It seemed to have been used for a previous burial. When the corpse was decomposed, the well and the vault were opened, and all that remained of the dead body was pushed in at the back of the vault. The vases used during this period for the burial of children and adolescents were very small and could not, therefore, have received the whole body. Have we here a previous dismemberment of the corpse? The vaults attain a big dimension, from 4 m. to 8 m. in length, in the neo-Babylonian period. They are all provided with a *well*, and their walls are coated on the inside with a layer of lime. Bones were found in them greatly decomposed and crumbling. We find also tombs dug out in the ground, in which corpses were placed with several funeral objects. In the Achaemenian period children were buried in big jars and adults in the ground. It seems that in the Parthian and Sassanian periods children were buried in jars and sarcophagi around houses. Big jars, sometimes two jars joined together at their mouths, were certainly used for the burial, though found empty, and big sarcophagi contained numerous decomposed bones, appertaining to several adult individuals. We deduce from this that the corpses of children were neither exposed to birds and beasts of prey nor reinterred. They were buried in vases as near the houses as possible. This is the actual practice of the Arabs of the environs of Susa. Adults were perhaps exposed; but it is certain that they were also buried in big jars; after this exposure or the first burial the remains of the dead were collected in receptacles common to one family or group. These were the *astodāns*. Thus we see that when the Mesopotamian influence was not preponderant, reburial was prevalent.

Following the example of Darius I his successors had magnificent funeral chambers carved out of the live rock at Naqshe-Rustam. The continual changes of the residence of these Achaemenian monarchs must have necessitated the performance of all the funeral rites at Persepolis. They found their deaths far away from this city. The sarcophagi prepared for them received, therefore, only their bones, which remained after their corpses were exposed. This exposure was equivalent to the first burial. Thereupon, they were transported to Perses on a long route across the mountains. These rock-tombs were not individual tombs; they were rather the *astodāns* reserved for all members of the royal family.

The square tower facing the funeral monuments of Naqshe-Rustam seems to have been destined, as Dieulafoy supposes, to receive temporarily the mortal remains of noted personages. They were deposited in it either before or after a somewhat long exposure of the corpse on rocky hills in order to

facilitate the natural process of the complete desiccation of the bones, permitting their final transport to the *astodāns*. This process would sometimes take several months, during which remains of the near relations of the dead must have been held before this tower. Corpses of the ordinary people were placed in the innumerable cavities of the hills, which were easily closed previously by a wall of unhewn stones set in mud-plaster.

There still exists at Pasargadae such a tower as mentioned above. It is at the foot of the hill, on whose summit there is a platform of nicely hewn stones. This was perhaps the place for the exposure of the dead body to birds of prey. The tradition reported by Pliny says that the town was inhabited by the Magians, who, according to Herodotus, followed this custom much more strictly than the Persians. We do not deny the custom of throwing dead bodies to birds and beasts of prey among the Persians, but we do not think that they waited till they were completely eaten up, as seems to have been the rule among the Medes and several other tribes of northern and eastern Persia.

The tomb of Cyrus was also an *astodān*. Its architecture reminds us of Lycian monuments; still it is not different from what a stone construction made in imitation of a tent of a nomad of Fars would look like. The details of the visit of Aristobulos to Pasargadae, which is given by Arrian, ought to be taken with reserve. The envoy of Alexander is said to have seen the body of Cyrus, who died two hundred years before his time, to have made a list of precious objects accompanying it, and to have read an inscription in Greek. We cannot but think that there was a show prepared for the visit of the envoy of the conqueror, and that it was a complete success, because its organizers were lavished with favours by Alexander. Then immediately after the departure of Aristobulos the objects borrowed were restored to their owners and the inscription was removed. Thus when Alexander returned from India, he found the tomb abandoned. We know that the robe of Cyrus and his royal insignia were used in the coronation ceremony. It is doubtful whether these precious objects escaped the hands of the conqueror.

The tomb has an Aramaic inscription, mentioning perhaps Cyrus, found by Professor Herzfeld in a bad condition. It is not yet published. Darius had his inscription chiselled on his tomb; his successors did not follow his example. At Susa all tombs are anonymous. It is very rare to find a cylinder with a personal inscription; again, if one is found, it appertains to a former generation than that indicated by the sepulchre. Was the tomb destined to receive other corpses? It was not the fear of robbery to which this absence of epitaphs is to be attributed. The vaults remained open for a long time. Father Raphael du Mans relates in his *État du Royaume de Perse* in 1660 that when the king of Persia died, several coffins were taken to every big city of the kingdom simultaneously and nobody knew which of them contained the body of the king. He says further that these measures were taken in order to protect against reprisals of rebels on his sepulchre. This is an error in the interpretation of the custom. Its explanation is to be found in the custom of the Scythians described by Herodotus. He says that among

the Scythians the burial of the king does not take place before the dead body is carried in a funeral procession to different districts of the kingdom. This was a way to confirm the sad news of the demise of the king and to legitimate the claims of his successor.

In Susa the dead were buried with implements of their various professions, their personal ornaments, and their arms. These objects vary according to their social conditions. The frequency of inscribed clay tablets shows that they were written by professional scribes. These documents have no bearing on funeral ceremonies. A group of tombs brought to light several copies of the same contract concerning the purchase of a house; we thought that in this case we had a family cemetery. This case remains isolated, as also the discovery of a small lot of tablets containing veritable funeral prayers. The scribe does not betray the identity of the dead. After risking so many hypotheses we set up another to explain the anonymousness of the tombs. The nomadic life of the Elamites and the Achaemenians sometimes led them to lose their lives far away from their relations in distant countries, where they could not but have an anonymous tomb. This did not deter the Iranian impulse of conquest of new fields of activity and of the fortunes of hunting and war.

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SUR LE NOM DE BABYLONE DANS L'AVESTA

LE vers yašt v. 29 se lit ainsi dans les manuscrits :

bawrōiš paiti daiñhaove.

On laisse ici de côté les variantes portant sur la forme *daiñhaove*, qui est sûrement vocalisée d'une manière artificielle, mais qui pose un problème général, du reste simple.

La leçon *bawrōiš* est celle de la plupart des manuscrits; *bawarōiš* de deux manuscrits n'en est qu'une autre forme, avec *a* intercalé entre *w* et *r* pour éviter un groupe de consonnes, comme il arrive souvent dans les manuscrits de l'Avesta. Il n'y a qu'une variante remarquable: *biwrōiš*; elle montre que la vocalisation *bawrōiš* ne repose pas sur une tradition ferme.

Tel qu'il est écrit, le vers n'a pas les huit syllabes normales. Comme *paiti* et *daiñhave* (telle serait la graphie correcte) ne peuvent donner que cinq syllabes, *bawrōiš* ou *biwrōiš* en doit fournir trois, ce qui revient à dire que, entre *w* et *r*, il manque une voyelle susceptible de fournir une syllabe.

Suivant la note de Darmesteter, dans sa traduction de ce morceau, *bawrōiš* désigne ici Babylone; Bartholomae et, à sa suite, M. Lommel ont accepté cette interprétation, qui semble évidente.

Dès lors, on voit quelle doit être la vocalisation. Le nom de Babylone figure souvent dans les inscriptions perses, toujours avec indication d'un *i* entre *b* et *r*: *bābiruš*. On est donc amené à lire *bawirōiš*, qui présente les trois syllabes nécessaires.

Ce mot apporte un témoignage—entre beaucoup d'autres—du caractère secondaire de la notation des voyelles dans l'Avesta. Là où les vocalisateurs reconnaissent des mots iraniens, ils pouvaient mettre les voyelles d'une manière conforme à la structure du mot en iranien. Là où il s'agit d'un mot étranger qu'ils reconnaissent mal, la vocalisation est sans valeur parce que, pour des noms isolés, il n'y avait pas de tradition fixe.

Suivant toute apparence, les vocalisateurs ont subi l'influence d'un mot qu'ils connaissent, le nom du castor, dont on a le nominatif *bawriš* et un génitif, non concordant avec ce nominatif, *bawranqm*.

La forme avestique du nom de Babylone ne concorde du reste pas avec la forme perse; car elle n'a pas trace d'un *a* long dans la première syllabe, et le génitif en *-ōiš* est celui d'un thème en *-i-*, tandis que le nom perse est thème en *-u-*.

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THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PARSEE FIHRESTS

THE recently published K. R. Cama Oriental Institute (Gujarati) Publication No. 6 (1929), entitled *Navsarini vadi Dar-i-Meherma thayala Navarni Fihrest* (edited by Ervad Mahyar Nowroji Kutar), has suggested to me the subject of this paper.

The Parsees have several kinds of fihrests. They form a kind of register. They are generally compiled and preserved by the priesthood. The fihrests, so compiled and preserved by the Parsee priests of Naosari, are the following:

1. The Namgrahan.
2. The Disapothi.
3. The Fihrest of Navars.
4. The Fihrest of Nirangdins.
5. The Fihrest of Varasias.

The Namgrahan¹ is a list of the names of the departed ones of a family, prepared with a view to recite their names for commemoration in some liturgical services in their honour. The Disapothi (lit. 'the book of days') also known as Vahi (i.e. 'the book of the dead') is a register of the days of the anniversaries of the dead.² The Fihrest of Navars is a register of the names of those who have entered into Navarhood, i.e. those who are initiated as priests. Nirangdin and Varasya are associated together. Nirangdin is the consecrated *gaomez* (urine) of bulls, among whom a thoroughly white one, spoken of as Varasya, is absolutely necessary. The Fihrest of Nirangdin is a register of (a) the dates when the Nirangdin is celebrated, (b) the names of the two priests who celebrated the ceremony, and (c) the names of those laymen or priests in whose honour it is celebrated. The Fihrest of Varasias, or the consecrated sacred bulls, is a register of (a) the dates of their consecration, (b) the names of the priests who consecrated them, and (c) the names of the persons in whose honour the consecration took place.

The fihrests, though they are simple registers of the names of the dead, of the dates of the initiation into Navarhood, and of some events of religious ritual, have some historical importance. I have spoken elsewhere on the importance of Disapothis.³ I will, in this paper, confine myself to one typical instance from the Fihrest of Navar, referred to above, to show its historical importance, which is not only due to the names registered therein, but to the notes added here and there.

At the close of the entry No. 2158 (= Kutar, p. 269) we find a reference to the plundering raid of the Mahrathas,⁴ commenced before Samvat year

¹ For further particulars about Namgrahan (lit. 'taking or remembering names'), vide my paper entitled 'Vahi or Register of the Dead of some of the Parsees of Broach and a Parsee martyr mentioned in it' (*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, xiv, No. 3, pp. 303-12).

² Vide my paper on Disapothi read before the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta.

³ *Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta.*

⁴ The raid is spoken of in the entry as *girdi* and it was known as *Raghavi girdi*, i.e. 'the Raid

1832, i.e. 1776 A.C. The raiders plundered houses at Naosari and harassed the people. Lest, they, in their plundering raid, desecrate the Sacred Fire of the Atash Behram, the leaders of the Parsee community thought it advisable to remove the Sacred Fire to Surat.

The raid had caused so much terror that the leaders of the Parsee community of Naosari—the Dastur and the Desai—both had to quit Naosari and go to Surat. In a letter dated 28 September 1776, written by the leaders of the Naosari Anjuman, not from Naosari but from Surat, where they had gone to escape from the terror of the raiders, the writers said that (a) they had been suffering from the terror of the raiders for the last four years, i.e. from 1772 A.C., (b) that there were cases wherein the raiders hang people by their feet, and then, to free them from the torture, exacted money, (c) that owing to the terror caused by the raiders, even the funeral ceremonies of the dead could not be performed at Naosari, and so they had to send special messengers to Broach to get the ceremonies performed there, (d) that on deaths occurring, people could not afford even shrouds (*kafan*) for the dead, (e) that people had not even their utensils to cook for the *cheharum*, i.e. the fourth day funeral feast, and (f) that the bodies of the dead remained at home for two or three days before being carried to the towers of silence because sufficient corpse-bearers had not survived the sufferings. It seems that the forced confinement of the people through terror, for days and months together, had even caused an epidemic, and ten to twelve persons died daily.

Owing to the risk and distress caused by the raiders it was rather difficult to observe all the ritual with the Bareshnum. So six priests, whose names are given in the note, undertook the risk and observed well the Bareshnum for officiating at the Dar-i-Meher. Again two priests ran some risk of their lives and carried away from Naosari to Surat the Sacred Fire of the Atash.¹ So these eight priests were awarded the gift of five Navars, i.e. they were given the privilege of officiating at the initiating of five Navars during the year over and above what came to their lot as usual. We find references to this gift of five Navars in No. 2161 to 2165.

The *fihest* gives no list of Navars for six years, Samvat 1827 to 1832, and the compiler of the *fihest* very properly says that the gap may be due to the raids (*Raghavi girdi*). Again, owing to the confusion caused by the raid, the order of officiating in turn was not properly observed for some time. So the *fihest* gives a note after entry No. 2575 (= Kutar, p. 327) saying that in Samvat 1850, i.e. 1754 A.C., the priests met in the Dar-i Meher and resumed the previous proper order of turns which had been upset.

The *fihest* contains various notes of local interest and also refers to some sacerdotal customs and practices in the matter of ritual.

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of Raghava or Raghoba'. For an account of the troubles caused by this raid of the Mahrathas, vide my *History of the Parsee Panchayet*, pp. 75-89, the *History of India*, by V. A. Smith (6th ed.), pp. 266-7, and Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrathas*, revised by S. M. Edwards (1921), ii. 53 et seq. (events of 1776).

¹ For this event of the removal of the Sacred Fire to Naosari, vide *Parsee Prakash*, i.

NOTES SUR LE KURDE

I. *Le Kurde est-il Iranien?*

LE caractère purement iranien du Kurde semble actuellement un axiome, et sa classification est bien acquise. Dès qu'on aborde le problème kurde sous un angle ethnique, on devient bien moins affirmatif. Parmi les opinions diverses qui ont été émises à ce sujet, l'hypothèse rapprochant les Kurdes des Khaldes et des Kartvéliens a donné lieu à une discussion bien nourrie. Tour à tour combattue et reprise, cette théorie témoigne d'une vitalité qui doit avoir des raisons profondes. Sans en refaire ici l'historique, résumé récemment par M. Minorsky (art. 'Kurdes', *l'Enc. de l'Islam*), je me contenterai de rappeler que déjà en 1907 le savant russe, Académicien N. Marr, faisant autorité dans le domaine qui nous intéresse ici, dans sa communication sur le mot '*celebi*' (*Zapiski Vost. Otd.*, xx, 1910) se prononçait dans ces termes :

'Les Kurdes, descendants des Kardoukhs, ou, plus exactement, continuateurs des traditions nationales de cette tribu, tendent vers les Khaldes par le thème "*Kard*", resp. "*Kord*" ou "*Kard+u*", dont on rapprochera le "*qarð*" géorgien et "*qorð-u*" mingrélien. D'autre part — "*Kard+u+q*" (*Καρδοῦχοι*) par le suffixe ethnique "*q*" (*χοι*) trahit son origine japhétique'.¹ D'ailleurs, continue ce savant 'la solution du problème dépend d'une bonne mise en œuvre de l'étude comparée de la totalité des phénomènes culturels et ethnographiques tant chez les Kurdes que chez les peuples japhétiques'. Et il précise — : 'il y a des questions culturelles et historiques dont la solution ne nous fournira des résultats certains que si l'explorateur tient avant tout compte de l'ambiance de la vie populaire tout entière, de l'antiquité vivante locale, de la totalité de matériaux ethnographiques et dialectiques, même s'ils étaient en désaccord avec les traditions d'histoire livresque...'

Voici, en passant, tracé en quelques mots le seul programme de travail fructueux pour le kurdologue désireux d'approfondir le problème, de lui trouver une base solide. A la même époque, M. Marr croyait d'ailleurs que : 'tous les savants européens qui s'occupent du kurde n'ont qu'une seule *marotte*—l'indo-européisme'. Dans une autre étude du même savant publiée plus tard (en 1920, à Leipzig, chez Spamer, sous le titre : *Le Caucase japhétique et le troisième élément ethnique dans la création de la culture*

¹ Le Professeur Marr, fondateur de l'école japhétique de linguistique, applique ce terme aux langues du Caucase, des Pamirs ainsi qu'à la langue basque, quelques idiomes africains et volgaïques. Parmi les langues mortes, celles des Pélasges et des Étrusques, le sumérien, l'élamite, le vannique.

Dans sa lettre du 9-3-31 il me fait observer que, d'après son analyse actuelle, les éléments suivants sont à distinguer : *kar-d→qar-ð* ; *kar-du→qor-ðu* ; *kar+du-q*.—Quant à l'élamite (néo-élamite ou la langue de la 2^e colonne) M. Marr l'appelle maintenant le Mède (plus exactement, en russe, *мидский*), dont il trace ainsi la filiation : *mē-d←mī-d←mā-d* / *mar-d* et l'arménien *mar*. Il ne s'agit pas, précise-t-il, du passage du *d* resp. *ð* . . . en *r*. Ce *mar* n'est autre chose que le totem 'serpent' (resp. *vuuape*). Cette question est d'ailleurs traitée spécialement dans une étude sur *Les Vuuares*, sous presse. Cf. à ce sujet ce que nous en disons plus bas dans nos considérations folkloriques sur les origines kurdes.

méditerranéenne, en russe) nous lisons que l'iranisme du kurde est ou bien un mirage, ou bien une mise en scène récente. Il y dit notamment :

'Dans le groupe arménique . . . il y a deux langues arméniennes, et dans toutes les deux la couche japhétique affleure nettement. Par contre, comparativement aux autres langues aryo-européennes, il est plus difficile dans l'arménien d'en rendre visible la couche aryo-européenne, alors que chez la troisième tribu japhétique du même groupe arménique, les Kurdes, la langue se définit admirablement, dans sa partie indo-européenne, comme iranienne, en même temps que sa couche japhétique s'accuse moins bien.'

L'opinion du Professeur Marr, exprimée en 1907, a été reprise et corroborée par un savant polonais de Poznań, le Professeur Smieszek, dans une étude parue en 1926 (*Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, t. ii, Lwów; recueil orientaliste polonais avec les résumés en français, anglais et allemand). M. Smieszek scrute le terrain d'Asie Mineure surtout dans le domaine du préhellénique. Il est à retenir que s'inspirant d'un autre ordre d'idées, M. Smieszek arrive à des conclusions qui se rapprochent de celles du japhétidologue et orientaliste M. Marr. Voici, d'ailleurs, le passage de l'étude de M. Smieszek qui nous intéresse (*Du nom des Héttéens*):¹

' . . . Haldi . . . ainsi s'appelaient notamment ces tribus héttéennes lesquelles, vers la fin du second millénaire avant notre ère, déplacées de leur habitat antérieur par les vagues d'une nouvelle migration indo-européenne qui arrivait juste à ce moment de l'Europe (c'étaient cette fois-là les Phrygiens de Thrace) se sont transportées de l'Asie Mineure en (ce qui était plus tard) Arménie, probablement par le même chemin qui, quelques siècles plus tard, a été suivi par les Arméniens, et ont fondé là, au IX^e siècle avant notre ère, un État puissant de Biaina Urartu, avec la capitale Tuspa sur le lac de Van (d'où son nom grec de *Θωσπίτις*). Ces tribus . . . étaient arrivées en Urartu-Arménie, comme le démontre d'une façon convaincante C. F. Lehmann-Haupt certainement de l'ouest, c.-à-d. de l'Asie Mineure. Leur nom *haldi* (pl. *haldini*) n'a pas disparu même après la chute (fin du VII^e siècle) du royaume de Biaina-Urartu, mais s'est maintenu en Petite Arménie et en Asie Mineure du nord-est (surtout sur le Lykos) jusqu'à l'époque grecque. Les *χαλδαῖοι* ou plutôt *χαλδοι* (qui n'ont rien de commun avec les Chaldéens sémites de Babylonie) du Pont que les Grecs connaissaient dans ces parages, sont, sans aucun doute, leur nom l'indique, une des dernières tribus du peuple jadis puissant des Chaldes d'Urartu'. Et M. Smieszek conclut : 'Une variante dialectale de *haldi* // **haldu* se cache probablement, d'une part dans le grec *Καρδοῦχοι*, etc., et, d'autre part, dans le géorgien *Kartweli* identique . . . à héttéen *hattiliš*. Conclusion : *K/hatti/u/a/haldi* est la dénomination commune de tout un groupe, très ramifié, de peuples et de tribus, occupant, dès avant l'arrivée des Indo-Européens, et après, l'Asie Mineure, la Médie, la région montagneuse du Zagros, l'Élam, l'Arménie ;

¹ 'C'est M. Autrand, dit M. Smieszek, que nous avons suivi dans le choix du terme héttéen plutôt qu'hittite. cf. *Les Langues du Monde*, p. 291, n².'

les représentants modernes de ce groupe, peu nombreux, survivent dans le Caucase, surtout sur son versant méridional.¹

Tout récemment, enfin, le Professeur Wesendonck ('The Kartvelians (Georgians)' dans la revue *Massis* publiée à Londres, vol. i, No. 7, May 1929) est revenu à la même question. Il rappelle combien peu est encore connue l'histoire médiévale des Géorgiens et combien obscures sont leurs origines. D'après le Professeur Lehmann-Haupt il y a lieu de rapprocher les Kartvéliens et les Kardou ou Kardouchoi. D'autre part, selon la tradition géorgienne nationale, ce fut au IV^e siècle avant J.-C. qu'un prince, au nom iranien de Pharnabazes, fonda le premier royaume kartvélien, alors que, vers la même époque, le pays des Kardouchoi, la Gordyène, fut attribuée par Alexandre aux colons Mygdoniens. D'où la probabilité d'une émigration des Kardou-Kartvéliens au Caucase où ils fondèrent un royaume. La population prékartvélienne seraient les Moschi, appartenant d'ailleurs à la même race, dont le nom se serait conservé entre autres, dans celui de l'ancienne capitale des Ibères, *Mtzheta*. Strabon énumère d'autre part, des districts sous la désignation de Moschike s'étendant entre la Colchide, l'Ibérie et l'Arménie (cf. le Mokus actuel au sud du lac de Van). En admettant que la maison régnante et quelques familles nobles d'Ibérie étaient d'origine iranienne, le gros de la nation était kartvélien. Les fouilles aux environs de Mtzheta montrent qu'une population possédant une civilisation qui ne différerait pas trop de celle des tribus Naïri² a été conquise pendant l'âge de bronze par des envahisseurs venant de l'ouest. C'étaient, il est à présumer, les ancêtres des Kartvéliens. Ces derniers semblent être venus d'Asie Mineure, d'où les Muski (Moschi) se sont répandus à Commagène sur l'Euphrate vers l'an 1100 avant J.-C. Plus tard, ces Moschi tombèrent sous la domination des Phrygiens, Indo-Européens, apparentés aux Haïk (Arméniens). Tandis que les Phrygiens et les Cappadociens envahirent les régions situées dans l'est de l'Asie Mineure occupées par les Moschi Kartvéliens et que les Haïk prirent la succession du royaume khalde, les Tiberènes restèrent sans avoir été molestés dans leurs districts montagneux, ainsi que les Colchiens et les Ibères qui ne gardèrent probablement leur liberté que jusqu'à la fondation de l'Empire des Mèdes. Après nous avoir guidés à travers tous ces détails d'ethnographie historique, M. Wesendonck arrive à la conclusion suivante:

'Ceci donné . . . les Kartvéliens peuvent être considérés comme les restes d'un élément ethnique jadis très largement répandu qu'on doit situer à l'est,

¹ La théorie japhétique actuelle ne tient plus compte des migrations. M. Marr (lettre du 9-3) estime maintenant que les Khaldes = Scythes → Goths. Il y aurait ainsi à établir un stade intermédiaire entre les systèmes des langues japhétiques et germaniques d'après les noms: *gor-ðu* → *qur-ðu* → *gor-ðu* → *gur-ðu* → *go-ð* → *gu-ð* (à rapprocher du totem-dieu en géorg. *gu-ða* → allem. Gott), cf. plus bas p. 316, note 1.

² D'après M. Minorsky, le chef-lieu de la région kurde de Shamdinan (cf. notre article *sub voce* dans l'*Enc. de l'Islam*) aurait conservé dans son nom—Nehri—le vestige du pays des Naïri. On croit pouvoir identifier d'autre part les lacs de Van et d'Urmieh avec les lacs Supérieur et Inférieur des Naïri.

Cf. aussi König, *Geschichte Elams* (A.O. 29, 4), p. 10: 'Lullu . . . König Anubanini sich rühmt "vom oberen bis zum unteren Meere" (das ist vom Urmiassee bis zum persischen Golfe) geherrscht zu haben.'

et au nord-est de l'Asie Mineure. Ces tribus pénétrèrent au Caucase et en Mésopotamie. Les Kardouchoï peuvent par conséquent réellement avoir appartenu à la nation kartvélienne.¹

M. Wesendonck croit aussi que le nom des Mitanni de la Mésopotamie du nord-ouest peut être expliqué par le kartvélien *Mt'a + ani* = Montagnards. Rapprochons de cette remarque celle de Justi (dans la préface à sa 'Kurdische Grammatik'):

'il a déjà été remarqué par Rawlinson que, dans la plupart des régions où habitent les Kurdes, Hérodote (i. 72, 189, 202) place ses Matiènes, ce qui ne pourrait pas être sans importance pour l'histoire des Kurdes et leur habitat dans l'antiquité.'

Dans sa communication au XVII^e Congrès des Orientalistes (cf. *Near East and India*, 22. xi. 1928) M. A. Safrastian passe aussi en revue les indications d'histoire antique qui pourraient éventuellement se rapporter aux Kurdes ('*guti*' sum. babyl.; '*Kūtī*' assyr.; '*kurtie*', etc.). Il trouve d'ailleurs, et on ne peut que partager son avis, que la règle principale dans ce genre de recherches doit consister dans une distinction bien nette qu'il y a à faire entre les noms kurdes originaux (personnels, ethniques, toponymiques, etc.) tels qu'on peut les extraire des documents historiques, et leur forme mutilée par la transmission grecque, romaine, puis arabe, turque, persane. En partant du mot Mâr (Mar, Mer) que selon lui se donnent les Kurdes de Mogk (cf. plus haut — les Moschi), de Bohtan et les Sindjabi, M. Safrastian s'attache à retracer les liens entre ce nom de Mâr et le peuple de Maryannu des inscriptions héttéennes et, d'autre part, entre Mâr, qui signifie en arménien les Mèdes, et ces derniers. D'après le traducteur de '*Karnamakh i Artashir i Papakan*', M.D.P. Sandjana, cité par M. Safrastian, la phrase '*Kûrdân Shah i Madig*' peut signifier 'le roi Mède des Kurdes'. M. Safrastian se demande également, si le nom de Mada, Amadai, mentionné pour la première fois en 835 avant J.-C. par Salmanasar, peut être rapproché de celui de la grande famille arménienne d'Amaduni¹ (*Amadunians Nahararûtiûn*). Une autre tribu aryenne, Ummân Manda, dit M. Safrastian — 'apparaît dans l'histoire arménienne sous le nom des Mandakunis, à travers quelques attaches kurdes encore non définies'. M. Safrastian est porté, enfin, à identifier les Asagartiya² avec la tribu kurde des Shikaki. Quoi qu'il en soit, la communication de M. Safrastian nous montre à quel point le problème des origines kurdes, entremêlé étroitement avec tant d'autres détails historico-ethniques, est épineux et délicat et exige des connaissances linguistiques et historiques qui ne se rencontrent que rarement réunies chez une seule personne. A propos des Asagartiya que mentionne l'inscription de Bahistûn (2, 90), le Professeur Hertzfeld les rapproche des Scythes dans une conférence faite à Téhéran à la Société انجمن آثار ملی sur le Cheref Nâmeh et l'histoire. Dans une conversation que j'ai eu le plaisir d'avoir avec lui à Oxford, au cours du

¹ Cf. aussi chez Fr. Spiegel (*Erân. Alterthumsk.*, iii. 229): 'das Geschlecht der Amatuni dessen Ursprung ausdrücklich auf Erân zurückgeführt wird und das sich selbst Manuni nannte, also wohl von Manu abzustammen vorgab.'

² Pour le mot d'Asagartiya voir plus bas l'analyse de M. Marr.

Congrès, M. Hertzfeld m'a laissé comprendre que les Asagartiya seraient, d'après lui, les ancêtres des Kurdes. Il me souvient que Belck, dans une de ses études de géographie historique, promet de prouver les liens étroits entre les Kurdes et les Scythes.¹ Quant aux attaches, résultats d'interpénétration très ancienne, arméno-kurdes évoquées par M. Safrastian, elles sont bien probables. C'est un terrain qui n'a pas encore été suffisamment fouillé (cf. le clan arménien des Mamikonians et la tribu kurde des Mamakans, Minorsky, op. cit.).

Du point de vue linguistique mentionnons l'opinion de M. Minorsky (op. cit.). Après avoir énuméré les traits particuliers de la langue kurde, il observe notamment qu'aussi bien le kurde que l'arménien ont pu être issus des langues autochtones encore inconnues. M. J. de Morgan dans son *Histoire du peuple arménien*, fait des remarques similaires :

'en analysant les vocabulaires kurdes, j'ai rencontré pour chacun des dialectes un résidu anaryen irréductible très important, provenant à coup sûr des langages disparus... L'élamite-agglutinant... le vannique... Les anciens peuples de l'Asie Antérieure, absorbés en partie par les Arméniens, appartenaient au même groupe linguistique que les Caucasiens de nos jours (p. 40).' 'Les Scythes... pour la plupart se fixèrent dans les régions du Haut Halys et du Thermodon et peu à peu disparurent se fondant dans les nations voisines, Cappadociens, Phrygiens, Arméniens, Moschiens et Tibaréniens' (p. 49).

Pour ma part si j'ai à apporter quelques suggestions dans ce problème, je voudrais m'arrêter sur quelques considérations d'ordre folklorique se rattachant d'ailleurs aux remarques que nous avons mentionnées plus haut. Il s'agit notamment de tout un ensemble de traditions relatives au serpent qu'on rencontre en parcourant les domaines arménien, kurde, mède et scythe. Ainsi, après Fr. Spiegel (cf. *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, iii Band, p. 227 et seq.) il faudrait reprendre l'analyse comparée de la légende rapportée par Moïse Khorénatsi relative à la lutte du héros arménien Tigran contre le roi mède des serpents (Aždahak = Astyages?), finalement vaincu, et dont la famille, ramenée en Arménie, fut établie près du mont Massis. Fr. Spiegel s'est occupé à noter surtout les contradictions avec la vérité historique qu'on peut relever chez Moïse. Il remarque également que le mot *aždahak* ne se rencontre pas dans la légende arménienne qui ne connaît que les mots *vishap* (serpent) et *vishapazoumk'* (enfants du serpent), mais que, d'autre part, l'analogie avec la légende iranienne de Zohak est évidente (entre autres le rôle que le maréchal ferrant joue dans les deux versions; les monts — Demavend et Massis, &c.). Fr. Spiegel fait voir, enfin, que si l'épos iranien reflète les conflits ethniques ayant eu pour théâtre l'Iran oriental, les légendes arméniennes se présentent comme un complément très heureux en nous entretenant des conflits analogues qui se déroulèrent à l'ouest de l'Iran avec les populations sauvages du Caucase, les Scythes (Alans) dans le nombre. Nous nous rencontrons donc de

¹ Pour M. Marr (lettre du 9.3.31) une couche scythe est à constater aussi bien chez les Kurdes, Khaldes et Qar-vel (Géorgiens), que chez les Madas, Mèdes.

nouveau avec ces derniers et croyons devoir rappeler ici que, d'après Hérodote, les Scythes attribuaient leur origine à une divinité mi-femme, mi-serpent, qui habitait près de l'embouchure du Borysthène, et Héraklès. Le même thème folklorique se laisse ainsi retracer. Chez Moïse Khorénatsi (Spiegel, op. cit., p. 228) les êtres fabuleux nommés *vishap* — '... sind fabelhafte Wesen, die mit dem Otterngezüchte des N.T. viele Ähnlichkeit gehabt zu haben scheinen.' Spiegel note aussi que des clans nobles arméniens se disent descendants de la progéniture du roi mède des serpents, établis près de Massis. Plus haut nous avons vu 'le roi Kurde des Mèdes' mentionné dans le '*Karnamakh i Artashir P*'. Sans faire entrer ici en ligne de compte les données folkloriques avec le thème 'serpent', que l'on retrouve dans les croyances populaires du Midi russe et du Caucase, voici toujours les Arméniens, les Mèdes, les Scythes et les Kurdes, d'une part, dans leurs rapports légendaires (qui ne sont tels que grâce à nos connaissances encore imparfaites des rapports historiques à cette époque lointaine), alors que, d'autre part, nous constatons la présence d'un thème folklorique, ayant un rapport constant avec le serpent, qui revient dans la même sphère des investigations. Voici qui ne doit pas être passé sous silence, surtout si nous nous souvenons de quelques autres détails: le rôle des serpents aux épaules de Zohak dans la tradition populaire kurde sur les origines de la race (il reste à faire l'analyse linguistique des noms des trois cuisiniers de la légende — Armail, Kurmail et Durmail — sauveurs de la jeunesse destinée aux serpents, intéressants surtout en raison du second élément identique dans les trois noms et pouvant receler des survivances ethnogéniques); le rôle du serpent dans la tradition et la religion des Yazidis qui ont probablement le plus fidèlement conservé les survivances payennes chez les Kurdes; quelques indications toponymiques, enfin, par exemple, le petit pays d'Oramar au cœur même du Kurdistan Central où la tradition place le refuge des serpents. Il y a là probablement une fusion des deux légendes: une payenne, que nous ramenons à l'ensemble déjà observé; l'autre chrétienne, qui s'est greffée sur la première. Un saint, Mari Mammu, aurait charmé les reptiles et les aurait enfermés dans une cave au-dessus de laquelle une église sous son vocable a été construite. Elle s'y trouve encore et elle a pour gardiens une famille chaldéenne, seule au milieu des Kurdes. Tous les ans le gardien chrétien voit 'le père des serpents'. D'après la croyance locale, si la famille chrétienne était privée de son privilège, les reptiles quitteraient leur cave et se répandraient dans la région. Si je ne me trompe, le serpent a également quelque chose à faire avec le pays de Musasir urartique que l'on situe à peu près dans cette partie du Kurdistan Central. Rapidement énumérés, tels sont quelques traits encore qu'on doit retenir en scrutant le folklore kurde, pour y rechercher quelques points de repère dans l'évolution ethnogénique.

Un certain nombre d'opinions que nous venons de grouper nous semblent avoir démontré que dans le problème kurde il ne suffit pas pour sa solution de rester attaché à l'hypothèse iranienne, indo-européenne. Il ne sera peut-être pas inutile, à la lumière des faits ethniques, historiques et folkloriques énumérés plus haut, de reprendre l'analyse de certains faits linguistiques kurdes en

recourant à la méthode japhétique qui, entre autres, couvre précisément le terrain nous occupant ici. Pour ce faire nous devons tout d'abord donner un aperçu des idées linguistiques de M. Marr, fondateur, nous l'avons déjà dit, de cette nouvelle école.¹

II. La théorie japhétique

Le dynamisme, les langues diverses considérées dans leur devenir vers une seule langue humaine, leur mouvement constant, leurs rencontres et croisements, tel est le trait principal de la théorie japhétique dans laquelle il faut distinguer: (1) l'étude des langues japhétiques proprement dites, selon les méthodes linguistiques habituelles; (2) une théorie linguistique générale qui pose le problème de l'origine du langage et établit les lois de son développement. Pour M. Marr le langage humain, avant de devenir l'instrument des rapports entre les hommes tel que nous le connaissons actuellement, est passé par trois stades—(1) 'langue linéaire', le geste et la mimique, le son n'intervenant pas encore; (2) le son apparaissant comme un moyen subsidiaire qui accompagne la danse; ce chant primitif et ces mouvements rythmiques ayant le caractère magique et cultuel (*magie* et *culte* dans leur sens premier, c.à.d. avant leur évolution ultérieure aboutissant à la notion plus abstraite de la *religion*); comme passage au dernier stade—des 'mots-signaux' s'élaborent désignant la tribu, son dieu-totem tutélaire; (3) quelque part à la limite du paléolite et du néolite, sous l'influence des besoins dus aux groupements sociaux, nécessités eux-mêmes par les conditions du travail productif commun, les mots-signaux se voient adjoindre peu à peu des mots dans la conception actuelle de langage—signes vocaliques exprimant des notions définies. Cette transformation sera naturellement très lente, bien pénible car, d'une part, longtemps encore le mot gardera son caractère magique et sera du domaine des prêtres gardé jalousement, et que, d'autre part, ce n'est qu'à la suite des croisements, des frottements, entre les classes et les tribus différentes, que tel mot ayant un sens strictement défini émergera de la nébuleuse diffuse qui est l'étape première du langage phonétique humain. La conception de M. Marr, nous le voyons, est par conséquent sociale et économique; c'est une théorie monistique attribuant au travail humain le rôle du créateur du langage.

'Les types des langues existantes ne sont pas des créations de quelque formation initiale, ils ne sont même pas des transformations ou des modifications indépendantes de quelques éléments prototypiques du langage, mais ils résument les résultats du travail créateur humain à chaque étape séparée de son développement, le croisement y ayant joué un rôle excessivement important . . .'²

Après cet aperçu très succinct voici quelques citations qui permettent de saisir mieux les idées de M. Marr. Quelle est la différence dans la manière de

¹ L'auteur de ces lignes n'a pas la formation linguistique. Orientaliste, il s'est intéressé surtout aux questions ethnographiques et à leur aspect sociologique.

² *Le Caucase japhétique*, p. 114.

traiter le sujet entre l'école japhétique et l'école indo-européenne? Peu à peu, au cours de ses travaux, nous dit M. Marr, il a été obligé de se séparer des conceptions dominantes telles que:

'... Une patrie originaire... avec l'existence paradisiaque d'une langue-mère; les cloisons étanches, murailles de Chine, entre les langues; la chronologie des phénomènes linguistiques d'après les documents écrits; l'attention concentrée sur les langues écrites; les langues mortes de préférence, au préjudice des langues vivantes et non écrites qui ont une importance énorme pour la science linguistique; l'importance exclusive de la morphologie et peu d'importance accordée aux matériaux lexiques, mis au second rang par rapport à la grammaire; l'idée d'une pureté primitive de quelque langue nationale ou tribale, tout ce *bagage absolument inutile et nuisible*...'

M. Marr l'abandonne, dirige ailleurs son attention, s'intéresse à d'autres phénomènes et objets (*La théorie japhétique, Bakou, 1927, en russe*):

'La linguistique, science ethnologique... due à la méthode comparative d'histoire naturelle, s'est éloignée du travail qui emploierait plus largement les méthodes des sciences naturelles et s'est enfoncée dans les profondeurs des mondes culturels et historiques séparés... M. Reinach a appelé la *théorie indo-européenne une calamité* pour la science archéologique...'¹

Donc, rupture complète avec les théories linguistiques admises jusqu'ici. Cependant:

'la théorie japhétique ne fuit pas du tout les côtés formels du processus glottogonique, mais, pour elle, il y a d'autres aspects encore à considérer. Elle examinera toujours non seulement la situation de fait qui se laisse constater, mais elle se demandera comment est on arrivé à cette situation statique. A côté de ses données initiales quels sont dans la langue considérée les éléments qu'elle a adoptés ou développés au cours de son existence? On tiendra compte, enfin, des éléments qui dans une langue perdent leur force vitale, s'en vont...'

L'ancienne théorie linguistique est pleine de préjugés; d'après elle:

'... pour produire une langue il se forme d'abord une race pure qui se servira d'un système phonétique dont la nature l'a dotée; selon des lois elle élaborera sa morphologie d'un type quasi-prédestiné, qui fera l'unique objet des recherches qui sont seules sérieuses aux yeux de l'ancienne théorie linguistique, exclusivement formaliste; ensuite, elle inventera des mots conformes à la mentalité sociale du ^{xx}e siècle, pour lesquels, chemin faisant, on se basera sur leur emploi chez les écrivains anciens et modernes qui auraient quant au fond la même façon de penser que celle de nos temps. Les mots d'ailleurs n'auraient pas une importance aussi décisive dans l'origine et le développement du langage, voire même ils présentent peu de sécurité en tant que preuves de parenté des langues...'

¹ Ibid., p. 18.

C'est tout le contraire que pense M. Marr. Pour lui la langue initiale idéale, à l'état pur, est une fiction, c'est le croisement, l'hybridation qui déterminent l'apparition même du langage phonétique :

‘produit de l'organisation du travail, il n'a pu exister qu'après le croisement des groupes humains . . .’

Il n'y a pas de familles des langues, car qui dit famille dit parenté de sang, dit race. Il n'y a que des systèmes des langues. A l'examen formel M. Marr a substitué l'analyse idéologique des mots. Il examinera aussi de préférence les données de la culture matérielle pour rudimentaires qu'elles puissent quelquefois paraître plutôt que celles d'une culture ayant déjà subi l'action artificielle. Il se rend bien compte de sa hardiesse :

‘Certes, il est plus facile d'en venir à bout des quatre règles d'arithmétique en enregistrant des volumes entiers de faits considérés formellement et quantitativement que d'assumer la responsabilité d'affirmer que le langage dans sa genèse est lié à la vie sociale, que non seulement les notions exprimées par les mots, mais les mots eux-mêmes et leur forme, leur aspect effectif, découlent de l'organisation sociale par le canal de l'économique, de la vie productive, tout en se rattachant aux domaines qui en constituent la superstructure (manifestations de la vie spirituelle); qu'enfin, ô horreur, il n'y a aucune loi phonétique physiologique dans le langage, que le côté physiologique c'est la technique que l'homme adapte, modifie, perfectionne et met en ordre (selon les exigences sociales); bref—les lois phonétiques du langage humain existent mais ce sont les lois sociales . . .’

M. Marr attribue une importance décisive à la sémantique, aux changements des significations des mots qui s'expliquent par les modifications de la vie sociale :

‘Le clou (de la théorie japhétique) est dans ces changements qui semblent l'essence même du langage, en constituent la fonction, la technique, sans en excepter la morphologie; changements qui se rattachent aux modifications radicales dans l'ambiance matérielle, la structure sociale, partant la vision même du monde. Là est la difficulté, mais aussi la valeur de la théorie japhétique qui ouvre les voies pour que les obstacles puissent être vaincus ...’

Il s'agit là, en effet, d'un procédé très délicat de l'identification des mots instruments d'une culture primitive avec ceux qui appartiennent à un système social plus tardif, plus évolué. M. Marr a été ainsi amené à créer une nouvelle discipline linguistique—la paléontologie du langage.

‘Pour l'ancienne école linguistique le problème de l'origine du langage est insoluble; elle nie même l'existence d'un pareil problème scientifique. Bien au contraire, la théorie japhétique ne considère pas seulement ce problème comme scientifique, mais elle aborde sa solution en déplaçant dans l'histoire du langage l'*onus probandi* qui ne sera plus dans les considérations formelles, mais idéologiques. De nouveaux chapitres spéciaux de la

science du langage, se rattachant à l'histoire de la vie sociale, furent créés — la *sémasiologie*, ou science des significations et la *paléontologie*, qui traite du changement des types eux-mêmes dans leur dépendance chronologique réciproque. Ce qui importe le plus à la sémantique, c'est la définition des significations de noms, l'attribution d'un sens quelconque à des composés phonétiques qui d'abord ne signifiaient rien, d'une signification dont on commençait à avoir besoin au fur et à mesure que la civilisation matérielle se consolidait à la suite de l'effort humain; besoin qui n'était pas dicté par une perception scientifique de la flore et de la faune ou par quelque sensation esthétique, mais qui provenait de l'emploi productif en même temps que magique et totémique des plantes salutaires ou venimeuses, des animaux, etc. La paléontologie, en mettant à contribution l'archéologie, la mentalité primitive, découvrirait que, les mêmes mots en tant qu'appellations peuvent passer d'un objet à un autre, différent, en raison de la succession des fonctions que ce dernier assumait à son tour (*βάλανος*, pan-i-s, *paln, balut — gland — pain'); elle établissait des faisceaux sémantiques¹ (selon les conceptions cosmogoniques, la structure tribale, etc.) et pénétrait dans les époques bien antérieures à l'apparition des langues écrites'.

M. Marr subordonne la phonétique au vocabulaire:

'Chaque système de langues a ses données phonétiques particulières, mais ce serait un malentendu profond que de croire que, dès les premières époques du langage, les transformations phonétiques pouvaient avoir lieu indépendamment de leur contenu, de la signification du mot. Nous savons très bien que les règles de la transformation des sons dans l'état statique de la langue peuvent affecter la forme seule sans toucher à la signification fondamentale.' — 'Ce ne sont pas les sons en eux-mêmes qui nous importent, mais l'usage qu'on en fait dans la création sociale, l'usage qui fait voir les créateurs eux-mêmes ainsi que l'époque à laquelle la langue est créée . . .' L'école japhétique ne méconnaît guère 'les correspondances phonétiques aussi sévères et subordonnées que dans la théorie indo-européenne, formaliste. Seulement, à une réserve près. La même langue peut (et considérée paléontologiquement doit) avoir des règles différentes des transformations phonétiques.' — 'Les correspondances phonétiques dans le système japhétique de langues se classifient selon les schémas des différents groupements sociaux.' 'Quel est le groupe social auquel au début appartenait exclusivement la couche flexive du géorgien, avec la mentalité, la structure sociale, les conceptions de droit qui s'y rattachaient? . . .' 'Dans le géorgien, les consonnes sont dépositaires de l'idéologie de la langue, alors que les voyelles en conservent la morphologie'.

Le dynamisme de la nouvelle école se laisse saisir mieux dans les idées de M. Marr sur la morphologie:

¹ En voici quelques exemples: bras—femme—eau; ciel—mont—tête; ciel—eau—cercle—année; bras—pierre—hache, etc.—Les 'balanophages' existent encore dans certains coins du Kurdistan Central, cf. un récit dans mes textes sur *Slimuki* . . . *bārūhōr* . . ., c.-à-d. le *Slimuk* (péjoratif de *Suleiman*) mangeur de glands.

‘L’ancienne école dit que la forme est stable, ne se transforme pas, que le vocabulaire seul change. Il n’y a rien dans une langue qui ne change, les formes comme les significations dans la même mesure, suivant les époques de la vie sociale et économique. Sans la paléontologie les mêmes mots deviendraient méconnaissables.’ Et, enfin—‘non seulement les mots mais les formes s’empruntent tout aussi bien; à la suite des rapports continus, la structure, c.-à-d. la mentalité et la morphologie peuvent se communiquer d’un groupe à l’autre, tout comme le vocabulaire. Il peut même arriver que la même langue par sa typologie extérieure sera apparentée à un groupe, tandis que considérée dans son vocabulaire elle se rattachera à un autre groupe.’

III. *Faits linguistiques du kurde*

Nous connaissons à présent dans ses grandes lignes la théorie japhétique. Nous allons aborder l’examen de quelques faits de la langue kurde, le vocabulaire en premier lieu, toujours en nous laissant guider par M. Marr. Pour lui:

‘Tous les mots de toutes les langues considérés comme produits d’un seul processus créateur ne se composent que de quatre éléments,¹ chaque mot d’un, de deux, plus rarement de trois éléments. La composition lexicale de n’importe quelle langue ne connaît pas de mot qui aurait contenu quelque chose en plus de ces quatre éléments que nous désignons au moyen de quatre majuscules A, B, C, D. Ces éléments que nous avons d’abord appelés “mots de tribu” (SAL, BER, YON, ROW) sont à la base de l’analyse paléontologique formelle de chaque mot. Sans avoir au préalable effectué cette analyse, sans avoir décomposé un mot en éléments qu’il renferme — un, deux, ou d’avantage — il n’y a pas de comparaison. Sans une pareille analyse, la méthode comparée est inexistante. Cependant, cette analyse formelle ou quantitative ne nous engage encore en rien. En effet, bien que dans le langage humain il n’existe en tout que quatre éléments, il s’en est créé une telle quantité de mots ayant la même consonnance et coïncidant d’après leur aspect formel sans avoir entre eux rien de commun, que leur identité fortuite peut provoquer et provoque fréquemment des erreurs sans nombre, malgré l’existence des lois dites phonétiques dont les stipulations se trouvent observées par les mots. On n’échappe au danger que grâce à l’analyse qualitative de deux catégories, la première — l’analyse qualitative simple, en quelque sorte physique, quand la consonnance des mots est vérifiée au moyen de recours à leur signification, bref — une analyse sémantique. A retenir d’ailleurs, que la signification s’affirme non pas, comme il est d’usage dans la linguistique indo-européenne, au moyen des notions assises sur l’emploi de mots dans quelque langue écrite ou, ce qui revient au même, une langue de classe, mais on s’en assure en recourant aux lois de la paléontologie du discours. — Vient ensuite une autre analyse bien plus

¹ Ces quatre éléments, avec toutes leurs variantes, représentent un tableau très ingénieux qui embrasse toutes les combinaisons possibles des voyelles et des consonnes.

compliquée, celle-là chimique, une analyse sémantique encore, mais quand on vérifie ou affirme une signification avant tout à l'aide de l'histoire de la civilisation matérielle ainsi que celle des diverses formes sociales et ensuite l'histoire des catégories sociales "de superstructure", les arts, etc.'

(1) *Vocabulaire.*

Sous ce paragraphe on trouvera quelques étymologies que nous avons essayé d'établir en nous inspirant de la méthode japhétique.

Asagartya. A propos de ce mot que nous avons rencontré en analysant les différentes opinions sur les origines kurdes, il nous est possible de donner ici l'avis de M. Marr lui-même qui a bien voulu nous le communiquer dans sa lettre du 10 Juin 1929. Cela servira en même temps d'exemple et d'introduction. Voici ce que nous a dit M. Marr: '1. La seconde partie du composé, celle que je prends pour fondamentale, *-gartiya-*, représente un nom *gar*^{te} < > *gar*^{ti}, dénomination de tribu ainsi que, en même temps, de totem, plus tard 'dieu', avec le suffixe soit *-i*, comme dans le géorgien, par exemple—*kay-a*, etc., soit *-ia*, comme dans le mégrélien (resp. *ua*, alors le khalde également—*Men-ua*). 2. La première partie *-asa-* semble un mot entier, quant à la signification, bien que par la forme il soit métissé. Avant de déterminer la signification qu'il suggère, je me serais abstenu de son analyse d'après les éléments (soit *-as+a-*, c.-à-d. les éléments DA, soit *-a+sa-*, éléments AC). Il faudrait d'abord éclaircir en se servant de 'Realia' pourquoi s'appelaient ainsi ces "*gartiya*", à cause de leur habitat dans telle partie du monde, 'orient', etc., ou pour d'autres raisons. 3. Quand au thème pur *-gart*^e < > *gart*ⁱ, il n'est pas non plus un mot simple, mais composé qui signifie, en tant que totem cosmique "soleil", littér. "enfant (*-te*<>*ti*) du ciel (*gar-*)". Il va de soi que *gar-te/i* est une des variantes dont voici le tableau:

kar-te ||> *gar-te* (*gar-de*) > *gar-ðe* (*gar-de*) || *kûr-ta* > *gûr-da* > *qur-ða*

↓
gar+ti-ya *ar-di*, soleil
 en khalde

↓
gar+ð-vel
 'géorgien'

↓
avec affriquée post palat.

↓
ġu-ða *ġərð-a*
thème 'dieu' 'dieu'
dans les cas
obliques

↓
avec discordance des con-
sonnes nomen actoris

géorg. <i>m-ğud-el</i> ¹	<i>m-ğrd-el</i>
(*devin	*devin)
'prêtre'	'prêtre'

¹ Si toutefois *-el* n'est pas radical au lieu de *-en*, car alors l'archétype serait **m-ğū+den*, *m-gr-den*. M. Marr attire maintenant notre attention (lettre du 9.3.31) sur le fait que le *l* dans *mğudel* || *mğrdel* a certainement remplacé un antérieur. L'archétype est donc—*ğur-den*→*ğū-den*, resp. **ğū-dun*→*ğū-ða* (géorg. 'dieu', cf. dans le goth, mutatis mutandis), cf. note 1, page 307.

Je laisse, dit M. Marr, bien entendu, encore une masse de variantes et dérivés, car je ne parle pas de *qal+dn-i* khalde, '*kor+tay-q* (< *kor+tau-q*), *kor+du-en*, etc.

Bālgia 'oreiller', pers. *bālīn*, *bālāš*, zaza *bālīšna*; Justi¹ (p. 74) *baliv*, alth. ܒܠܝܐ. D'après M. Marr ('De Gourie Pyrénéenne', Léningrade, 1928, en russe):

'Les mots aile, plume, édredon — reçoivent leur nom de l'oiseau selon la formule *pars pro toto*; l'oiseau, à son tour, porte un nom commun avec le ciel. D'où le géorgien *φr-θa*, et dans la langue vivante *φ-θa*, 'aile', 'plume', et le géorgien *bur-dğa*, 'édredon', 'duvet'.

Notre mot kurde 'oreiller', comme le persan et le zaza également, remonte au mot *bāl* 'plume'. Voir d'ailleurs l'intéressante étude de Mme Willman-Grabowska 'sl. *blázina*, av. *baraziš*, skr. *barhīḥ*' (*seorsum impressum e 'Symbolis grammaticis in honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski'*, Cracoviae, 1927), dans laquelle l'auteur s'attache à prouver l'origine rituelle du mot :

'Il était d'usage dans l'Inde, après avoir construit l'autel de le couvrir d'une couche de gazon, *barhīḥ*. Sur cette couverture, on plaçait des offrandes, les dieux étaient invités à s'y reposer . . . L'Avesta récent nous fournit le composé *baraziš-havant* . . . "pourvu de coussins" . . . Le persan *bālīš* < **bardiš* (*d* du perse // *z* avestique) signifie aussi 'coussin'.

Bin 'dessous', par exemple *bin jārta*, nom de hameau situé au pied du montagne de *Jārta*; *bin* est également employé comme nom numératif pour les arbres: *bīna gūzāk* — un noyer. Cf. J. (p. 155) '*binda* (unten; *bindaye*, er ist darunter, n.p. ܒܝܢ mit Locativaffix), vgl. tag. *δvη*, *δvηij*, digor. *δvηij*, unter (Praeposition). — Nous avons encore dans le kurde le mot *bun(āg)* ou *bin(āg)* ayant le même sens que le persan *bunīād*, fondement; cf. aussi le perse *bumi-dāta*, mis, posé en bas et *vana*, arbre, phl. *vun*, persan *bun*. Il est intéressant de citer ici quelques observations de M. Marr (*Théorie japhétique*, en russe, Bakou, 1927, pp. 85, 86) :

' . . . En ce qui concerne le mot *man-us* main, c.-à-d. quant à son thème, nous ne pouvons pas le considérer comme étant exclu de ce processus glottogonique général dans lequel le nom de la "main" par l'intermédiaire de l'activité qui s'y rattache (faire, produire, créer) était transféré au nom de la "nature". D'abord parce que "man" dans la variante chuintante du groupe sibilant, c.-à-d. avec une vocalisation labiale et le haussement du *m* en *b*, donne mot *bon* < *bun* que l'on connaît bien dans le sens de la "nature"; armén. *bun* "naturel", arm. *bən-u-θivon* "nature", "caractère"; géorg. *bun-e-ba* "nature", mot que l'on prend habituellement pour iranien parce qu'il est entré avec cette signification et des significations similaires dans les langues iraniennes, le persan et les autres, comme un héritage provenant des langues du système japhétique. Dans les langues japhétiques une survivance plus complète de l'archétype **bund* (V **bur*) apparaît aussi dans la variante

¹ Justi, plus loin abrégé J., sa *Kurdische Grammatik*; Justi-Jaba, abr. J.J., le dictionnaire kurde-français.

**fund* > *fund*, conservée par le latin sous la forme de *fund-us*, "terre", "base", et par le géorgien sous la forme *fund-e*, "base", "racine", "sol". Pour les deux langues il y a là la notion cosmique de la nature-divinité, qui sert d'appui, de "fond", de "racine" à tout; la terre en tant que sol, et dans ce sens le mot *bun* est présent aussi bien chez les Arméniens que les Ossètes, sans parler du persan, pehlevi, etc. Le même mot, avec la vocalisation labiale large, *bon*, signifie chez les Ossètes également "force", "possibilité", soit, d'après la paléontologie du langage, la même chose que le *manus* latin, c.-à-d. "main". D'autre part, la seconde variante du groupe chuintant, conservée aussi dans le géorgien sous la forme *fund-e* (en latin *fund-us*) "base" etc., et avec la même labiale au degré inférieur comme, **fuz-e*, représente le thème du terme grec $\phi\omega\varsigma + i-s$, gén. $\phi\omega\varsigma + e-os$, c.-à-d. $\phi\omega\varsigma - e \leftarrow \phi\omega\delta - e$ avec la même signification, "la nature".¹

Le mot russe пень, 'tronc d'arbre coupé' semble se placer dans le même 'nid' sémasiologique.

Bîwir, bwîr 'hache'. Pour J. (p. 92) ce mot '... ist von altb. *bar*, n.p. بریدن, abzuleiten, daher mit skr. मरिज् schere, deutsch *bohren* u.s.w. verwandt.' Dans un autre endroit (p. 82) J. donne une autre variante de ce nom kurde, *taver*, et le rapproche du perse **tapura*, persan *tābār* (slave *topor*?). Considéré du point de vue japhétique, le mot *bîwir* pourrait être expliqué comme le second élément du mot composé (AB) *tā-bār*, *ta-pura*. Pour le premier élément, remarquons entre parenthèses, que M. Smieszek, déjà cité dans la présente étude, dans un article sur l'l sourd en élamite et en proto-hétéen (*Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, t. ii), nous dit que la langue élamite possédait un son que dans l'écriture cunéiforme on désignait tantôt par *tl* (ou bien *dl*), tantôt par les mêmes deux consonnes avec, entre elles, quelque voyelle épenthétique, tantôt, enfin, par *l* seul ou *t(d)* seul, simples ou géminés. Cette diversité graphique se laisse expliquer en supposant que le son en question fut celui d'un *l* sourd. L'auteur cite, entre autres, à l'appui de sa théorie l'alternance *l* // *t* dans lyd. $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ // iran. **tapara*. — D'après M. Marr, dans le domaine d'analyse sémasiologique — et il le prouve à l'exemple du basque *ays-kora* (hache = pierre taillée), de l'armén. *ka-đin* (< **kar-đin* ou **kal-đin*) et du géorg. *ial-d-i* — la pierre et la hache à l'époque précédant les métaux portent le même nom. Plus tard, selon la loi de la sémantique fonctionnelle, le mot qui signifiait d'abord 'hache-pierre' est passé au mot désignant une hache métallique. Nous ne savons pas s'il y a lieu de mentionner, dans cet ordre d'idées, le mot kurde pour la pierre — *bār* (< *bārd*?

Bzūt 'morceau de bois résineux'. Ce moyen d'éclairage primitif exige qu'on secoue de temps à autre le bois en question. Le mot s'expliquerait alors tout naturellement en se rattachant au verbe kurde *bezastin*, cf. J. (p. 195): '*bizivim*, ich bewege, Imper. 2 sg. *biziva*, participial Perf. *bizift* (Rhea), Infin.

¹ Pour la transcription de M. Marr voir: Fr. Braun, *Die Urbewölkerung Europas und die Herkunft der Germanen*, chez Kohlhammer, Bln. Lpzg., 1922, pp. 56-8; il suffira d'indiquer ici: $\acute{d} = dz$; $\grave{d} = d\acute{z}$; $i = ts$; $t = \acute{c}$; $\acute{s} = \acute{s}$; $\acute{s} = i$, t (mit geringer Pressung); \acute{k} etwa = qx (am weichen Gaumen gebildet); \acute{k} ein ähnlicher Laut, am hinteren harten Gaumen gebildet; $\acute{q} = k$ et $q = k$ mit geringer Pressung. Cf. aussi la dernière mise au point à ce sujet, en russe: I. I. Meschaninov, *Пособие к пользованию лфетидологическими работами*. ЛПград, 1931.

bezaftin, entfernen, rücken (Jaba), russ. *зыблю*, (bewegen, schaukeln; *зыбка*, Wiege; *зыбь*, Bewegung der Wellen nach dem Sturme).

Firin 'voler'. Cf. géorg. *ფრ-ია* (*vide supra* s.v. *bālgia*, p. 317).

Gumtîl 'motte de terre; tas (de mouches), etc.' Cf. Prym et Socin *komāk* petit tas. Mot composé (CA) dont le premier élément serait à rapprocher du mot russe — *комъ, комокъ* — ayant la signification de 'motte'. Il y a également un mot kurde *kūm* foule, rsp. tas d'hommes, qui provient, d'ailleurs, probablement, de *kowm* ar. — Quant au second élément, on pourrait peut-être le rapprocher du mot kurde *tālā*, paquet, baluchon.

Gūz, guz 'noix'. Cf. J. (p. 42) *gu'iz, gviiz*, p. *جوز*, arm. *ընկալ*. Chez M. Marr ('De l'origine japhétique du basque', article dans le recueil, *Langue et littérature* en russe, i. 235): armén. *ən-koyz* < **ni-kox-i* > géorg. *ni-goz-i*. La communauté de ce mot sur le plan de culture matérielle pourrait remonter à l'époque de la cueillette et mérite d'être signalée.

Hatāw 'soleil'. Cf. J. (p. 12) *adeŋ, atāŋ, hatau, hatāv, hetao, atāŋ* ou (p. 82), *tāv*, طاب, p. تاب'. M. Marr (*Izvestia de l'Acad. des Sc.*, 1927, 3-4) article— 'hiver // mort') établit quelques correspondances japhétiques-iraniennes pour le mot *tāv*: *zam* // *zav* (svane *zaw*, année) < *sam* ḥ *tam* // *tav*, 'année' > 'temps' (seconde, heure; *jam* en armén.). Il situe encore ici le géorg. *ti-w* 'jour' et *tam* seconde, le persan *af-tāb, tāp*; lat. *tepidus* (russe *тёплый*).

Hirč, wirč 'ours'. Cf. M. Marr (*De Gourie Pyrén.*, p. 41):

'Quant aux animaux, une partie des Basques appelle "l'ours" littéralement au moyen de la même variante d'un mot—qui par son radical est aussi commun aux autres peuples (japhétiques) notamment *arḡ* (Ἀῤῥ)—que les Arméniens contemporains qui prononcent ainsi l'anc. mot littér. *ard* (αρδ), tandis que une autre partie des Basques prononce *arḡ* (Ἀῤῥ). Il y a un intérêt paléontologique particulier dans ce fait que les variantes d'un même mot se sont trouvées signifier—chez les Géorgiens "la viande", chez les Arméniens—"la chasse" et "le gibier" et chez les Basques seulement "la chasse".'

Le mot kurde, ayant ainsi ses attaches avec le japhétique, d'autre part doit être comparé avec le *حرس* persan.

Hūri 'laine', cf. *infra*, le mot *kāwr*.

Kāwr 'brebis, mouton, ovin'.

'Le rapprochement *kāwr* (brebis) = géorg. *ḡḡo-vel* // *ḡḡo-var* est d'une excellente prise. Vous n'aviez même pas à votre disposition des variantes plus accessibles, n'ayant pas la survivance du son diffus, tel le groupe—basque *a+ber-e* "animal" (au lieu de **ha-ber* ← **ka-ber-e*, etc.). Il me semble toujours que le kurde aussi bien que l'arménien doivent être pris et retravaillés japhétidologiquement à tous les points de vue, et non seulement sous l'aspect linguistique. Il est facile d'éliminer la mince surface iranienne' (cité d'après la lettre de M. Marr du 1^{er} juin 1929).

Cette approbation de M. Marr à qui nous avons communiqué le rapprochement qu'on vient de voir est doublée pour nous dans son importance par la

qualité, en quelque sorte, du mot lui-même, qui nous permet d'entrevoir, sur le plan de culture matérielle, l'époque où le Géorgien et le Kurde (plus japhétique alors qu'il ne l'est à présent) voisinaient sur les hauts pâturages que l'on pourrait situer géographiquement sans trop de peine dans quelque chaîne du Petit Caucase. Le voisinage des tribus pastorales, dont la structure sociale et économique ne devait pas différer beaucoup, nous explique le processus du croisement de mots dont on ressentait le besoin pour une meilleure compréhension. Ce rapprochement nous semble indiquer, d'autre part, que les recherches, en vue de la découverte des couches japhétiques dans le kurde, devraient viser précisément la couche pastorale dans les deux langues, dans les moindres replis et détails. L'arménien doit d'ailleurs, comme de juste, participer à ces efforts: 'brebis se dit, en effet, en arménien *o-ḡq̄ar*, vulgairement *vo-ḡq̄ar*, sans aucun doute apparenté au géorg. *ḡq̄o-var*' (*Recueil sur le nombre*, en russe, p. 77). Après avoir donné une pénétrante analyse des rapports qui existent entre le nombre quatre et le mot brebis ou des autres animaux, suivant l'époque, M. Marr nous rappelle aussi que la brebis est un animal rituel des plus anciens du monde et que —

'... étant donné une si profonde signification du mot "brebis" dans le langage humain... il y aurait lieu de revoir également l'étymologie des mots tels que "opes" latin, "richesse" qui coïncide, par la consonnance, avec "opus"—"œuvre" et le mot que l'on identifie avec lui *ō + pil-io* < *ū-pil-io* "berger des brebis", en armén. *hov-u* "pasteur", etc.' (op. cit., p. 80, note). Dans un autre ouvrage de M. Marr (*De Gourie Pyrén.*, p. 29) nous lisons: '*ḡq̄o-vel* "vivant" (sa variante *ḡq̄o-var* signifie habituellement brebis) dans sa seconde partie *-vel* (cf. la loi phonétique *l // r √ s // ru*)¹ se présente comme une variante des deux mots dans le basque, naturellement, dans ses couches différentes, *-bis-i* "vivant" et *ber* dans le corps du mot également hybride *a-ber-e* "animal"; pour ce qui est de la première partie *ḡq̄o*, nous l'avons dans le groupe chuintant sous la forme complète *uq̄ur* dans le sens de "brebis" que nous retrouvons dans le basque avec la perte naturelle de l'affluence des deux consonnes initiales et sous la forme *ḡur* dans le corps du mot hybride *a-uur-i* ainsi que *a-ḡur-i* dans le sens d'un agneau d'un an. Quant au mégrélien, la forme abrégée *ḡq̄u* signifie "la vache" suivant l'évolution fonctionnelle de la signification reflétant dans l'économie pastorale le passage de l'élevage des ovins à celui des bêtes à cornes."²

Malgré l'intérêt que présentent les suggestions de M. Marr qui tout en restant dans le domaine de la sémantique fonctionnelle l'étend du côté des

¹ Voir, entre autres, Fr. Spiegel, *Arische Studien*, 'Der Wechsel zwischen r und s' (par exemple *pes/ru-perethu*).

² Cf. aussi chez F. Braun, op. cit. pp. 62-3: 'Schaf: ahd. *Skâf*, as. *scâp*, afries. *skêp*, ags. *sceap*, scep, urgerm. **skæpo-*, "unerklärt, nicht verwandt mit aind. *chāgas* "Bock" (Wiegand-Hirt, s.v.)—Die japhetische Wurzel lautete *sq̄vl||uq̄ur* resp. *ḡq̄vl||ḡq̄vr*, worin die anlautenden *sq̄* usw. durch Spaltung aus einem älteren Laut entstanden sind. Es gehören hierher georg. *ḡq̄ovel-i* "Tier, Lebewesen", *ḡq̄ovar-i* "Schaf", armen. *oḡq̄ar* "Schaf". Im swan. musste **sq̄vel* lautgesetzlich **sq̄ēv*, vor Vokal **sq̄ēp* ergeben, und auf eine derartige Form ist das germ. **skæpo-* zurückzuführen. Dieses **sq̄ēp* ist aber nicht beiegt; statt seiner besitzt das swanetische die Form des spir. gr. *ḡvel-iaq*; *gol-iaq* usw., je nach dem Dialekte.'

bêtes de somme, de traction (chien — renne — cheval), nous devons restreindre ici ces commentaires. Remarquons toutefois que le mot kurde *hûrî*, 'la laine' nous semble une autre forme du mot *kawr* 'la brebis' pour des raisons aussi bien formelles, phonétiques (*h* = *k* passage normal dans le kurde, ainsi que la contraction *āw* = *ū*) qu'idéologiques, car nous avons ici le procédé connu de *pars pro toto*. Plus encore, nous aurions ici la confirmation d'une des règles de japhétidologie, selon laquelle le changement de la forme n'affecte pas la signification fondamentale mais sert à rendre une nuance. Nous resterons ensuite toujours dans le même 'nid' sémasiologique, en constatant que le mot *kûr*, variante phonétique du même mot *kawr*, signifie en kurde aussi bien 'agneau' que 'fils' (notons, entre parenthèses, que ce mot peut signifier aussi 'poulain' ou 'fille', cf. J. (p. 118) '*kuru zana*, Bastard, von *kuru*, Sohn, n.p. ۛۛ Füllen, bilb. *kur*, Sohn, lorst. *kurreh* Füllen, gil. ۛۛ. Tochter, *kûrî* (Beresin), mazend. ۛۛ *kuré*, Füllen, griech. *κοῦρος*, *κόρα*). A l'aide des principes de la paléontologie linguistique, que nous devons à la théorie japhétique, nous sommes obligé d'observer, que cette coïncidence agneau // fils, poulain // fille n'a rien de fortuit et qu'elle émane naturellement de la signification intime que, dans les époques dont la mentalité nous échappe actuellement, avait la domestication des animaux. 'Cet acte économique était aussi sans aucun doute une cérémonie de culte en tant qu'il signifiait l'introduction de l'animal dans la société des hommes, son *adoption* dans la famille en 'quelque sorte' (*De Gourie Pyrén.*, p. 31). L'analyse sémasiologique des mots basques correspondants confirme cette idée que l'on serait tenté d'ailleurs de partager *a priori*, tant elle semble bien cadrer avec la vie pastorale. Tout en signalant ce qui précède à l'attention des linguistes, je ne me cache nullement qu'il y a dans le kurde d'autres consonnances accusant la même forme *kûr* dans le sens: (1) aveugle; (2) profond, qu'il n'est pas aisé, surtout pour le second mot, de ramener au 'faisceau' qui vient d'être ébauché. Il s'agit là probablement des mots qui ont d'autres attaches formelles ou idéologiques.

Kîn, *nîk* 'vers, près de' J. (p. 169) semble suggérer l'étymologie provenant de pers. ڪڙيڪ avec la chute de ڪ; et la métathèse éventuelle. Il n'est peut-être pas sans intérêt de signaler qu'il existe en géorgien le mot *ken* qui signifie 'côté' —, ainsi '*mis-ken*' de son côté, vers lui, et dans l'anc. armén. le suffixe *kin* était employé pour exprimer la répétition du nombre, le nombre multiple, ainsi — *ereq-kin*, latin *ter*, trois fois. Tous ces mots ont à leur base une signification commune, 'la main', soit, d'après le principe de faisceau sémantique, 'la femme', en arménien justement *-kin* ou *-kan*. L'identification 'femme' — 'main' > ('côté', 'côte') dans un seul mot, découverte par la paléontologie linguistique, soit que l'on ait là une survivance de raisonnement prélogique, soit qu'il y ait un remplacement fonctionnel de la *main* créatrice par la *femme* productrice, a servi de base au mythe biblique sur la femme créée avec une 'côte d'homme' (cf. *Recueil sur le nombre*, pp. 58-9).

Ŝar 'froid'. M. Marr (IAN, 1927, 3-4, op. cit.) nous propose les correspondances suivantes: géorg. *ðar* froid > **ðar* → *sar* et dans le corps du mot hybride **ðar-dan*, d'où le persan *sar-d* abrégé.

Näčirwān 'chasseur'. J. (p. 58) *nefir*, jäger, n.p. نَجِير. En tālechī *netschia* (Berezin) veut dire 'bouc sauvage'. Il y a peut-être lieu d'en voir le rapport avec notre mot kurde pour le chasseur, 'bouc sauvage' pouvant être considéré comme 'gibier' par excellence?

Stūr, *stūr* 'fort, épais', scr. *sthura*. M. Marr, en reprenant (dans le *Recueil sur le nombre*, déjà cité, pp. 28-9) son argumentation relative au mot arménien *astowat* 'dieu' (cf. son étude spéciale 'Le dieu Σαβαζιος chez les Arméniens') à l'aide des procédés paléontologiques, le décompose en trois éléments — *as*, *to* < > *tu* et *vai* resp. *vai* dont chacun, dit-il, pourrait être ramené à une signification indépendante de 'dieu', mais les matériaux toponymiques comparés, observe M. Marr (qui qualifie quelque part la toponymie comme représentant 'les plus vieux textes'), exigent de nous ce composé trinome pour désigner le dieu. En tant que le nom de divinité totémique, ce composé doit, en effet, reproduire l'appellation 'ethnique (tribale)' formée de la même manière.¹ Nous retrouvons effectivement notre composé rituel déposé dans le terme toponymique connu, armén. *A + tar + pat + ak + an*, grec *A + tro + pat-en-e*, actuellement *Adärbaijan*. Il est compréhensible, nous l'avons dit maintes fois, pourquoi un des gouverneurs du pays s'appelait Atropat: ce mot était un totem, une divinité totémique, en même temps qu'un mot ethnique, lequel suivant la tradition arménienne avait dans le thème du terme toponymique la forme *A-tur* (→ *tar*) -*pat* et, sous une forme indépendante avec la signification de 'dieu' *as-to-vai* < > *as-tu-vai* (-*pat*). Or, le second élément, doit être, pour des raisons exposées par M. Marr que nous nous dispensons de reproduire ici, — restitué comme *stu* (√*tu*), resp. *sto* (√*to*) et *star* (√*tar*), *stur* (√*tur*) < > **tor*~> *tro*. 'Le son *s* pourrait être rapporté au premier élément, ce qui aurait donné *as* au lieu d'*a*, mais la réalité de *stur* (√**htur* > *tur*), etc., est imposée par le nom mégreléen théophore de famille, *stur-ua*.' — Sémasiologiquement, la notion de dieu totémique, protecteur de la tribu, et celle de 'fort, épais', etc. sont à rapprocher. Dans la mentalité tribale tous les mots exprimant les notions de 'bon, favorable, fort', etc., s'identifient avec les notions de la tribu et de son totem. Guère n'est besoin de rappeler, d'autre part, que l'analyse japhétidologique de M. Marr ne tient nullement compte de l'étymologie admise jusqu'ici qui rattachait le mot *Adärbaijān* au mot *adār* feu dont le culte a laissé par ailleurs tant de preuves dans cette région.

Le cadre que nous nous sommes imposé dans la présente étude ne nous permet pas de poursuivre notre examen, japhétidologique du kurde d'une façon suffisamment développée. Force nous est de nous arrêter surtout sur le nom en nous bornant pour les autres parties du discours aux quelques brèves remarques des faits qui nous ont semblé significatifs.

(2) Parties du discours.

'La croissance du langage, nous dit M. Marr (*Théorie japhétique*, pp. 122 et seq.), s'accompagne de l'apparition des parties du discours. La

¹ La coïncidence des noms de tribu et de son dieu est un fait confirmé, par exemple, par le nom du principal dieu khalde, le Khaldin.

première catégorie sont les noms. Les conjonctions et les adverbes, ainsi que les adjectifs, au début ne représentent que les mêmes noms sans qu'ils soient modifiés ou qu'ils aient pris quelque forme propre. L'individualisation du nom et du verbe est, naturellement, une nouvelle création qui se fait non seulement à l'aide des noms transformés en désinences-symboles, mais aussi au moyen des pronoms. L'apparition des pronoms est un tournant dans l'histoire du développement du langage, c'est le début d'une nouvelle ère morphologique émergeant de l'amorphe, d'abord agglutinante, ensuite flective. Peu importe que les pronoms eux-mêmes remontent tous à des noms. Dans la morphologie, d'abord dans la syntaxe qui en est le pré-curseur, les noms étaient employés comme les pronoms. Pour former les pronoms, on s'est servi des noms signifiant "tête", "âme", "corps" qui, dans la paléontologie, se rattachent aux "noms de tribu" ayant un sens divin, donc au "ciel" et, partant, au faisceau sémantique "ciel + sommet + tête". Il importe de souligner tout particulièrement que le pronom apparaît quand la notion de propriété se crée; les pronoms indiquant les noms des propriétaires avant d'être affectés aux noms de personnes. Les personnes émergent relativement plus tard, surtout la 1^{re} personne du singulier comparée à la 3^e (c.-à.-d. au début on disait "lui" pour "moi")¹ et dans ses rapports avec la 2^e. Aussi les premiers pronoms ne sont que des pronoms de propriété; la personne qu'ils indiquent n'est, peut-être, étant donné l'époque, que la collectivité, la tribu ou, bien, dans le plan abstrait, le totem, le symbole de cette unité collective, son dieu, gardien des droits de propriété du groupe social donné. C'est à partir du pronom, de quelque façon qu'on l'interprète, que nous commençons à découvrir les attaches entre le développement des parties du discours et la vie sociale, ses formes, ses conceptions juridiques.

'Nous avons vu comment, en fonction de la mentalité d'une collectivité humaine dotée chacune de sa structure propre, les mots commencent à acquérir un sens défini à la suite de la stabilisation des significations qui s'appliquent à tout un faisceau, et ne se précisent par unités que plus tard. Nous avons vu également que la syntaxe, tout comme l'ordre des mots dans la phrase, se forme sous l'influence de la structure sociale. Il en est de même pour la cohésion entre les significations des membres d'une phrase ainsi que pour celle qui existe entre les phrases elles-mêmes. La morphologie qui apparaît pour préciser les rapports réciproques entre les membres d'une phrase, ne fait que refléter la structure sociale. D'autre part, cette dernière exerce son influence sur les groupes divers de mots qui deviendront parties du discours et formeront, avec le temps, des catégories définies de grammaire, cette dernière excommuniée, dirait-on, de la vie. En effet, plus que toute autre valeur sociale artistique, les parties du discours sont exclues de la vie, de toute réalité matérielle. Schémas abstraits, elles n'évoquent aucun intérêt vivant tant qu'on étudie ces phénomènes du seul point de vue

¹ Cf., par exemple, au British Museum, V Egypt Room, vitrine avec les amulettes, traduction d'une des inscriptions, où *his* se trouve à la place de *my* en parlant de l'ennemi, contre lequel l'amulette est appelée à protéger.

formel, en rupture complète avec les facteurs sociaux créateurs auxquels le langage doit ses origines.

Que les catégories de mots dont les types diffèrent suivant les systèmes de langues, que les parties du discours n'aient apparu que plus tard au fur et à mesure de l'évolution du langage et augmenté progressivement, on peut s'en rendre compte par ce fait que, dans les langues de certains systèmes, aujourd'hui encore, elles ne se différencient pas avec toute la netteté voulue bien que, idéologiquement, les parties du discours y soient déjà nettement élaborées. . . Il est à remarquer d'ailleurs que l'ordre dans lequel successivement se forment les diverses parties du discours ne débute pas, comme on serait tenté de le croire, avec le nom. En effet, tant que l'on ne distinguait pas très nettement les autres parties du discours, tant que n'existaient déjà en réalité les adjectifs, les nombres, les pronoms, les conjonctions, les verbes, — le nom lui-même ne pouvait pas exister avec ses fonctions strictement délimitées, avec ses attributs formels que nous lui connaissons à présent et qui se confondent inséparablement dans notre notion actuelle du nom. D'une façon générale, il n'y avait pas de parties du discours, il n'y avait pas de nom, il n'y avait qu'un composé vocal employé pour rendre une image, une idée, une notion; quant à son emploi, statique ou dynamique, c.-à.-d. soit comme un nom (un adjectif, un nombre. . .) ou comme un verbe, il dépendait des besoins du discours. On ne peut pas parler d'une façon concrète de la formation successive des parties du discours tant qu'elles n'ont pas pris une forme qui confirme leur fonctionnement en qualité d'une partie du discours donnée.'

(a) *Nom. Casus obliquus*. Le son *i*, prononcé également quelque fois *e* (cf. J. Darmesteter, *Gram. hist.*, p. 279), indique, à la fin du mot, un *casus obliquus*. J'en distingue plusieurs emplois dans mes textes qui coïncident à peu près avec l'interprétation de Justi. (1) Comme génitif, après les prépositions *lā*, *š* et *d*: *lā nāw kurdēt nāw čīāi*, parmi les Kurdes de Nāw Čia; *š* (ou *lā*) *wārī*, (venant) de l'estivage; *š-hūrē*, de la laine; *d-duniāi*, dans le monde. C'est ici que l'on pourrait peut-être classer les expressions: *bāhārī*, au printemps, *zistānī*, en hiver (il ne faut pas confondre cet *i* avec celui de l'unité, provenant de l'ancien *aiva*, dans l'expression *rōšē* un jour, cf. Geiger, *Lautlehre d. Balūči*, p. 15). M. Ivanow ('Khorasani Kurdish', *JASB.*, N.S., xxiii. 177) parle de — 'determinative affix -a, -ā, -e, -i . . . it is almost always affixed if the noun is used in an oblique case particularly with a preposition . . . *sha Turwātī*, from Turbet'; (2) Comme datif de direction, le verbe comportant obligatoirement un *a* final: *hānāra nāw duniāi*, 'il l'a envoyé dans le monde'; ou datif simple: *zārār bū dīnī wā bū duniāi*, 'un préjudice pour le monde et pour la religion'; (3) Comme accusatif, complément direct: *duniāi dē ēhīta bālāi*, 'il précipitera le monde dans le malheur'; (4) Au nominatif: *šāihī gōta mrūvēt ho*, 'le cheikh a dit à ses hommes'. Cet *i* au nominatif est encore une autre variante. En tous cas, il n'a rien à faire avec un article indéterminé, mais signifie bien le cheikh, dont il est question tout le temps dans le récit. Quant à l'*i* du *casus obliquus*, il ne sera pas déplacé de donner ici un exemple de plus d'analyse

japhétidologique examinant le génitif dans le géorgien (*Théorie japhétique*, p. 57) non seulement parce que nous constatons là l'existence d'un *i* comme dans le kurde, et quelques autres coïncidences, mais parce que cette analyse fait bien saisir la différence entre la grammaire considérée du point de vue statique et la conception dynamique des faits grammaticaux. Ainsi la grammaire purement statique de Justi ne nous fait entrevoir aucune explication plausible de cet *i* des cas obliques. Le suffixe *i*, *ē* se confond d'autre part avec le procédé à la fois indiquant l'unité ou remplaçant l'article défini et J. Darmesteter (*Gram. hist.*, p. 161) en voit la raison dans la provenance de ce suffixe, qui n'a actuellement qu'une seule prononciation *ē*, des deux mots avestiques différents *aiva* et *aita* ayant perdu les seconds éléments (dans le *balūči* le démonstratif *ē* doit son origine à l'avest. *aē-tađ*, cf. Geiger, op. cit., p. 14; comparez le kurde *ē-rā* ici et le démonstratif *ās* dans les textes publiés par Makas). Voici, au contraire, comment M. Marr considère le génitif géorgien :

'... Il est oublié dans le géorgien, que la voyelle *ı* de la désinence du génitif *ı-s* est un mot indépendant, le pronom "lui", "celui-là" [est-ce là une simple coïncidence avec ce que nous venons de mentionner pour l'iranien ?], et on prend *ı-s* pour une seule désinence de cas... dans la grammaire statique, tant que les choses en étaient là... mais la grammaire dynamique qui s'occupe de l'évolution de formes... fait sauter toute cette statique : la désinence, le *ıs* géorgien est sorti du pronom et de la désinence du génitif, plus exactement d'une particule affixée — *si* (> *u*), quant au nominatif, nous avons chez les géorgiens *kađ-ı*, le son *ı* n'est pas ici une désinence du nominatif, mais un pronom fusionné avec le thème. Sans cet *ı*, le mot *kađ* dans l'anc. géorgien signifie "homme", le nominatif n'ayant aucune désinence. Dans les langues du groupe chuintant, le même pronom *-ı* (<> *e*), également fusionné avec le thème, reste dans tous les cas... Cette déclinaison archaïque agglutinante ne doit nullement être prise pour un phénomène nouveau, parce que nous ne la trouvons à présent que dans les langues vivantes non-écrites (le laze, le mégrélien), alors que chez les Géorgiens, même dans l'anc. langue littéraire, il n'y en a plus de traces, et il faut procéder à des fouilles pour le constater paléontologiquement. L'antiquité de la formation du génitif en *ı+ue* est témoinnée par une chaîne ininterrompue des formes du génitif à travers ses évolutions. En outre, d'ailleurs, la forme *ı+ue* est attestée par le khalde des inscriptions cunéiformes du IX^e siècle avant notre ère à Van, le gén. *Argiutnue*. La déclinaison agglutinante, notamment avec le pronom, se rencontre dans le japhétique en dehors du Caucase, dans le basque notamment...'

Sans que cette intéressante citation nous ait apporté une solution effective au problème du suffixe *i* dans les cas obliques du kurde, elle n'en a pas moins ouvert certaines perspectives qui ne peuvent pas être négligées. Il n'est peut-être pas impossible que le kurde ait également conservé quelques survivances de la déclinaison pronominale agglutinante ?

Nous pouvons passer maintenant à un autre problème ayant trait au nom

dans le kurde que nous avons d'ailleurs mentionné déjà incidemment. Dans les notes accompagnant notre article 'Kurdish stories from my Collection' (BSOS. iv. 1, 1926) je constatais que les suffixes *ək* et *i*, employés avec le nom en kurde semblent exprimer à la fois trois idées: (1) l'unité, (2) l'indéfini, (3) la diminution. Je citais également l'opinion de O. Mann qui estimait qu'il existait en kurde deux suffixes qui jusqu'à présent *ne sont pas encore bien compris*, et qui servent à la fois pour déterminer et pour rendre indéfini le nom. Nous avons rappelé déjà l'explication que fournit J. Darmesteter. M. Ivanow (op. cit., p. 177) signale le même phénomène dans le dialecte qu'il a étudié: 'the suffix -*ak*, -*äk* which originally has some diminutive meaning, and is added pleonastically to substantives sounds exactly like the other suffix -*äk*, -*ek*, used as an equivalent of the indefinite article'. Les langues japhétiques, notamment l'abkhaze, expriment l'idée de l'unité par le suffixe *kə-a-kə* (pour les objets 'passifs') par exemple *napə-k* 'un bras', **uapə-k* 'une jambe'. M. Marr à qui nous empruntons ces renseignements (*Recueil sur le nombre*, p. 57 et seq.) fait remonter ce suffixe à l'archétype *kur* [*kur* √], qui veut dire 'un' en élamite. Les suffixes en question (tout comme le constate pour le kurde O. Mann) signifient tantôt 'un', tantôt 'quelqu'un'.

'Tout ceci s'explique par le fait que, paléontologiquement, aussi bien "l'unité" que "quelqu'un", "n'importe qui", primitivement sans distinction d'avec "quelque chose", "n'importe quoi", représentent le même nom qui, sur le plan social, signifie... "l'homme". Si l'on ajoute à ceci que le mot "homme", en tant qu'une notion générale est un phénomène plus tardif, car, au début, il ne désignait que "l'homme de la tribu", "l'unité de la tribu donnée" (d'où — l'unité — homme, toujours d'une tribu donnée, et la tribu elle-même portaient le même nom), on comprendra encore mieux pourquoi, dans les caractères cunéiformes, le même signe 𐎶 signifie à la fois "un" et, en tant que déterminatif "personne", resp. "unité-homme". Le même signe d'ailleurs, est employé devant les appellations tribales, les collectivités réunissant ces "unités" et ayant le nom commun avec "l'unité-homme", pour signifier aussi, considéré comme un groupement, "tout", "chacun".'

En ce qui concerne le *nom*, également nos textes qui se rapprochent de ceux de Jaba emploient d'une façon régulière le pluriel en *et*, au sujet duquel l'accord ne semble pas encore complet parmi les kurdisants, et que l'on est quelquefois porté à confondre avec le génitif syriaque en *d*, bien que Lerch dans son article 'Über das Pluralsuffix im Ossetischen' (*Mélanges Asiatiques* v, 1863, pp. 307 et seq.) ait déjà suggéré une interprétation iranienne en rapprochant le *ta* ossète et le *te* kurde. On peut également rappeler ici ce que Madame Willman-Grabowska remarque à propos du sogdien (cf. 'O języku sogdyjskim', p. 141, dans le *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, de Lwow, t. ii), notamment: 'il peut être que le -*t* (-*th*) qu'on rencontre comme désinence de certaines expressions du pluriel soit une trace d'un ancien collectif iranien en *θwa*.' De son côté, la rédaction du *Rocznik* observe (dans le résumé français de l'article de Mme. Willman-Grabowska):

‘... la marque du pluriel *-t*, *-th*, qu’on rencontre dans quelques noms sogdiens, et que M. Meillet (car c’est lui, sans doute ?) serait enclin à faire dériver du suffixe iranien **θwa*, désignant le collectif, a été tout récemment revendiquée par M. Fr. Rosenberg de Pétersbourg, dans un article que Mme. Willman-Grabowska n’a pu encore connaître, au prétendu héritage japhétique du sogdien... assurément, il est temps de faire la critique de la théorie de Mme. Marr, et la rédaction du *Rocznik* y reviendra dans un des volumes prochains.’

Si je ne me trompe, cette observation est due à la plume du regretté indianisant et remarquable linguiste, M. A. Gawronski. Son décès, que tous ses confrères déplorent, a empêché la parution dans le *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* de la critique annoncée qui poserait, enfin, à l’ordre du jour la discussion de la japhétidologie chez les adeptes de l’école indo-européenne.

Justi (*Kurdische Grammatik*) tantôt se rallie à la thèse de Lerch et dit : ‘Eine andere Pluralbindung entsteht durch Antritt von *te* bei Beresin im Ostkurdischen *da* geschrieben, welches im Tagaurischen *t’ä*, im Digorischen *ta* lautet und durch Lerchs Untersuchungen (*vide supra*) der nachgesetzte Artikel ist, entsprechend dem altpers. *tya*.’ Quant aux parallèles caucasiques nous trouvons également des indications chez M. Marr; dans l’ancien arménien littéraire et dans l’ancien géorgien littéraire comme suffixes du *casus obliquus* dans le pluriel.

A retenir aussi le passage suivant chez M. Marr (*Théorie japhétique*, p. 95) :

‘... Dans le Cantique des Cantiques d’Hippolite Antipape, l’expression — *tanul-eθ sa mas qorūhsasa*, “festin de noces (auquel du monde a été) convoqué” il se trouve présente la notion abstraite désignée par un *-eθ*, qui est aussi la forme employée pour les noms collectifs, d’où, par exemple, les noms des pays : *Kaq-eθ*, Kachétie;... *Rus-eθ*, Russie...’

Au sujet du même suffixe le Prof. Smieszek dit (op. cit.) :

‘Ce suffixe “géographique” *ti* (*lullu-ba-ti*; *kilam-ba-ti*, etc.) que l’on rencontre dans le Zagros et la Médie occidentale, provenant, selon toute probabilité d’un ancien **ati* ou **eti*, s’est maintenu au Caucase sous la même forme et avec la même fonction; en géorgien Imeret’i, Swanet’i, T’ušet’i, etc. (cf. Hüsing, *Zagros u. seine Völker*, Der A. Orient 1908, p. 19-23).’

Tout en adoptant le caractère iranien de la désinence qui nous intéresse ici (p. 123 de sa grammaire) Justi, quelques pages plus loin (p. 129) en parlant de la formation du génitif revient à une remarque de Rhea; ‘... dass im Plural an den Isafetvocal noch ein *t* trete ...’ et cite des exemples qui, à notre avis, ont la valeur d’un pluriel indiscutable, par exemple : *mal-e-t min* (meine Häuser), *bra-e-t-wan* (ihre Brüder), *dižmin-i-d khu* (ihre Feinde), que nous aurions transcrits simplement; *mal-ēt min*, *braēt-wan*, *dižminūd-khu*, etc. — Justi, par contre, insiste que c’est là : ‘Dies *t*, *d* ist nichts anders als das syrische Genetivzeichen, wie man deutlich aus den Aufzeichnungen Socins ersehen

kann. . . ' En effet Socin s'en tient également à cette interprétation comme on peut s'en rendre compte d'après quelques exemples cités dans ses textes: xxxv. 70 — *culked usiv phuine mista* (die Kleider Jusifs bestrich er mit ihrem Blute) et xxxv. 339 — *zalihae habin dusad gohared haideri* (Zuleicha besass 200 haiderische Ohrgehänge). Socin pour expliquer ce *d* se réfère à Justi, loc. cit. et dit: 'Genetivpartikel auch als *t* in den Texten bald an das übergeordnete Wort gehängt, bald vor den Genetiv gestellt. Es ist nicht absolut ausgemacht dass wirklich mit dieser Verbindung die aramäische nachgeahmt ist. Die Verbindung wäre dem Kurd *so sehr ins Fleisch übergegangen*, das selbst vor Adjectiven dieses Exponent nun antritt, z. B.: *sed sur* rote Hunde. Bedeutet *d* auch "mit"?' — Cette réserve de Socin est très significative, mais n'est-il pas bien plus simple d'admettre qu'en occurrence nous avons toujours à faire avec un pluriel, au lieu de se perdre dans ces explications qui semblent trop laborieuses et ne peuvent pas nous convaincre? Ainsi chez Soane (*Kurdish Grammar*, p. 10) nous lisons: '*id*. The northern group has the monopoly of a plural in *id* which is very frequently met with, as *-bchük, bchükid*, children; *miruf, mirufid* men; *shen, shenid* women; *ser, serid* heads.' Cependant Fossum (qui connaît d'ailleurs surtout les dialectes au Sud du lac d'Ourmiah) reprend dans sa grammaire, postérieure à celle de Soane, l'interprétation erronée; en parlant de génitif, tout comme Justi, il dit notamment (p. 39): 'the preposition *da* or *ta*, sometimes placed after the *i*, and thus forming the combination *i-da* or *i-ta*, is undoubtedly the Syriac Genitive-sign, unnecessarily (?) added', et ailleurs (p. 32): 'In some parts of Kurdistan, according to Professeur Beresin, the suffix *te* or *ta*, with the connective vowel *-a* inserted, is employed as a plural ending. This would make the word *kur-a-te* or *kur-a-ta* for "boys". It is not impossible, however, that this *a-ta* is a definite article suffix, similar to our *a-ta*, mistaken (?) for a plural ending.' Ici encore le désir d'expliquer ne fait qu'obscurcir ce simple fait grammatical. L'interprétation de Justi pèse sur d'autres kurdisants encore. Makas dans les textes publiés récemment à Leningrad dit (p. 70): '*mire-t-kocara hatin* der Emir der Kotschär (Kurden) kam' et précise; '*t* der Isafetverbindung (*Justi Gr.*, p. 129 et seq.)'. Enfin, Minorski, dans son remarquable article sur les Kurdes dans l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, n'abandonne pas non plus cette idée de *status constructus*: '... eine Idafat-Form (namentlich im Plural) auf *t* (-*d*) vgl.; den ossetischen Plural auf *-tä*, z. B. *Yar-i te* "dein Freund", *Yarid te* "deine Freunde", alors que, à notre avis, il ne s'agit que du pluriel évident. C'est du moins cette interprétation que nous imposent les exemples pris dans nos textes; — *lä mämlekät-ët munazzam ave dbina tabak-ët sari*, 'dans les pays organisés on amène l'eau aux étages supérieures'; *gäläk djun-ët krêt ši dana rêvi*, 'il a aussi donné beaucoup d'injures violentes au renard'; *fasik-ët hamsa iä'ni pendj fasik*, traduction kurde de l'expression arabe 'cinq pécheurs'; *hâzâr säiñân-ët vâki kâli*, 'mille diables comme la pie'; *dâst-ët bilind kirin*, 'il a levé les mains'. Quant à l'idafat, elle est rendue dans nos textes indistinctement par un *a* ou un *i*: *awa temis*, 'l'eau pure'; *halati min*; 'ma récompense'. Cet *â* long ne doit pas être confondu avec l'*a* bref ajouté habituellement au nom précédé du pronom démonstratif, *aw*: *ta aw'akla zê ki girtia*, 'de qui as tu pris cet esprit'; *wân pençâna*, 'ces cinq lâ'. Le Professeur

A. Christensen nous a communiqué qu'il se rappelle avoir vu la désinence *t* pour le pluriel dans le psautier pehlevî du Professeur Andreas. — Il existe encore une forme de plur. en *gel*, employée surtout à Senne et signifiant la collectivité. Ce suffixe remonte au mot *gel*, *gelâ*, 'troupeau; nation' (*yâ geli kurdân*, oh, nation kurde!). Ce suffixe par conséquent n'a pas encore complètement perdu sa vie indépendante. On le retrouve d'ailleurs dans les adverbes kurdes — *gelâk* beaucoup; *dgel* ensemble (>*dgelda*) ainsi que dans le balûçi (cf. *trōngal*, Geiger, op. cit., p. 5) et le dialecte de Siwend, sous la forme *gar*. Hüsing (op. cit.) le rapproche de *gaddu* des anciennes langues du Zagros.

Avant de finir ainsi nos observations sur le nom, ajoutons encore que le locatif *dâ* existe aussi dans le géorgien: *sa-da*, où? formé de *sa* qui, quoi, et *da* (*Théorie japhétique*, p. 56).

'La paléontologie du langage a démontré que le cas locatif répondant à la question où? et le cas indiquant la provenance (d'où) sont les différenciations ultérieures d'un seul cas, et les particules *da* // *de* et *dan* // *den* sont les variantes d'un seul mot ayant un sens indépendant dans un système plus ancien' (ibid.)¹

(b) *Pronom.* Dans les pronoms, remarquons que celui de la 3^e pers. *vi* se prononce quelquefois *ve*; il y aurait ainsi une distinction entre le masculin (*vi*) et féminin (*ve*), le premier servant aussi de pronom démonstratif. Comparez chez O. Mann (*Gram. Skizze*, lxi): 'wî repräsentiert eine aus dem altpersischen Genitiv avahya entstandene Form des Demonstrativums, deren i sich vielleicht unter dem Einflusse des daneben gebrauchten i, des pron. suff., enthalten hat.'² Il est à souligner, d'autre part que l'informateur de Makas insistait sur la distinction dans la prononciation de la seconde personne de pronom: (cf. note 26, p. 17) 'die merkwürdige Bedeutung, welche E. dieser Form des Pron. pers. 2 Sg. gibt, mag hier Erwähnung finden. An den Stellen meine Texte nämlich, wo sich *te* findet, wollte er einem Gegensatz des Fem. gegen das Masc. *tu* kennzeichnen... was er consequent festhielt...' — Le pronom relatif *yâ* (qui prend au pluriel la forme *yât*, *vide supra*) dont la présence dans le kurde est une des preuves de son archaïsme, comme l'a déjà relevé J. Darmesteter se rencontre dans nos textes: *hukm bû vi kâs-a yâ ghalib*, l'ordre (la supériorité) est avec celui qui est vainqueur; *aw nîa yâ to dbezi*, ce n'est pas comme tu le dis. A retenir aussi que le pronom de la 3^e pers. s'il sert de complément tantôt garde sa forme complète *gota vi* il lui a dit, tantôt (cf. le persan *goft-âsh*)

¹ Ce qui importe surtout, nous écrit M. Marr (9.3.31), c'est que à la question 'où' 'répond le suffixe signifiant 'terre'. Notons dans le persan le *da* dans le mot *fârdâ*.

² M. Marr ne partage pas cette façon de voir. Le pronom kurde est encore à analyser entièrement selon les principes japhétiques, le pronom réfléchi étant le premier apparu; vient ensuite la notion de la personne, notamment de la 3^e p. → les 3^e + 2^e p.p. (quand la 3^e = la 2^e et la 1^e n'existe pas encore) → la 2^e + la 1^e (quand la 3^e est à part tandis que la 2^e = la 1^e) → les 3^e, 2^e, 1^e, p.p., le dernier stade. Il est à remarquer, toutefois, qu'il s'agit ici encore du pluriel seul, la perception étant collective. La notion du singulier, émerge plus tard, en tant qu'une des variétés techniques de la pluralité originaire. Cette dernière correspond à la dénomination collective = totémique = tribale se rapportant aux formes primaires de la structure sociale (lettre du 9.3.31). A son origine, le premier pronom apparu, pronom réfléchi, était ressenti tout d'abord comme un remplaçant, *locum tenens*, du totem tribal.

devient enclitique — *got-e*; un autre exemple: *horāki bā dūt-e* il lui donnera à manger. Concernant cet *e*, O. Mann (*Gr. Skizze*, lxi) qui le prononce d'ailleurs comme *i* fait des observations suivantes: 'Diese Form... scheint mir mit den Avestaformen *hīm*, *hē* usw. in Verbindung gebracht werden zu müssen, während das persische *sh* auf die entsprechenden altpersischen Formen *shim* usw. zurückgeht.' Cf. Justi, *Kurd. Gram.*, p. 143, Das Suffigirte Personal Pronomen, *in fine*.

Nos textes distinguent les pronoms démonstratifs — 'celui-ci' et 'celui-là', par exemple: *nā āwa kīr nā āw*, il n'a fait ni celui-ci, ni celui-là. Celui-là se dit aussi *āwē* (cf. J., p. 145: 'vollständiger, mit dem 'Demonstrativstamme *a* vermehrt, welches man auch in Armenischer entdeckt hat. . . *h-p* . . ., lautet der Nominativ *āva* oder *ēva*').

(c) *Nombre*. Nous nous contenterons de signaler que le nombre 'trois': *yeri*, dans le *gurānī*; *jārā*, *awrom.*; *hrē*, nord phl.; *hirye*, *zaza*; *hæjræ*, *sāmnānī*, — nous fait pénétrer dans une couche japhétique, ce témoin faisant d'ailleurs, à notre connaissance, défaut dans les dialectes purement kurdes. Nous relevons, en effet, chez M. Marr (*Recueil sur le nombre*, pp. 63 et 90), le *h'ir-ur* > *ir-u* 'trois' en basque, *hur-u* en svane; *er-e* (< *ir-e* > *er-i*) > anc. arm. littér. *er+e+q*, dial. popul. *ir+e+q*.

(d) *Verbe*. Pour le verbe nous indiquerons seulement que nos textes distinguent toujours le présent et le futur, distinction qu'on est quelquefois enclin à nier au kurde. Le présent est caractérisé par l'affixe *d*, le futur par *de*. Ce dernier présente cette particularité qu'il peut se séparer du verbe, comme dans cette phrase par exemple *az ši dē d-hizməta djanābi siādāt intisābi hair ul hadj al hārmāin āš šārifāin hadje mām rēvi-da sallama-hu llahu ua uaffaka-hu ala-l-hair čāma sāfāra hairiāt āthāra mubāraka hadje*, 'moi aussi au service de son excellence... l'oncle renard... irai au pèlerinage'. — Parmi les suffixes accompagnant souvent le verbe nous releverons surtout un *a* indiquant la direction, dont parlent Soane et Fossum.¹ Le premier (p. 90): '*a*, *to*, *for*. Often demanding a final *i* to the noun; example — *hatima shari*, I came to town'; ou (p. 99) — *haru hafta berkh va chun ā shlāna*, every day seventy lambs went out to graze'; une autre fois le même *a* devient pour Soane une préposition (p. iii): 'the prepositions which may be omitted are *bi*, *pai*, *a*, *la*, *di* . . . ex. *-hat khwar danisht mal* or fully inflected *hata khwari danisht di malda*, he came down and sat in the house'. Fossum dit (p. 41): 'the prepositional suffix *a*, attached to verbs, is very much used instead of the preposition *bo* (for). Ex. *hat-a chom-e*, he came to the river; *dem-a arzarom*, I will come to Erzeroum'. Les mêmes exemples dans nos textes: *meš dhātina dāw čāw dīfn-ēt suleimān*, 'les mouches venaient à la bouche, aux yeux et dans les narines de Suleiman'. Peut-on rapprocher cet *ā* de direction (qu'on distinguera d'un autre *a* ajouté également au verbe suivi d'un complément qui n'implique pas l'idée de la direction; *vide supra* — *gota vi*, etc.) des remarques que fait Darmesteter (*Iranica*, I^e série, pp. 2, 6): 'suffixe *ac* implique l'idée de la direction; *āc*

¹ M. Marr nous explique cet *a* comme provenant de la couche japhétique, notamment *a←ā* [= *ar* (armén. *ar'k'*, pour) ou *ha'r* resp. *ha'l* V *sal* 'main', ce qui demande d'ailleurs une analyse plus approfondie], et qui est le cas final (lettre du 9.3.31).

est dérivé de *â* comme *upâc* de *upâ*; *â* signifie vers, près; de là le sens sanscrit de *âka* qui est à un primitif *âc* dans le même rapport que *upâka* à *upâc*.¹

Comparez avec ceci ce que dit O. Mann (*Grammatische Skizze der Mukri Mundart*, lxxvi): '... wie ein Enklitikon zur Verbalform gezogene Präposition *â* 'nach' (aus altem *abhi*, siehe ZDMG. xlvii. 706) nach Verben, die eine Bewegung ausdrücken.' — Cet *a* n'est pas toujours pour indiquer la direction, par exemple: *hangō dītina cā bā sārī wān inān*, vous avez vu ce qu'ils leur ont fait supporter. M. Ivanow (op. cit., p. 181) compare les deux types de suffixes verbaux et observe que: '... it appears that they differ only by the addition of *-a*, *-ā*. Socin suggests no explanation (Sc., p. 280, § 173). Mann calls it "unerklärliches *ê*" (p. lxxviii, 67).¹ Could it be identified with the determinative affix *a* which is added to the nouns? Logically this seems the most probable, and the affix *-a* (when added to nouns) may be often treated as a sign of logical emphasis or "accent": *war kata shigore* = he went to hunt . . .' — Je serais porté à partager l'opinion de M. Ivanow d'autant plus que, d'une façon générale, le verbe kurde, si l'on en examine le véritable caractère, me semble confirmer une des idées de M. Marr au sujet de la formation des parties du discours. Le verbe notamment n'est pas toujours bien différencié du nom.²

(3) Phonétique.

La phonétique kurde, comme d'ailleurs celle des dialectes iraniens en général, est encore loin, de nous donner entière satisfaction. La meilleure étude qui en ait été faite jusqu'ici, celle de Justi, pêche par sa base, obligé comme l'était l'auteur de se servir d'une documentation phonétique de provenance très diverse et de notation très variée. Tant que nous n'aurons à notre disposition des matériaux reproduits d'une façon irréprochable, c.-à.-d. mécanique, toutes les conclusions seront de valeur relative, étant donné qu'à présent la transcription varie suivant la nationalité, la finesse de l'ouïe, les préférences individuelles. La remarque de Makas déclarant très sincèrement que la phonétique kurde n'est stabilisée que dans certaines limites, tracées largement, a une portée générale, s'applique à tous les textes kurdes ou peu s'en faut dont nous disposons. Les difficultés d'une notation exacte sont également très bien soulignées par le Professeur A. Christensen (son étude sur l'Awromānī). Nous n'avons pour notre part aucune prétention d'exactitude phonétique en ce qui concerne nos textes. Ils étaient rédigés à notre intention pour chaque leçon, en caractères arabes, et nous n'avons pas toujours pu les accompagner de notre transcription. Toutefois, les mots que nous donnons ici sont ceux

¹ Je crois que Mann s'exprime ainsi au sujet d'un autre suffixe dont nous avons parlé sous la rubrique de pronom.

² La déclinaison et la conjugaison, du point de vue de la paléontologie japhétique (cf. M. Marr, lettre du 9.3.31), aussi bien que les notions du lieu et du temps correspondantes, ont émergé toutes les deux d'une source commune où elles se trouvaient à l'état diffus. On voit ainsi comment M. Marr contrôle en quelque sorte les phénomènes linguistiques en ayant recours à la mentalité primitive.

dont nous avons vérifié la prononciation. — J. Darmesteter (*Mélanges*, p. 90), en rendant compte de la grammaire de Justi, essaye de classer le kurde à sa place dans la famille iranienne. Certes, il y a un certain nombre de faits qui semblent attester du point de vue phonétique les rapports étroits du kurde avec l'iranien, avec le zend en particulier : kurde *sānin* savoir, zend *san*, *šna*, *jnātā*; k. *az*, moi; z. *azem*; k. *sast* (dialectal, communiqué par le regretté E. B. Soane), main, z. *sasta*; k. *ser*, cœur, z. *šered* (ossète *serde*, Pott),¹ k. *bīn*, odeur, phl. *vīnīk*, maz. *vīnī*, z. *vaēna*; k. *šāwa*, gendre, z. *šamatar* (oss. *ssiag*, russe *ziat'*, Pott), etc. Mais, à côté de ces quelques parallèles, il y a lieu de signaler des cas contraires : k. *dī* (*dihū*) hier, z. **zyó*; k. *dust*, ami, z. *zush*; *žūžūk* (bal. *dažuk*), hérisson; z. *duzhaka*; k. *dēw*, bouche (kürülisch *damma*, Pott), z. **dafan* (*gafna*? Pott). C'est à propos de ce dernier mot que Darmesteter constate que — 'si le rapprochement est exact et si ce sont les mêmes dialectes qui disent *ser*, *az*, etc., et *daw*, la question de classification se complique considérablement'. Il y a lieu de supposer que la difficulté signalée provient justement du substratum japhétique qui n'a été recouvert que d'une mince couche d'iranisme et que l'on n'a ignoré que trop jusqu'ici? Comme le fait, par exemple, observer M. Marr (*De Gourie Pyrén.*, p. 9) — la triple graduation : (1) t, d, ð (th); (2) k, g, q (kh); (3) p, b, φ (ph) existe aussi bien chez les Géorgiens, Mégrétiens, Svanes, Abkhazes et les autres Japhétides que chez les Arméniens, alors que chez ces derniers, selon la bonne science, on suppose qu'il n'y a rien de commun, quant au fond, avec les Géorgiens. 'D'ailleurs, de quel travail n'a-t-on pas eu besoin, pour que les savants européens aient compris que cette triple graduation appartient aussi au kurde et, imaginez-vous, même au persan.' Rectifions cependant cette observation. Que les iranisans s'en rendent maintenant bien compte, le Professeur A. Christensen, par exemple, nous le prouve excellemment en analysant justement les avatars subis par ces sons dans l'Awromānī (op. cit., pp. 20-3).

Nous voulons attirer ici l'attention sur le passage du *d* en *l* que nous avons pu constater dans nos textes et qui est intéressant du point de vue japhétidologique.² Le mot *hodā*, notamment, est le plus souvent employé dans nos textes sous cette forme habituelle. Nous l'avons cependant aussi sous la forme de *holā*, avec un *l* dur. J. Darmesteter (*Ét. s. la gram. hist.*, p. 72) a déjà relevé cette particularité phonétique en disant qu'il existe une 'prononciation particulière' tenant du *d* et du *l* à la fois. Burnouf, dans le temps, croyait à l'absence de la lettre *l* en zend (*Notes et Ecl.*, p. xlviii); Spiegel (*Arische Studien*) parle d'un *l* perse qui était tantôt un *r*, tantôt un *n*, etc. M. Frejman a dernièrement repris cette question : il a fait paraître (dans le *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, t. ii, déjà cité) une étude sur le passage du *d* en *l* dans la plupart des dialectes iraniens, en faisant observer que ce trait pourrait

¹ *Kurdische Studien*, von E. Rödiger u. A. F. Pott, *Z. K. des Morgenlandes*, Bd. iii, H. 1840.

² A propos de *dVl* (ðVr) M. Marr ajoute (lettre du 9.3.31) quelques précisions. Il dit notamment que, souvent, une illusion peut avoir lieu comme, p. ex., dans le cas de *māta* → *māda* et *mar* (on écrit souvent d'après une graphie étrangère *mār*, ce qui est un malentendu) → *mar-ta*, &c. Il faut surtout faire attention à l'armén. *l* → *l* (ğ) ← *r*, par ex., *Ağegsandros*, Alexandre, &c.

être dû aux influences japhétiques. Voici quelques correspondances en question :

<i>pers. dūd, fumée</i>	<i>pers. dādān, donner</i>	<i>pers. dēv, génie</i>
waxī. ʔit yidga lūi	sarig. ʔād-ao yidga liah	aw. daēvō waxī. liv
saryq. ʔūd mindj. lūy	šugn. ʔēd-ao mindj. lar	sarig. ʔēv afg. lēvə (loup)
šgn. ʔud afg. lū	afg. lab	
<i>awest. dujʔa, fille</i>	<i>pers. dūr, loin</i>	
pers. duxtār mindj. lojda	aw. dūra yidga lūroh	
waxī. ʔajd yidga lujdoh	waxī. ʔīr afg. lire	
afg. lūr	sarig. ʔar	

M. Frejman en tire les conclusions suivantes : (1) On peut observer dans le groupe nord-oriental (dit scythique) des langues iraniennes la tendance du passage du *ʔ* en *l*; (2) cette tendance apparaît au VII^e siècle; (3) devient plus apparente à mesure que le dialecte donné se rapproche de la périphérie de la sphère linguistique iranienne dans la direction nord-est. Le même phénomène se retrouve également dans les dialectes indiens notamment dans le védique (passage de *ḍ* > *l* en position intervocalique) et les dialectes contemporains dans le Kafiristan. — D'autre part, voici ce qu'il dit des influences japhétiques éventuelles :

'La tendance manifeste de certains dialectes iraniens et indiens concernant le passage de *d* > *l* ne constitue pas, comme j'ai essayé de le démontrer, un trait commun ayant sa source dans l'origine, n'est pas une particularité génétique. Il faut en chercher la raison dans quelque chose d'autre, à mon avis, dans la manière d'articuler propre au substratum ethnographique à la frontière linguistique indo-iranienne où jusqu'à nos jours dans les hautes vallées des montagnes se sont conservées des bribes dialectiques qui n'appartiennent à aucune des deux branches aryennes. M. Zaroubine, ethnographe et linguiste de Pétersbourg, a rapporté de son voyage aux Pamirs des documents dialectologiques concernant deux idiomes que M. Marr a reconnu comme étant du groupe de langues qu'il appelle japhétiques, dont un trait spécial est, entre autres, la particularité d'articulation penchant vers l'*l*'.

Le même mot *hoḷā* se trouve dans les *Notes on Khorasani Kurdish* de M. W. Ivanow : '*Alo boron Khwodhe boron, bewore la zewinhoron; Khwale doye Kachikdoron*'; 'The rain, O God, the rain! Let it rain upon the fields! May God punish the men who have daughters!' (p. 188) et — '*Chiyoi sar ma wa markh-a; bilak shigor dhoya war kha; dast haley la Khwale sar kha*'; 'The hills above me are covered with *marh*-grass; much game is roaming loose. Raise hands to God, above thy head' (p. 191). Dans ses notes phonétiques M. Ivanow remarque à ce propos :

'Very often *d* is pronounced in so low a position that it sounds like *dh* (*th* in "other"). This sound, however, is elusive, and often appears as a real *l* in *Khwale* = *Khwadhe* (foot-note: apparently the same phonetical phenomenon which existed in Sogdian').

A ce propos rappelons que M. Frejman (op. cit) estime que le changement de la chuintante *š* en *l* observé dans le sarigoli s'expliquerait également par le substratum japhétique. Ajoutons encore que dans nos textes, cette interdépendance du *l* et du *d* se laisse apercevoir dans le mot *lēr-et*, forêt, que nous rapprochons du mot persan *dār*, qui a donné dans le kurde au diminutif *derik* (Justi, p. 17, Bäumchen); *lēr-et*, qui est un pluriel, 'les arbres + la forêt', se retrouve aussi chez Prym et Socin sous la forme intervertie de *rēl*.¹ Nous avons, ensuite, le mot *palh*, 'grosse pierre', orthographié dans nos textes avec un *d* qui doit rendre le son de *l* dur (پله); il semble entrer dans le même ordre d'observations phonétiques. Dans le dialecte Mukri l'*l* dur est fréquent. Dīā ed Dīn dans les notes grammaticales accompagnant son dictionnaire nous fait savoir que dans le bohtan le préfixe du présent n'est pas *d*, comme dans les autres dialectes, mais *l*. — Certes, nous savons que le *l* persan a beaucoup de sources, car il représente: (1) le groupe *rd* zend (*sāl* > *garedha*); (2) le groupe *rz* (*bulend* > *barezant*); (3) le *r* simple (*pul* > *peretu*); (4) le *d* (afg. dix, *les*; cent, *sel*; père, *pilār*; en tāti *d*, *t* normalement *r*) (J. Darmesteter, *Iranica*, 2^e s., p. 8). Mais si nous nous plaçons au point de vue japhétique nous croyons devoir rappeler ici ce qui a été déjà mentionné dans la partie consacrée au vocabulaire concernant l'*l* sourd en élamite, analysé par M. Smieszek.

'On est tenté (dit-on dans le résumé français de cette étude), de ramener l'*l* sourd, dont l'auteur a constaté l'existence dans les langues de l'Asie Antérieure et du Caucase et qui occupe pour ainsi dire une place intermédiaire entre *t* et *l*, à un groupe plus ancien composé de *t* + voyelle + *l*. Il y aurait, entre *t* + voyelle + *l* et *tl*, d'où *l* sourd, le même rapport qu'entre Παταρα (ville de la Lycie) par exemple et Πτερία (ville de la Cappadoce). Ces deux noms, dit l'auteur, renferment le mot chaldéen (= urartique) *patari* "ville" (cf. Tušpapatari), identique, au fond, au mot grec πολις (forme antérieure à πολυς), inexpliqué à l'aide de l'étymologie et de la phonétique indo-européennes'.

Sur cet aveu significatif finissons nos notes.²

Les lignes qui précèdent ont été écrites par un orientaliste qui n'a fait que commencer son apprentissage à l'école japhétique. On ne chargera pas celle-ci de la responsabilité pour les erreurs naturelles dans un premier essai de ce genre. Sans contester l'iranisation presque complète du kurde à son état actuel, considération qui a apparu comme une raison d'être suffisante nous autorisant à présenter ces 'Notes' dans un recueil destiné à commémorer une longue et féconde activité scientifique d'un indo-iranisant de la valeur du vénérable prêtre parsi Dastur Cursetji Erachji Pavry, nous croyons cependant avoir démontré, malgré nos faibles moyens, que désormais l'étude approfondie du kurde ne saura se passer de la théorie japhétique. Que ce soit le vocabulaire

¹ Une autre étymologie ne semble pas d'ailleurs devoir être exclue. Cf. notamment : 'Das bisher unerklärte lares gehört wohl zum russ. лѣсъ = Wald' (Dr. E. Brögelmann, *Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen*, p. 10, note 2).

² Dans le domaine phonétique du Kurde, il serait utile d'examiner les groupes de consonnes au début du mot, que l'iranien évite, ainsi que l'aspiration (*hasp* kurde pour *asp* persan), &c.

de cette langue ou qu'il s'agisse de sa morphologie, de sa phonétique et, surtout, de ses 'Realia', partout nous avons constaté que le recours à la japhétidologie nous a été d'une grande utilité et nous a ouvert des perspectives nouvelles dans nos connaissances du kurde qui risquaient autrement de rester stationnaires. Nous espérons également avoir contribué à rendre plus exacte, bien que forcément superficielle, la compréhension de la théorie japhétique en général, cette novatrice hardie dans la linguistique. La mise au premier plan du mot, élément trop négligé dans la science du langage; l'introduction des conceptions sociales et économiques permettant de suivre mieux l'évolution du langage; l'application de l'analyse idéologique; la vision diachronique très nette; la paléontologie du langage, la sémasiologie — autant de procédés qui ne peuvent qu'enrichir les recherches linguistiques menacées du danger de prendre les moyens pour le but et de s'étioler entre les cloisons étanches. Le complot de silence à l'égard de la japhétidologie sera rompu par la force même des choses, par la nécessité de faire un pas décisif en avant qui soit conforme à l'esprit nouveau envahissant peu à peu les autres domaines d'activité humaine de nos jours.

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Paris.

LA LÉGENDE DE KERESĀSPA

Transcription des textes pehlevi, avec une traduction nouvelle et des notes philologiques

SI l'on veut étudier aujourd'hui la légende de Keresāspa, ce reste si intéressant d'une poésie mythologique autrefois plus riche, c'est en première ligne à la littérature pehlevie qu'il faut recourir. Tandis que l'Avesta actuel ne contient sur ce sujet qu'un résumé succinct et parfois obscur (Yašt, xix. 38-44) et quelques allusions occasionnelles (Yasna, ix. 10-11; Yašt, v. 37-8; xiii. 61; xv. 28; Vendidad, i. 9), nous trouvons, dans les Rivāyāt qui font suite au Dāstān i Dēnik, un long texte pehlevi qui raconte d'une façon assez détaillée les actions héroïques de Keresāspa. C'est donc un livre assez récent qui nous transmet la rédaction la plus explicite que nous connaissions de cette légende. Cependant, cette rédaction est beaucoup plus ancienne que le livre où elle se trouve. Le célèbre pehlevisant anglais E. W. West, qui le premier a présenté au public savant de l'Europe les matériaux pehlevi relatifs à Keresāspa, a reconnu¹ que le texte conservé dans les Rivāyāt est le résumé d'un chapitre de l'Avesta sassanide perdu, à savoir le 14^{me} fargard du Sūtkar nask dont on trouve une analyse détaillée dans le 9^{me} livre du Dēnkart. Par cette belle découverte, le texte des Rivāyāt a pris une importance toute particulière, et l'on doit savoir bon gré à West du service qu'il a rendu à la science en donnant une traduction anglaise intégrale du texte qu'il trouvait dans les Rivāyāt et du passage cité du Dēnkart.²

Pour son temps, cette traduction était un travail tout à fait remarquable, surtout si l'on considère les difficultés avec lesquelles le traducteur avait à lutter. Il est vrai que, pour contrôler son interprétation de certains passages, West pouvait utiliser un abrégé néo-persan du texte des Rivāyāt,³ mais en général il avait à exécuter son travail de son propre chef. Aucun de ces textes n'étant imprimé à cette époque, West a dû recourir à des manuscrits inédits. Comme le caractère de la collection 'Sacred Books of the East' ne lui permettait pas d'ajouter une transcription des textes persans, ses traductions sont longtemps restées, en Europe, la seule source d'information sur tout ce qui concerne le mythe important de Keresāspa.

Mais il va sans dire que les interprétations proposées par West, il y a cinquante ans, ne peuvent pas être définitives. A cette époque, l'étude du pehlevi était encore en son enfance, et chaque texte présentait, même à un connaisseur aussi excellent que West, des difficultés presque insurmontables. La connaissance du pehlevi a fait d'immenses progrès depuis le temps où il préparait ses traductions, tout d'abord—il ne faut pas l'oublier—grâce aux travaux auxquels West consacra toute sa vie, mais surtout après sa mort⁴

¹ *Sacred Books of the East*, xviii (1882), p. 372.

² *Ib.* 369-82.

³ Cet abrégé se trouve dans une vaste collection de décisions religieuses rédigée en néo-persan par les Parsis; c'est la collection éditée par Unvālā (v. plus bas).

⁴ E. W. West mourut en 1905.

grâce à l'heureuse découverte des textes manichéens de Turfan. En outre, nous avons aujourd'hui des éditions des documents que West utilisa en manuscrits. La communauté parsie de Bombay, inspirée par un noble désir de connaître à fond une littérature dont l'importance est capitale pour la vie religieuse et morale des Mazdéens, n'a épargné ni argent, ni efforts pour rendre accessibles ces documents vénérables; c'est grâce à ses soins incessants que nous pouvons lire aujourd'hui toute une série de textes qui occupent une place éminente dans l'histoire de la religion iranienne. Ainsi, Ervad Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar nous a fourni une édition critique très soignée des Rivāyāt.¹ Le 9^{me} livre du Dēnkart, accessible dès 1911 dans la reproduction de M. Madan,² est maintenant presque entièrement édité, transcrit et traduit par Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana;³ c'est dans le vol. xvii de cette dernière édition qu'on trouve le passage relatif à Keresāspa. Les décisions religieuses rédigées en néopersan ont été éditées par Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unvālā.⁴ Nous pouvons donc nous former nous-mêmes une opinion sur les textes étudiés par West, nous pouvons à chaque pas contrôler ses résultats. Certes, ce contrôle ne pourra en rien diminuer les grands mérites que tout le monde est unanime à reconnaître au grand savant anglais. En effet, si l'on compare ses traductions avec les originaux accessibles maintenant, on ne peut qu'admirer la perspicacité avec laquelle il a élucidé ces textes parfois obscurs, toujours embarrassants, l'habileté et l'énergie avec lesquelles il s'est frayé un chemin à travers ce maquis qui semblait alors presque impénétrable, la finesse avec laquelle il a su saisir les nuances de ces expressions, de ces termes alors si imparfaitement connus. Mais, d'autre part, il n'est pas difficile de voir que West n'a fait que commencer l'étude de ces textes. Les moyens que nous possédons maintenant pour analyser et traduire un texte pehlevi sont bien meilleurs que ceux qui étaient à la disposition de West. Il vaudra donc sûrement la peine de reprendre les études qu'il a dû laisser dans un état provisoire et inachevé. Si nous ne pouvons pas encore arriver à une solution définitive de toutes les questions que soulèvent les textes sur Keresāspa, nous pouvons en tout cas poser les problèmes avec plus de netteté et de précision. Voilà pourquoi je me suis décidé à publier ici une transcription intégrale du texte contenu dans les Rivāyāt, et à en donner une traduction nouvelle. Au service de mes lecteurs, j'ajouterai aussi une transcription et une traduction du passage du Dēnkart relatif à Keresāspa.⁵ En dédiant ce modeste essai au vénérable représentant de la com-

¹ *The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādīstān-ī Dīnīk*. Edited by Ervad Bamanji, Nasarvanji Dhabhar. Pahlavi Text Series, published by the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat Funds and Properties, No. 2, Bombay 1913.

² *The Complete Text of the Pahlavi Dinkard*. Published by 'The Society for the Promoting of Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion', under the supervision of Dhanjī shah Meherjī bhāi Madan. Bombay, 1911.

³ Dans la grande édition de Bombay de Dēnkart, dont il a paru jusqu'à maintenant 19 volumes.

⁴ *Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat*, by Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unvālā. With an Introduction by Shams-ul-ulma Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. Vols. I-II. Bombay, 1922.

⁵ Le vol. xvii de l'édition de Sanjana n'étant pas accessible à Uppsala, je me suis servi, pour ce passage, de la reproduction du texte du Dēnkart imprimée par M. Madan.

munauté de Bombay à qui ce volume est offert, j'espère lui offrir un cadeau qui, même s'il ne trouve pas sa pleine approbation, méritera peut-être d'attirer son intérêt.

Je donnerai tout d'abord le texte de l'exposé contenu dans le 9^{me} livre du Dēnkart sur le 14^{me} fargard du Sūtkar nask; ensuite je donnerai la légende de Keresāspa d'après les Rivāyāt. Quant à l'abrégé néopersan de la légende, je ne l'utiliserai que dans mes notes; on trouve maintenant ce texte dans le livre déjà cité *Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat*, i. 61-7.

Je ferai observer que je transcris partout le pehlevi d'après les principes formulés par le regretté Ch. Bartholomae, à savoir:

(1) les consonnes de l'iranien doivent être rendues conformément à l'orthographe pehlevie et non pas conformément à la prononciation postérieure à l'époque où cette orthographe a été fixée:

(2) la quantité des voyelles doit être marquée selon la prononciation réelle, établie à l'aide des anciennes langues aryennes et du néopersan;

(3) les mots sémitiques, qui sont en vérité des idéogrammes, doivent être remplacés par leurs équivalents iraniens.

Dans ma transcription, le signe + devant un mot indique que j'ai corrigé ce mot d'après ma propre conjecture; le signe * indique que ma façon de lire le mot n'est qu'hypothétique; enfin, les crochets < > indiquent que j'ai ajouté un mot qui ne se trouve pas dans le texte. Dans ma traduction, les parenthèses () indiquent que les mots français mis entre parenthèses n'ont pas de correspondant dans le texte persan.

LE CONTENU DU 14^{me} FARGARD DU SŪTKAR NASK, D'APRÈS DĒNKART IX (éd. Madan, p. 802, l. 14-803, l. 12).

TRADUCTION

14-om frakart 'at-fravašša'.¹

Le 14^{me} fargard 'at-fravašša'.

apar nimūtan i Ōhrmazd ō Zartuṣṣt
ruvān i Kirsāsp samakanihā,² u tars i
Zartuṣṣt hač hān samakanih;²

Comment Ormuzd montra à Zarathustra l'âme de Keresāspa (qui était) dans un état épouvantable; la peur de Zarathustra causée par cet état épouvantable;

u pašāmānih³ guftan i Kirsāsp hač
amārihā zatan i-š martōm <u> buržitan
i-š pahrēxtakān i hač vinās;

comment Keresāspa exprima son repentir d'avoir tué des hommes sans nombre, et comment il glorifia ceux qui se sont détournés du péché;

u čašm-ākāsih⁴ i-š hač dātār Ōhr-
mazd pat zatan i-š ātaṣš;

comment il fut convaincu par Ormuzd d'avoir battu le Feu de ce dernier;

u χ^uāstan i Kirsāsp hān i pahrom
aχ^uān pat hān kartārih

comment Keresāspa demanda la vie suprême en récompense des hauts faits suivants (à savoir):

*kā-š kušt +az⁵ <i> srūṣar, u stambakih i hān pityāarak,
u kā-š vānūt Gandarṣ i zairi-pāšnān,⁶ <u> škaftakih i hān druž,
u kā-š zat hunuṣak⁷ i +Nivikān <u> Dāštānikān, <u> garān anākih u vizand i hačašān,*

u kā-š rāmēnūt takik vāt hač gēhān ziyānih, apāč ō dāmān sūtih āṣurtan,

pat-ič hān i kā⁸ Dahāk hač band harzak⁹ bavēt u pat marnjēnitan i gēhān apar dvārēt u dām +apasihēnītārīh¹⁰ drāyēt,¹¹ avē uspēhēt¹² u pat vānitan i avē hān i vas-ōṣ druž ō gēhān dām +frahātēt,¹³

<u> hamēmārīh i ātaχš ō Kirsāsp pat must i patiṣ kart, u apāč dāstan i-š hač vahišt;

u adyārīh i gōšurun aviṣ pat āpātīh i patiṣ kart, u pātan i-š hač dōšaχ^u;

u χ^uādišn i Zartuχšt ō ātaχš apar āmurzitan i-š hač vinās;

u hanjātan¹⁴ i ātaχš hānē χ^uādišn u franaftan i Kirsāsp ruvān ō hamyast¹⁵ aχ^uān.

ahrādiḥ pahrom hast āpātīh.

qu'il avait tué le dragon cornu; la fureur de cet ennemi;

qu'il avait vaincu Gandarv aux talons jaunes; la monstrosité de ce démon;

qu'il avait battu la mauvaise engeance de Nivika et Dāstayāni; les graves malheurs et dommages causés par cette engeance;

qu'il avait empêché le vigoureux Vent de porter préjudice au monde, (et qu'il l'avait amené) à rendre de nouveau des services aux créatures;

enfin, pour prix de ce que, au moment où Dahāk sera délivré de ses liens et s'élancera en avant pour ravager le monde matériel et menacera d'exterminer la création, lui, (Keresāspa,) s'éveillera et viendra au secours de la création matérielle en vainquant ce démon qui possède beaucoup de force;

l'intervention du Feu contre Keresāspa par suite de la douleur que celui-ci lui avait causée, et comment le Feu lui refusa le paradis;

l'aide que Gōšurun donna à Keresāspa en raison du bonheur que celui-ci lui avait apporté, et comment Gōšurun le préserva de l'enfer;

comment Zarathustra supplia le Feu de pardonner le péché de Keresāspa;

comment le Feu accorda à Zarathustra ce qu'il demandait, et comment l'âme de Keresāspa entra dans l'existence mixte.

La justice est le suprême bonheur.

LA LÉGENDE DE KERESĀSPA D'APRÈS LES RIVĀYĀT

(éd. Dhabar, p. 65-74)

TRADUCTION

u paitāk kū ātaχš ētōn aršōmand i Ōhrmazd bē ō Zartuχšt guft kū: 'ruvān, kunīšn, gyāk, bōd, fravahr, hast—hān i kē vēh sahet kā bē vēnāh?'¹⁶

Il a été révélé que le Feu est tellement vénérable qu'Ormuzd dit à Zarathustra: 'A qui appartiennent l'âme, l'œuvre, le rang, la faculté de perception, l'esprit, l'être qui te semblent les meilleurs quand tu y regardes bien?'

u Zartušt guft kū: 'hān i +kai¹⁷ Krišasp.'

Ōhrmazd ruvān i Krišasp x^uāst, u ruvān i Krišasp dit-anākīh, i-š andar dōša^x dit ēstāt, rād bē ō Zartušt guft kū: 'Kāpul hērpat-ē būt ham, kē +Miθr u +Māh¹⁸ pat pušt hāh; zīvišn +x^uāstan rād pat gēhān hamē raft ham, u gēhān man zēšt pat čašm būt hāh, u gēhān +hač +varz¹⁹ i man tarsit hāh.'

u Ōhrmazd guft kū: 'bē ēst, ruvān i Krišasp! čē-m zēšt pat čašm hāh, čē-t āta^xš i man pus ōžat api-t pahreč nē kart.'

u ruvān i Krišasp guft kū-'m bē āmurz, Ōhrmazd! api-m hān i pāšom²⁰ a^xuān dah, api-m garōdmān bē dah! aš i srūvar bē ōžat i asp-ōpār i mart-ōpār,²¹ api-š dandān hand čand bāsūk i man būt, api-š gōš hand čand 14 namat²² būt, api-š +aš²³ hand čand vartēn-ē²⁴ būt, api-š sruv hand čand šāk²⁵ pat bālād būt. api-m čandē nēm rōč pat pušt hamē tačit ham, tāk-am sar bē ō dast kart, gadē ō gartan zat api-m bē ōžat. u hakar-am hān aš nē ōžat hāh, ah²⁶ hamāk dām i tō bē apasihēnit hāh, u tō hakurč čarak <i> Ahrimanē nē dānist hāh.'

Ōhrmazd guft kū: 'bē ēst, čē-t āta^xš i man pus ōžat.'

Krišasp guft kū: 'Ōhrmazd! hān-am <i> pāšom a^xuān garōdmān dah! čē-m Gandarβ bē ōžat, kē-š pat ē bār 12 dēh bē gart.²⁷ kā-m andar dandān i Gandarβ bē nikārit, ah martōm i murtak andar dandān ākust ēstāt. api-š rēš i man grift api-š bē <ō> zrah kēšit²⁸ ham, api-mān 9 rōč-šapān andar zrah kārē-čār dāšt, u pas man hač Gandarβ pātyā-

Zarathustra dit: 'A Keresāspa, le kai.'

Ormuzd appela l'âme de Keresāspa; et l'âme de Keresāspa, à cause des tourments vus par elle, (les tourments) qu'elle avait vus dans l'enfer, dit à Zarathustra: 'J'étais le *hirbed* de Kaboul, qui est protégé par Mihr et Māh; afin de chercher la vie je suis allé dans le monde, mais le monde était abominable à mes yeux, et le monde avait peur de ce que je faisais.'

Ormuzd dit: 'Retire-toi, âme de Keresāspa, car tu es abominable à mes yeux, parce que tu as tué mon fils, le Feu, et que tu n'as pas fait pénitence.'

L'âme de Keresāspa dit: 'Pardonne-moi, Ormuzd, et donne-moi la vie suprême, et donne-moi le Garōdmān! J'ai tué le dragon cornu qui dévorait les chevaux et les hommes, dont les dents étaient aussi grandes que mon bras, dont l'oreille était grande comme 14 nattes, dont l'œil était aussi grand qu'une roue(?) et dont la corne était aussi haute qu'un tronc d'arbre(?). Environ une demi-journée, je courus après lui; enfin, je mis sa tête dans ma main (= je le saisis par la tête), je lui frappai le cou avec ma massue, et je le tuai. Si je n'avais pas tué ce dragon, ta création entière aurait été détruite, et tu n'aurais jamais trouvé un remède contre Ahriman.'

Ormuzd dit: 'Retire-toi, car tu as tué mon fils, le Feu.'

Keresāspa dit: 'Ormuzd, donne-moi la vie suprême (qui est) le Garōdmān! Car j'ai tué Gandarv, qui avalait d'un seul coup douze provinces. Lorsque je regardai dans les dents de Gandarv, je vis des hommes morts accrochés aux dents. Il me saisit à la barbe, je fus traîné par lui à la mer; dans la mer, nous luttâmes

vandtar bût ham. api-m *tēz²⁹ pād i Gandarβ grift api-m tāk sar čarm bē hayt, api-m dast u pād i Gandarβ patiš bast api-m zrah bē ō bār kēšit,²⁸ api-m bē <ō> *Āxrūrak³⁰ apaspārt, api-m 15 asp kušt x^uart,³¹ u pat *āsāyak³² i stōr bē xuft³³ ham. u Gandarβ *Āxrūrak dōst kašit, api-š ēt i man šan kašit, api-š pit u dāyak³⁴ i man karšit. u hamāk martōm +man +hač xurm *guhārāyēnit ham³⁵ u āxist ham, u har gām-ē 1000 gām bē jāst ham. u hān i +kē³⁶ pād i man bē jāst, har čē-š patkōft, ah ātaxš andar ōpast. bē ō zrah šut ham, api-m avēšan apāč āburt hand, api-m Gandarβ grift u ōžat. hakar-am bē nē ōžat hāh, Ahriman apar dām i tō pātixšāh bût hāh.

Ōhrmazd guft kū: 'bē ēst, čē-m zēšt pat čašm <hāh>, čē-t ātaxš i man pus ōžat.'

Krišāsp guft kū: 'Ōhrmazd! vahišt <u> garōdmān bē dah! čē-m rāsdār ōžat hand, kē pat tan ētōn vazurg bût hand, i kā raft hand martōmān pat ēt dāšt kū-šan hačadar star u mäh api-šan hačadar x^uaš x^uaršēt ravēt; api-šan āp <i> zrah tāk ō zānūk bavēt. api-šan man tāk ō zang bût ham, api-m pat zang bē žat hand; avēšan ōpast hand api-šan kōf i pat samik škast. u hakar-am avēšan ōpastān rāsdār nē ōžat hand, Ahriman apar dām i tō pātixšāh bût hāh.'

Ōhrmazd guft kū: 'bē ēst, čē-m zēšt pat čašm hāh, čē-t ātaxš i man pus ōžat.'

Krišāsp guft kū: 'Ōhrmazd! vahišt u garōdmān bē dah! kām vāt raht³⁷ api-m stav kart. dēvān vāt bē frēft api-šan bē ō vāt guft kū: 'hač har dām-dahišn

l'un avec l'autre neuf jours et neuf nuits; après cela, j'eus l'avantage sur Gandarv. Vite, je saisis Gandarv par le pied, je l'écorchai jusqu'à la tête, et avec la peau, j'enchaînai les mains et les pieds de Gandarv. Je le traînai au bord de la mer, je le confiai à Akhrurak; ensuite, je tuai et je mangeai quinze chevaux, et je m'endormis dans l'abri des chevaux. Ensuite, Gandarv entraîna mon ami Akhrurak, il entraîna ma femme, il entraîna mon père et ma mère. Tout le monde vint m'éveiller de mon sommeil, je me levai, à chaque pas je sautai mille pas; partout où mon pied se plantait en faisant ces sauts, le Feu envahissait la place. J'arrivai à la mer, je ramenai ces personnes, je saisis Gandarv, et je le tuai. Si je ne l'avais pas tué, Ahriman serait devenu maître de ta création.'

Ormuzd dit: 'Retire-toi, car tu es abominable à mes yeux, parce que tu as tué mon fils, le Feu.'

Keresāspa dit: 'Ormuzd, donne-moi le paradis et le Garōdmān! Car j'ai tué les brigands, dont les corps étaient si grands que quand ils marchaient il semblait aux hommes que les étoiles et la lune fussent fixées plus bas qu'eux, et que le beau soleil marchât plus bas qu'eux; et l'eau de la mer ne leur montait que jusqu'aux genoux. Je fus sur leurs talons; je les frappai aux talons, ils tombèrent, ils brisèrent les montagnes de la terre. Si je n'avais pas tué ces misérables brigands, Ahriman serait devenu maître de ta création.'

Ormuzd dit: 'Retire-toi, car tu es abominable à mes yeux, parce que tu as tué mon fils, le Feu.'

Keresāspa dit: 'Ormuzd, donne-moi le paradis et le Garōdmān! Car j'ai épuisé et paralysé le Vent. Les démons avaient séduit le Vent, ils

*tō pātyāvandar; u ah ētōn mēnēh*³⁸ *kū* *kas hač man pātyāvandar nēst. Krišāsp* *apar ēn zamīk ravēt u dēvān u martō-* *mān tar mēnēt. u tō-ič kē vāt hāh, at*³⁹ *tar mēnēt.*” *vāt kā-š hān saχ*⁴⁰ *an ašnūt,* *ētōn saχt bē raft i-š hamāk dār u draχt* *i-š apar rās būt kand, api-š hamāk* *zamīk i-š apar rās būt, ah* ⁺*pērākanī-* *hūt*⁴⁰ *kart u tārikīh bē ēstāt. u kā ō man* *mat kē Krišāsp ham, ah pād i man hač* *zamīk apar dāstan nē tuvān būt. u man* *āχist ham api-m pat zamīk bē dāt, api-š* *pat har 2 pād pat* ⁺*marš*⁴¹ *ēstāt ham,* *tāk-aš pašt-ē bē kart kū:* “*apāč ō* *hačadar zamīk šavam, hān i Ōhrmazd* *framūt kū: zamīk u asmān dār! kunam,* *am bē nē hīlīh.*”⁴² *u hakar-am hān čiš* *nē kart hāh, Ahriman apar dām i tō* *pātiχšāi būt hāh.*’

Ōhrmazd guft kū: ‘bē ēst, čē-m zēšt *pat čašm hāh, čē-t ātaχš i man pus žat.’*

Krišāsp guft kū: ‘Ōhrmazd! vahišt *⟨u⟩ garōdmān bē dah! čē hač dēn ētōn* *paitāk kū kā Dahāk hač band rahihēt,* *ah čarak bē man an kas χ*⁴³*āstan nē* *tuvān. hān čim rād am vahišt u garōd-* *mān bē dah! u hakar-am vahišt ⟨u⟩* *garōdmān nē šayēt dātan, am amāvan-* *dīh u pērōžkarīh, i-m andar zīvandakīh* *būt, am apāč dah, čē kā-m hān ētōn* *amāvandīh u pērōžkarīh, ⟨i⟩ kā zīvan-* *dak* ⁺*būt ham am būt, apāč dahāh,* *Ahriman apāk dēvān bē ōžanam,* *tārikīh hač dōšaχ*⁴⁴ *kanam, nēvakōk* *rōšn bē kunam, api-š tanē*⁴³ *andar ōh* *nišnēt u andar ōh ravēt.*’

avaient dit au Vent: “c’est toi qui as le dessus sur la création entière; sois donc sûr que personne n’a le dessus sur toi. Pourtant, Keresāspa marche sur cette terre-ci et fait tort aux démons et aux hommes, et à toi aussi qui es le Vent, il te fait tort.” Ayant entendu ces mots, le Vent s’élança avec tant d’impétuosité qu’il déracina tous les arbres et tous les bosquets qui étaient sur sa route, et qu’il fit voler dans toutes les directions la terre qui était sur sa route; et il y eut des ténèbres. Mais lorsqu’il vint à moi qui suis Keresāspa, il ne put pas soulever mon pied de terre. Moi, je me levai, je le terrassai, je me plaçai avec mes deux pieds sur son ventre; enfin, il prit l’engagement que voici: “Je redescendrai sous la terre; ce qu’Ormuzd a ordonné en disant: soutiens la terre et le ciel! je le ferai, je n’y manquerai pas.” Si je n’avais pas fait cela, Ahriman serait devenu maître de ta création.’

Ormuzd dit: ‘Retire-toi, car tu es abominable à mes yeux, parce que tu as tué mon fils, le Feu.’

Keresāspa dit: ‘Ormuzd, donne-moi le paradis et le Garōdmān! Car il est établi par la religion révélée que quand Dahāk sera déchaîné de ses liens, personne ne pourra trouver un remède (contre lui) excepté moi. A cause de cela, donne-moi le paradis et le Garōdmān! S’il n’est pas possible de me donner le paradis et le Garōdmān, (du moins) rends-moi la force et la suprématie que je possédais dans ma vie; car si tu me rends la force et la suprématie que je possédais quand j’étais vivant, je tuerai Ahriman et les démons, je chasserai les ténèbres de l’enfer, je le rendrai bon et lumineux, et vous y résiderez seuls et vous vous y promenez seuls.’

Ōhrmazd guft kû: 'ēt-at nē daham, ruvān i Krišāsp! ēē martōmān vinās kunēndēh,⁴⁴ u tāk <i> kâ martōmān an vinās nē kunēnd, tō zivandak apāč nē šāyēt kartan, u apārik-ič martōm apāč zivandak nē +šāyā⁴⁵ kartan, ēē ristāxēz ētōn kunand kâ hamāk martōm avinās bē bavēnd. martōm kâ bē mīrēnd api-šān ruvān druvand, ašān hamāk āsānīh hilih⁴⁶ api-šān hamāk anākīh u dušx^uā-rīh kart bavēt.'

kâ Krišāsp kartārīh <i> x^uēs pat ēn advēnak guft bût, yazdān i mēnōkān u yazdān <i> gētīkān bē grist hand, u Zartušt i spitāmān bē grist; guft kû: 'kâ nē frēštār hāh, u man frēštār pat čašm hāh, Ōhrmazd, andar ruvān i Krišāsp? ēē kâ Krišāsp pat-tanōmand⁴⁷ u jānō-mand nē bût hāh, čis-ič dām i tō pat gētāh ēstišn nē bût hāh.'

kâ Zartušt hāmōš apāk⁴⁸ bût ēstāt, ātaχš bē avi pād ēstāt api-š vināskārīh i Krišāsp andar x^uēs bē guft api-š guft kû: 's man bē ō vahišt nē hīlam.'

ātaχš ēn hand gōβīšn guft bē ēstāt, u gōšurun dāt⁴⁹ bē ō pād ēstāt api-š guft kû: 'man bē ō dōšaχ^u nē hīlam, ēē-š pat man nēvakīh vas kart.'

gōšurun ēn hand saχ^uan guft bē ēstāt, Zartuχšt bē ō pād ēstāt api-š bē ō ātaχš namāč burt api-š guft kû: 'pahreč! tāk tō gīram⁵⁰ u kartārīh <i> tō andar gēhān bē gōβam u ō Vištāsp u Ĵamāsp bē gōβam kû: "bē nikīrēt kû ātaχš čiyōn hakanēn-gāh⁵¹ kart, kâ Krišāsp pat patit bē kart api-š bē āmurzūt".'⁵²

Ormuzd dit: 'Je ne te donnerai pas cela, âme de Keresāspa, car les hommes commettent des péchés, et avant que les hommes ne commettent plus de péché, il n'est pas possible de te rendre vivant, et il ne sera pas possible non plus de rendre vivants les autres hommes, car la résurrection ne se fera que quand les hommes seront exempts de péchés. Quand les hommes meurent et que leurs âmes sont pécheresses, alors il leur faut renoncer à tout repos, il leur est infligé toutes sortes de tourments et de damnations'.

Lorsque Keresāspa eut exposé de cette manière ses hauts faits, les dieux célestes et les dieux terrestres fondirent en larmes, et Zarathustra le Spitaman fondit en larmes; il dit: 'Quoique tu ne sois pas trompeur, Ormuzd, est-ce que tu me tromperas ouvertement au sujet de l'âme de Keresāspa? Car si Keresāspa n'était pas apparu corps et âme, rien n'aurait subsisté de ta création dans ce monde-ci.'

Lorsque Zarathustra se fut tu, le Feu se dressa sur ses pieds, il raconta le péché que Keresāspa avait commis envers lui, et il dit: 'Je ne le laisserai pas entrer dans le paradis.'

Le Feu ayant cessé de dire ces mots, le créateur Gōšurun se dressa sur ses pieds, et il dit: 'Je ne le laisserai pas entrer dans l'enfer, car il m'a fait beaucoup de bien.'

Gōšurun ayant cessé de dire ces mots, Zarathustra se dressa sur ses pieds, il se prosterna devant le Feu, et il dit: 'Laisse-le, afin que je te loue et que je raconte ton acte généreux dans le monde, et que je dise à Vištāspa et à Ĵamāspa: "voyez comment le Feu agit une fois, lorsque Keresāspa faisait repentance, et comment il lui pardonna!"'

NOTES PHILOLOGIQUES

1. *at-fravaṣṣya*: transcription pehlevie des mots avestiques *at fravaṣṣyā* qui commencent le ch. 40 du Yasna. Les trois premiers fargards du Sūtkaṛ nask sont nommés d'après les mots initiaux des trois formules sacrées du mazdéisme: *yaθā ahū vairiyo, ašəm vohū* et *yešhe hātəm*; les fargards suivants portent des noms dérivés des mots qui commencent les différents chapitres des Gāthās. Cela se répète, avec quelques variations, dans tous les autres nasks analysés par le Dēnkart.

2. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 et 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 sont des dérivés d'un adjectif 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, que je lis *samakan*. Le substantif d'où dérive cet adjectif est *sam* 'peur, frayeur', forme alternante avec *sahm* qui est peut-être plus fréquent. Quant à la terminaison 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, on semble d'accord pour la lire *-kun* et pour la rapprocher du thème du présent de *kartan kun* 'faire'. Cette lecture est cependant une invention moderne qui n'est confirmée ni par la tradition, ni par aucun fait dans les langues vivantes, et Salemann a eu raison de la rejeter (*Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, i. 1, 280). Comme l'a reconnu Salemann, la terminaison 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 est étroitement apparentée au suffixe *-gin* qui remplace toujours en Pazend ce 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, et qui survit dans quelques adjectifs néopersans, p. ex. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 'tous'. Or, ce *-gin* repose sans doute sur un ancien *-akēn* < **-akanya-*; 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 dont la graphie permet la lecture *-kan* aussi bien que *-kun*, doit donc représenter un suffixe *-akan* < **-akana-*, dont **-akanya-* n'est qu'un allongement. Il me semble très probable que c'est précisément cet *-akan* qui apparaît dans le suffixe arménien extrêmement fréquent *-akan*, élément évidemment emprunté à l'iranien.

3. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 peut être lu *pš'ym'nyh*, c.-à-d. *pašēmānīh* avec un alef superflu entre š et y. On trouve cependant constamment dans l'ancien manuscrit du Mēnōkē Xrat conservé à Copenhague,¹ la graphie 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = *pašāmānīh*, et il est bien probable que 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 de notre passage n'est qu'une altération graphique de cette dernière forme. Il est vrai que la forme courante de ce mot semble être *pašēmānīh*, mais *pašāmānīh* est aussi acceptable, et il représente probablement la formation originale. Il s'agit ici d'une différence dialectale que nous connaissons aujourd'hui grâce aux textes de Turfan. Ces textes nous montrent que le dialecte iranien du Nord-Ouest avait très souvent *-ā-* là où le dialecte du Sud-Ouest avait *-ē-*; on en trouve d'excellents exemples dans les composés dont le premier élément prend la terminaison du cas oblique: nord-ouest *bōšā-yar* 'sauveur', mais sud-ouest *bōšē-yar*.² Évidemment, *pašāmānīh* est à *pašēmānīh* ce que *bōšā-yar* est à *bōšē-yar*. Nous avons donc affaire à un composé dont le premier élément *paš* est réuni au dernier élément *-mānīh* à l'aide de la désinence du cas oblique *-ā* ou *-ē*. Ce mot *paš* ne peut, à mon avis, être séparé du mot *paš* attesté par les textes de Turfan au sens de 'derrière, arrière, après'. En effet, si on les identifie l'un avec l'autre, on obtient une étymologie excellente de *pašā-mānīh*, qui correspondra alors exactement au grec *μετά-voia*, littéralement 'ré-sipiscence'.³ Étymologiquement, le mot *paš* 'derrière' ne peut représenter que l'ancien *pasča*. Or, M. Tedesco a démontré d'une façon convaincante⁴ que le groupe *-šč-* a subi, dans les langues iraniennes du Ouest, un double traitement: dans le dialecte du Nord-Ouest il a abouti à *-š-*, dans le dialecte du

¹ et publié en facsimilé par M. F. C. Andreas, Kiel.

² Cf. Lentz dans *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, iv. 270 sq., où l'on trouve beaucoup de matériaux relatifs à ce problème. L'interprétation historique que M. Lentz propose de ces données n'est cependant pas acceptable.

³ On peut même se demander si *pašā-mānīh* n'est pas tout simplement un calque de *μετά-voia*.

⁴ Dans *Le Monde Oriental*, xv. 209 sq.

12. ~~uspēh-ēt~~ : le contexte exige ici un mot signifiant 's'éveiller; être ressuscité'. Je crois qu'il faut lire *uspēh-ēt*, que je dérive de **us-paḍya-* 'sortir', c.-à-d. du sommeil = 's'éveiller'. Le mot n'est pas relevé dans l'Avesta, mais l'avestique aussi bien que le sanscrit expriment l'action opposée 'se coucher; être couché' par *nī-pad-*. Pour 's'éveiller' le sanscrit emploie *ut-pat-*, tandis que *ut-pad-* signifie 'naître,

prendre naissance de'; dans l'avestique, par contre, c'est *us-pat-* qui signifie 'naître, prendre naissance'; dans les langues iraniennes, *us-pad-* a donc dû être réservé pour le sens 's'éveiller'. Le flottement entre *pad-* et *pat-* que l'on constate ici est très ancien et n'a rien de surprenant.

13. *frahātēt* 'est utile, est en aide à' se trouve aussi dans le Mēnōkē Xrat ii. 107. De cette formation Bartholomae a donné une analyse détaillée,¹ dont le résultat principal me semble sûr, bien qu'il soit susceptible d'être complété et précisé. Comme Bartholomae, je suppose qu'il s'agit d'un quasi-verbe seulement: il faut analyser *frahāt-ēt* qui signifie 'il est *frahāt*'. Ce *frahāt* est sans doute un nom qui a été employé originairement comme le prédicat d'une proposition nominale, et qui n'a pris le caractère d'un verbe que secondairement. Mais en jugeant de l'origine de ce *frahāt*, il faut tenir compte de ce qu'il peut refléter non seulement l'ancien nom d'action **fraḍāti-* 'aide', comme le veut Bartholomae, mais aussi le nominatif d'un *nomen actoris* **fraḍātar-* 'celui qui porte aide' (au nominatif **fraḍātā*). Il en est de même de tous les autres verbes analysés par Bartholomae. En outre, quelques-uns des verbes traités par lui ont un sens passif qu'il a méconnu; pour ceux-ci, il sera nécessaire de recourir encore à d'autres explications. La question de l'origine de cette formation est donc plus compliquée que ne le pensait Bartholomae.

14. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌: ce verbe signifie, comme l'indique le contexte avec évidence, 'accorder, agréer'. Selon toute vraisemblance, le mot contient donc le préverbe *han-*, et l'ensemble doit être lu *hanjātan*. Quant à l'étymologie, je pense que *han-jātan* repose sur un ancien **han-čā-* que je rapproche de l'avestique *kā-* 'avoir envie de, désirer', sanscrit *kā-* avec le même sens, mais aussi 'se réjouir de'. Étant donné ce sens du verbe simple, le composé aryen **sam-kā-*, iranien **han-kā-*, a pu aisément prendre le sens de 'consentir à, accorder'.

15. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌: il n'y a pas de doute que ce mot ne soit identique à l'élément constitutif du substantif 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌 = *hamēstakān* ou *hamīstakān*, désignation de la place intermédiaire entre le paradis et l'enfer. Or, ce *hamēstak-* ou *hamīstak-* remonte à **ham-miyasta-ka-*, c.-à-d. *ham* + *miyasta-*, participe de *myas-* 'mélanger', l'ensemble signifiant 'l'état ou l'existence mixte': c'est ainsi que le pehlevi rend la notion avestique *misvan-* qui dérive également de *myas-* (v. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, p. 1186 sq.). 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌 doit donc être analysé *hmyyst* (𐬨 = 𐬀 + 𐬎), c.-à-d. *ham-miyast* ou *hamyast* sans la contraction postérieure de *-iya-* en *-ī-* ou *-é-*.

16. 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌: je le lis *vēnāh*. Au point de vue grammatical, cette désinence 𐬨𐬀 est peut-être le trait le plus intéressant de tout ce texte. En général, on l'identifie tout simplement avec la désinence de la 2^{me} pers. du sing. de l'indicatif, à savoir 𐬨𐬀 = *ēh* dont elle serait une mauvaise graphie. Mais l'expérience que j'ai acquise des textes pehlevi m'a fait reconnaître qu'il faut toujours prendre la tradition des manuscrits beaucoup plus au sérieux qu'on ne le fait en général. Combien de finesses grammaticales et lexicales n'a-t-on pas méconnues en mettant au compte des scribes des formes qu'on n'a pas pu expliquer! Graphiquement 𐬨𐬀 signifie *-āh* et rien que cela; la forme *vēnāh* est donc la 2^{me} pers. du sing. du subjonctif. En effet, je crois pouvoir démontrer que le subjonctif est tout à fait justifié ici. L'examen minutieux des données historiques montre qu'il faut compter, dans le pehlevi, avec ce mode dans une mesure beaucoup plus large qu'on ne le croirait. J'essaierai d'esquisser les contours de l'important problème qui se cache ici.

Résumons tout d'abord ce que nous savons du subjonctif dans l'Avesta: M.

¹ Dans son article 'Arica XVII', publié dans les *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xxxviii. 1 sq.; l'analyse des formations en *-t-* se trouve, pp. 3-9.

Reichelt a donné sur ce sujet, dans son *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, pp. 313-18, un aperçu auquel j'emprunte les faits suivants:

(1) Le subjonctif avestique exprime une volition, une résolution prise par quelqu'un de faire quelque chose; il est aussi employé dans des phrases interrogatives pour exprimer une délibération.

(2) Il prend le sens du futur pur, dans des propositions subordonnées aussi bien que dans des propositions principales.

(3) Il est employé dans des propositions principales qui sont déterminées par une proposition conditionnelle irréalité: *yeidi zi azəm nōit daiḍyam* (optatif irréal) . . . *vīspō anhuš astvā airyanem vaējō frāšnōt* (subjonctif) 'si je n'avais rendu . . . tout le monde corporel se serait rendu dans l'Airyanem Vaējō'. Vendidad I. 1.

(4) Il apparaît dans des phrases qui expriment une expérience générale, une vérité valable partout: *yō . . . upairi hunarəm manō barāt, vīspəm aētəm paiti zrvānam astarəm urva kāšayāt* 'celui qui . . . pense de lui-même au-dessus de son mérite, tout le temps qu'il le fait, son âme en contracte péché', Fragment Tahmuras (= Pursišnihā) xxxvii.

(5) Enfin, le subjonctif remplace l'indicatif sans raisons apparentes: *ahmya vāše vazānte čaḍwārō aurvantō* 'quatre chevaux rapides traînent ce char (attelés à ce char)' Yašt, x. 125; de même au prétérit: *frā hē masdā . . . ratuḍwam barāt* 'Mazda confère la maîtrise spirituelle du monde à celui qui . . .' Yašt, x. 92 (interprétation de Bartholomae).

Examinons maintenant les formes en *u* que présente notre texte:

I. *u* désigne la 2^{me} personne.

(a) *kā-m hān ētōn amōvandih u pērōžkarīh . . . apāč dahāh, . . . bē ōžanam* 'si tu me rends la force et la suprématie . . . je tuerai' . . . *apāč dahāh* se réfère à l'avenir; le subjonctif est donc à sa place.

(b) *kā nē frēštār hāh, u man frēštār pat čašm hāh . . . ?* 'quoique tu ne sois pas trompeur, est-ce que tu me tromperas ouvertement . . . ?' La première phrase exprime une vérité générale; le subjonctif est donc tout à fait justifié; il l'est aussi dans la seconde phrase qui se réfère à l'avenir.

(c) . . . *hān i kē vēh sahēt kā bē vēnāh ?* 'à qui sont . . . qui te semblent les meilleurs quand tu y regardes bien?' Le proposition subordonnée n'est pas ici une phrase purement temporelle, mais elle est d'un caractère conditionnel: 'si tu y regardes bien'. Dans ce cas, le subjonctif a des parallèles avestiques: *yadā ašm zrvīm anhən mazdāšca ahurānō . . . išasā* 'si Aša est à invoquer, si Mazda et tous les autres ahuras sont à invoquer, procure-moi . . .' Yasna, xxxi. 4; *yaṭ mazdayasna baēšazāi fravazānte* (subjonctif) *katārō paurvō āmayānte* (subjonctif) 'si les mazdéens veulent pratiquer l'art de guérir, sur qui s'essaieront-ils d'abord?' Vendidad, vii. 36.

(d) *čē-m zēšt pat čašm hāh* 'car tu es abominable à mes yeux': ici le subjonctif remplace tout simplement l'indicatif. Il en est de même pour:

(e) *tō-tč kē vāt hāh* 'toi qui es le Vent', cf. *man kē Krišāsp ham* 'moi qui suis Keresāspa'. Nous venons de voir que l'Avesta présente déjà des exemples de cette confusion; il serait donc peu prudent d'en contester l'existence dans le pehlevi.

II. *u* signifie la 3^{me} personne.

Dès l'ancien temps, on avait dans les langues aryennes une double formation du subjonctif: avec les désinences primaires et avec les désinences secondaires. Vers la fin de la période qui précéda immédiatement celle du pehlevi, tous les verbes athématiques se sont transformés en verbes thématiques; à cette époque, on avait

donc pour le verbe 'être' deux formes de la 3^{me} pers. du sing. du subjonctif: **hāti* et **hāt*. **hāti* aboutit régulièrement à *hāt*; **hāt*, par contre, devait aboutir à *hāh*, de même que l'optatif **bvait* aboutit à *bēh* (attesté par les textes de Turfan). On s'attend donc dans le moyen-iranien à deux subjonctifs, *hāt* et *hāh*; et c'est en effet ce que nous trouvons. *hāt* est déjà bien connu: c'est un des auxiliaires dont on se sert pour former le conditionnel du passé, p. ex. Mēnōkē Xrat ii. 95: *hakar Kai-husravē uzdēs-cār i pat var i Čēčist nē kand hāt* . . . *adak patyārak etōn stahmaktar būt hāt kū* . . . 'si Kaikhusrav n'avait pas renversé le temple des idoles qui se trouvait dans le lac Čēčist . . . alors l'opposition (du mauvais esprit) serait devenue extrêmement violente, de sorte que . . .' Comme nous l'avons vu, l'Avesta emploie le subjonctif dans les périodes irréelles, mais seulement dans la proposition principale, tandis que le pehlevi en a étendu l'emploi aussi à la subordonnée. Pour *hāh*, c'est notre texte qui offre les exemples décisifs:

(a) *hakar-am hān aš nē ōšat hāh, ah hamāk dām i tō bē apasihēnēt hāh* 'si ce dragon n'avait pas été tué par moi, alors ta création entière aurait été détruite'. Sans aucun doute, *hāh* remplit ici la même fonction que *hāt* dans le passage du Mēnōkē Xrat. Rien de plus naturel donc que d'y voir deux variantes de la même forme qui est le subjonctif. On nous objectera peut-être qu'il existe un auxiliaire *hē(h)* qui est très répandu au conditionnel du passé, et qui a même survécu dans le *شروط* du néopersan (c'est l'ancien optatif thématique **hait*); et peut-être y trouvera-t-on une raison de plus de lire *ه* au lieu de *āh*. Mais pourquoi renoncer à une lecture tout à fait claire et naturelle quand la forme qui en résulte s'explique aisément et qu'elle est appuyée d'un parallèle aussi excellent que *hāt*?

Toutes les autres périodes conditionnelles irréelles de notre texte sont construites de la même façon que la précédente. Si le sujet est au pluriel, nous trouvons l'auxiliaire *hand*: *hakar-am avēšān nē ōšat hand* 's'il n'avaient pas été tués par moi'. Une fois *kā* est employé pour *hakar*: *kā Krišāsp nē būt hāh, čiš-ič* . . . *nē būt hāh* 'si Keresāspa n'avait pas été . . .'

(b) *gēhān man zēšt pat čašm būt hāh u gēhān* . . . *tarsīt hāh* 'le monde était abominable à mes yeux, et le monde avait peur . . .' Il semble que le subjonctif ait cette fonction aussi dans quelques passages de l'Avesta: *fraš ayanhō frasparaš yaēšantīm āpam parābhāt* (subjonctif = **parāhyāt*) 'il sortit en sautant de (la place où il se trouvait) sous l'airain, il renversa l'eau bouillante' Yasna, ix. 11; *hō avaθa vazata θri.ayarem θri.χšapanem paitiša nmānem yim χ'āpaiθim nōit aora avōirisyašt* (subjonctif, pour **ava-vrišyāt*) 'il alla ainsi trois jours et trois nuits durant, en route vers sa demeure, et il ne pouvait pas descendre' Yašt, v. 62. Dans ces exemples, nous trouvons deux phrases asyndétiques; la première phrase contient un verbe au prétérit racontant le fait principal, la seconde contient un verbe au subjonctif décrivant la situation qui en résulta. Il serait peut-être prématuré de tirer de ces exemples des conclusions trop positives sur l'origine de la construction pehlevie *būt hāh* 'était'; mais il ne me semble pas exclu qu'il y ait un rapport direct entre cette construction et l'emploi cité du subjonctif dans l'Avesta. Ce qui est plus important, c'est que la construction *būt hāh* 'était' a survécu; il me semble presque sûr que la forme néopersane isolée *گفتا* 'il disait' remonte à un **guft hāh*.

Dans le pehlevi de notre texte, la forme marquant la durée dans le passé est donc identique au conditionnel du passé. Ce phénomène se répète dans le vieux néopersan; le Chāhnameh dit:

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mille de chaque espèce se rassemblaient (c.-à-d. chaque jour, habituellement)'.

Ce آمندى est, comme on sait, aussi le conditionnel du passé.

(c) *kē Miðr u Māhē pat pušt hāh* 'qui est protégé par Mihr et Māh'. Ici *hāh* a le sens d'un présent marquant l'habitude, c.-à-d. qu'il fait fonction tout simplement de l'indicatif du présent. Le phénomène que nous avons constaté pour la 2^{me} personne se répète donc pour la 3^{me} personne.

Il est bien probable que cet emploi de *hāh* nous donne la clé d'un phénomène assez embarrassant des parlers modernes de la Perse centrale. Ici, la 3^{me} personne du sing. du verbe substantif a très rarement la forme (*h*)*ast*. A sa place, nous en trouvons d'autres qu'il semble absolument impossible de faire dériver de *hast*. Je donnerai, d'après Žukovskij, *Materialy dl'a izučenija persidskix narčij* I-II (Petrograd, 1888-1922), un petit tableau des formes les plus remarquables:

	Pour <i>hast</i> :	pour <i>ast</i> :	après voyelle:	pour <i>nīst</i> :
Keše	<i>hā</i>	-ā	-yā	<i>nīyā</i>
Kohrūd	<i>hā</i>	-ā	-gā	<i>nēhā, nīhā.</i>
Sengiser	(<i>dare</i>)	{ -e, -ā fem. -ō	{ -yā -yō }	
Šemerzād		-ā		
Abdū	{ <i>hā, hassā</i> (<i><hast-ā</i>)	-e, -ā	-ye, -yā	<i>nīe, nī.</i>
Talahedešk	(<i>hass <hast</i>)	-ā	-yā	<i>nīa.</i>

Je pense que toutes ces formes s'expliquent sans difficulté si l'on suppose qu'elles remontent à l'ancien subjonctif *hāh*, avec la négation *nē hāh*.

Au point de vue historique, *hāh* est une forme isolée. Dans les verbes polysyllabiques, les désinences secondaires durent disparaître, une fois que la tendance phonétique caractéristique du moyen-iranien commença à se faire sentir. D'un thème *vain-* 'voir' on avait originairement les formes **vaināti* et *vaināt* pour la 3^{me} pers. du sing. du subjonctif. **vaināti* aboutit régulièrement à *vēnāt*, qui est le subjonctif normal du moyen-iranien, mais *vaināt* ne pouvait aboutir qu'à **vēn*, forme tout à fait ambiguë et qu'il fallait écarter. Cependant, étant données dans la langue les deux formes alternantes *hāt* et *hāh*, il a été possible de restituer le subjonctif en -āh dans les verbes polysyllabiques: d'après le modèle de *hāh*, qui s'employait à côté de *hāt*, on créa une forme *vēnāh* à côté de *vēnāt*. En effet, nous trouvons dans le pehlevi de ces formes:

u apārik-ič martōm apāč zivandak nē šāyā kartan 'il ne sera pas possible de rendre vivants les autres hommes'. Il est vrai que la lecture *šāyā* n'est pas incontestable (v. plus bas), mais en tout cas ce n'est pas l'indicatif qu'on a voulu exprimer par la graphie. Le contexte exige le futur; c'est donc le subjonctif qui est à sa place. Un autre exemple se trouve dans le Bundahišn, éd. Anklesaria, p. 5, l. 8-9; *hakar artik nē sārēnēh, x^{at} nē akār u ō mār har 2-ān sūt afkārīhā* 'si tu ne commences pas la guerre, toi-même tu ne seras pas réduit à l'impuissance, et en sus, nous en aurons profit tous les deux'. *afkārīhā*, littéralement 'sera ajouté', est le subjonctif du thème passif *afkārīh-*.

17. **kai*: le texte porte 𐬕 = *kē*, mais il en résulte une construction assez gauche. Probablement 𐬕 est une transposition erronée d'un 𐬕 qui n'est pas nécessaire de lire *kē*, mais qui peut représenter aussi un *kai*. Ce dernier mot dérive de l'avestique *kavi-* qui désigne, on le sait, certains rois hostiles à la religion mazdéenne (en pehlevi 𐬕𐬀); je suppose donc que c'est là la leçon originale du passage.

33. יָשָׁם: West a commis ici une grave erreur en traduisant ce verbe par ‘tomber’ (‘I fell down’); évidemment, il a confondu יָשָׁם et יָשָׁם. Il est presque superflu de remarquer que יָשָׁם ne peut être lu que *xuft*, de *xuftan* ‘s’endormir’.

34. *dāyak* est étymologiquement identique au néop. دایه 'nourrice', mais la combinaison *pit u dāyak* nous montre bien que *dāyak* a ici le sens de 'mère'. En effet, nous trouvons cette acception du mot dans le kurde, comp. *dāik-u-bāb* 'parents', littéralement 'mère et père' dans le parler des Mukris, v. Mann, *Kurdisch-persische Forschungen*, iv. 3, I, p. 5, dernière ligne.

35. West a mal compris ce passage, qui présente, il est vrai, une corruption légère. Au lieu de 𐭠𐭣𐭥 il faut évidemment lire 𐭠𐭣𐭥 = *man hač*; pour le reste, il n'y a rien à changer. 𐭠𐭣𐭥 n'est pas ici le mot bien connu *χurram*, mais *χurm* 'sommeil', forme récente de *χumr* avec la métathèse régulière de *-mr-* en *-rm-* (cf. *narm* < *namra*-). *χumr* est attesté par les textes de Turfan; c'est aussi ce mot qui se cache sous la graphie 𐭠𐭣𐭥, considérée par le Frahang comme un idéogramme pour *χ'āβ*. Pour 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥 West propose une lecture tout à fait fantastique *dinhārēginiddō*, mot qui signifierait 'I took under my protection'. La réalité est beaucoup plus simple: il se cache ici un verbe du sens 'éveiller'. Pour obtenir ce verbe, il suffit de lire correctement ce qui est écrit ici, et rien que cela: *guhārāyēnūt*. *gu-* est l'ancien *vi-*, et *hārāy-* remonte à **hrārāy-* dont le premier *r* a disparu par dissimilation; **hrārāy-*, à son tour, est sorti de *γrārāy-*, où le second *γ* est tombé par dissimilation et le groupe initial *γr-* s'est transformé en *hr-* (cf. *hruftan* = *grifan* dans les textes de Turfan). Ce *γrārāy-* est garanti par la forme avestique *fra-γrārāyēiti* 'il éveille', Nīrangastān 10. La forme *guhārāy-* remonte donc à un ancien **vi-γrārāy-*.

36. Dans le texte 𐤆 𐤔 sans variantes. Avec West, je corrige 𐤆 en 𐤕 = *kē* qui est écrit ici, comme dans beaucoup d'autres passages, pour *kā* = 𐤕𐤔. *hān i kā* 'le fait que': v. plus haut, note 8. La construction est à analyser ainsi: 'quant au fait que mon pied faisait des sauts—partout où il se plantait, le Feu tombait là'.

37. *rayt* est probablement le participe passé du thème *ranj-* d'où *ranj* 'douleur, fatigue', *ranjak* 'fatigué, épuisé'. *raytan ranj-* doit donc signifier 'fatiguer, épuiser'.

38. 𐭪𐭭𐭮𐭭 serait *mynyh*, mais c'est probablement une faute pour 𐭪𐭭𐭮 = *mēnēh*. Je regarde cette forme comme un impératif: $\bar{e}(h) < -aya$ (forme active) ou $\bar{e}h < -ayahva$ (forme médiale); sur des impératifs de ce genre cf. Tedesco dans *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, ii. 306 sq.

39. 𐰽 à lire *at*, forme forte du pronom enclitique *-t*. On trouve de même *am* pour *-m*, *aš* pour *-š*, *ašān* pour *-šān*. Les textes de Turfan connaissent pour la 3^{me} pers. du sing. une forme forte *š*, avec deux points au-dessus, probablement à lire *aš*.

40. Le texte porte 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭭𐭮𐭭𐭮𐭭. Le sens ‘dispersé’ ressort du contexte; pour y arriver, il suffit de faire une émendation très légère: si l’on écrit 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭭𐭮𐭭𐭮𐭭𐭮𐭭 on obtient la forme *pērākanihit*, participe passé du thème passif de *pērākan*- < **pari-ā-kan*- = néop. 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭭𐭮𐭭𐭮𐭭 ‘dispenser’.

41. Corriger ~~du~~ du texte en *mlš* = *marš*, av. *maršū-* 'ventre', mot qui se disait seulement des êtres diaboliques.

42. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭡𐭩: dans mon *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, i. 13 sq., j'ai démontré que les graphies 𐭠 et 𐭡^o représentent -yh, c.-à-d. -ēh ou -ih. Ici, je suppose -ih, ce qui donne pour 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭡𐭩 la lecture *hilīh* 'abandonnement, manquement'. *am bē nē hilīh* 'il n'y a pas de manquement pour moi' est évidemment une manière d'exprimer 'je n'ai pas à y manquer', 'je n'y manquerai pas'. De même plus bas *ašān hamāk āsānīh hilīh*. C'est là, à mon avis, le vrai point de départ pour la formation du passif moyen-iranien.

43. 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *tanē* a probablement à peu près la même signification que *tanīhā* = néop. *tanhā* 'seul, en état isolé'.

44. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥: l'idéogramme d'un verbe peut seul représenter, comme je l'ai démontré dans mon *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, i. 10 sq., le participe du présent, dans ce cas donc *kunēnd*. 𐭠𐭣𐭥 est une désinence verbale qu'il faut lire *-ēh*, comme j'ai essayé de le prouver dans mon livre cité, p. 13 sq., l'ensemble sera donc à lire *kunēndēh*. Cette forme est un optatif périphrastique, comme nous l'apprennent maintenant les textes de Turfan. Ici cet optatif ne se distingue pas, quant à la signification, sensiblement de l'indicatif, phénomène assez fréquent mais que je ne peux pas discuter ici.

45. Tous les manuscrits portent 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥; le contexte exige le verbe 'pouvoir, être possible'; il s'agit donc du verbe *šāyitan*. Pour exprimer une forme quelconque de ce verbe, la graphie 𐭠𐭣𐭥 ne suffit cependant pas; il faut la corriger. Le contexte exige le futur; on s'attend donc au subjonctif; pour obtenir cette forme, on n'a qu'à écrire 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = *šāyā* ou peut-être 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = *šāyāh*. Pour l'emploi de ce mode cf. plus haut, note 16, vers la fin.

46. *ašān hamāk āsānīh hīlīh*: voir plus haut, note 42.

47. Je réunis *pat* comme préfixe au mot suivant, car en tant que préposition, *pat* n'a pas de fonction ici. Je crois que *pat-tanōmand* représente un allongement, fait à l'aide du suffixe très répandu *-ōmand*, d'un composé **pat-tan* 'qui a un corps; corporel', comp. p. ex. le néopersan 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 'qui a de l'intelligence; intelligent'.

48. *apāk* est ici = *apāc*.

49. Je fais dériver *dāt* ici de **dātā*, l'ancien nominatif de *dātar-*; à comparer *duxt* de **duxtar-*, *pit* de *pitar-* etc.

50. *gīram*: cette forme est notée par l'idéogramme exprimant *griftan* 'prendre', mais ce sens ne convient pas au contexte. Néanmoins, je crois que le texte est correct; seulement, malgré la graphie, il faut rattacher ce *gīram*, non pas à *griftan*, mais au thème *gar-* 'louer, glorifier' dont on trouve dans l'Avesta le présent *ā-yairya-* (Yašt, xiii. 50).

51. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥: je le lis *hakanēn-gāh*. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 signifie 'une fois', comme nous enseigne le Frahang i Pahlavik; la lecture *hakanēn* est certaine maintenant que nous connaissons la forme *āyanēn* relevée dans les textes de Turfan. *gāh*, mot assez fréquent, mais presque toujours méconnu, signifie 'fois'; il y a donc dans l'expression *hakanēn gāh* un pléonasme.

52. La légende est presque achevée ici. Comme le montre l'analyse du Dēnkart, le 14^{me} fargard du Sūtgar nask contenait encore un paragraphe racontant comment le Feu pardonna à Keresāspa, et comment ce dernier entra, non pas dans le paradis, comme il l'avait désiré, mais dans le *hamēstakān*. Ce paragraphe manque dans notre fragment. A sa place, nous trouvons un court dialogue entre Zarathustra et Ormuzd sur Keresāspa, mais ce passage n'a aucun rapport avec ce qui précède. L'attitude des deux interlocuteurs est différente: maintenant c'est Zarathustra qui manifeste de l'animosité contre Keresāspa, et Ormuzd qui se charge de le défendre. Il s'agit donc d'un fragment indépendant, ainsi que West l'a déjà reconnu. Ce fragment est fort intéressant, mais comme il contient quelques mots très embarrassants que je n'ai pas encore réussi à expliquer, je le laisserai de côté pour le moment.

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THE BACKGROUND OF THE PANTHEISTIC MONISM OF THE UPANIṢADS

THIS brief sketch does not intend to trespass either upon the domain of the psychologist or that of the student of Comparative Religion. The psychological basis of the mystic experience which culminates in the communion or union with the Deity (*unio mystica*) and the numerous and interesting parallels which abound in other religions will therefore be excluded. The treatment will be strictly confined to India and an attempt will be made to analyse and group together all those currents of speculative thought which may be regarded as forerunners of that pantheistic monism which the Chāndogya Upaniṣad sums up in the formula *tat tvam asi* and which still later finds its philosophical elaboration in the scholastics of the Vedānta.

1. *Monistic tendencies tending toward a simplification of the polytheistic pantheon in the Vedic hymns.*

(a) *The panegyrical hymns.* The chief aim of these hymns is the praise of a particular divinity with a view of securing its favour;¹ the lauding of the god serves as a *captatio benevolentiae*. It is but natural that such praise will tend to go beyond the bounds which limit the proper achievements of the particular god who forms the theme of such a eulogy and reach out into the spheres of other gods with the result that qualities and accomplishments which properly belong to other divinities are attributed to the god of the panegyrical hymn. The sharp lines of demarcation which separate the divine personalities are thus partly obliterated and the sphere of one divinity becomes merged in that of others.²

Two stages may be distinguished in this process.

First, there is a comparison of the god of the panegyrical hymn with other divinities: Agni illuminates with his brilliant rays heaven and earth like Sūrya (RV. vi. 4. 6), or Great Indra who through his might is rich in rain as Parjanya is strengthened by Vatsa's hymns (RV. viii. 6. 1).

Second, the god of the panegyrical hymn is identified³ with other divinities: Agni when being generated is Varuṇa, when kindled Mitra, he is Indra for the mortal who serves him with gifts (RV. v. 3. 1), or Agni is identified with Indra, Viṣṇu, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Tvaṣṭar, Rudra, Pūṣan, Savitar, Ṛbhu, Aditi (RV. ii. 1. 3-7; 10-11).⁴ The same idea is occasionally expressed by saying that all the other gods are in Agni (RV. v. 3. 1) or that the gods have become

¹ Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 1894, p. 3.

² Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 1894, p. 100, note 1; Arbman, *Rudra* (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1922), p. 3 with note 3; Bloomfield, *Rig Veda Repetitions*, Part II (Harvard Oriental Series, xxiv), p. 575.

³ For a similar transition from comparison to identification cf. H. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellung der alten Aegypter*, 1926, p. 126.

⁴ Oldenberg, *Lehre der Upanishaden*, 1915, p. 37; *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, 1919, pp. 112, 123.

unified in the Sun (AV. xiii. 4. 13) or that they have taken their stand in Indra (ŚB. i. 6. 3. 22) or that they have entered Agni (TS. vi. 2. 2. 6).

It is true that such identifications are really rhetorical devices rather than the considered expression of religious concepts. No attempt is here made permanently to replace the other divinities by the one god¹ or permanently to merge the other gods in one pre-eminent deity.² But in these panegyric hymns the god who forms their theme temporarily so completely fills the field of vision of the poet that, for the time being, he leaves no room for any equals. Yet, however transitory are these identifications and however rhetorical is their character, they prepare the way for those speculations which seek unity behind the multiplicity of the gods of the Indian pantheon.

(b) *The fading of the divine personalities through the magic conception of the sacrifice.* This process of fusion of the different gods would have been successfully arrested if the Vedic divinities had maintained their clearly defined individuality and character. But in the transition period from the early Vedic hymns to the Brāhmaṇas there is, in the priestly literature, a noticeable weakening in the individualization of the gods and an increasing vagueness in their characterization.³ The reason for this fact, which has frequently been noted, must ultimately be sought in an increasing lack of interest on the part of these priestly authors in the concrete figures of the old pantheon which, in turn, is due to a change in the priestly conception of the sacrifice.⁴ More and more the sacrifice ceases to be a devotional act through which the favour of an independent divinity is to be obtained, and it becomes a magical process which achieves its results *ex opere operato*.⁵ The gods are no longer independent sovereigns who act according to their own will and pleasure, but they become more and more mere agents⁶ whose actions are no longer free but determined by the magic of the sacrifice. From being a suppliant the priest turns into a magician who through the special powers vested in him and through his special knowledge directly, by means of the sacrifice, influences the course of events. The gods are thus reduced to mere accessories of the ritual⁷ which absorbs them; their divine power is weakened to such an extent that the gods themselves must resort to the sacrifice⁸ in order to accomplish their desires. Under such circumstances it makes very little difference which particular god serves as agent in the performance of a given magic rite;⁹ the distinctive functions which limit the spheres of different gods fade away and

¹ As when the Babylonian Marduk replaces older divinities, cf. Ungnad, *Religion der Babylonier und Assyrier*, pp. 5, 9, 25.

² A process described by Usener in his *Götternamen* for Greece.

³ Arbman, *Rudra*, pp. 1-5.

⁴ Arbman, *Rudra*, p. 95; Oldenberg, *Lehre der Upanishaden*, pp. 14, 17; *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, p. 149.

⁵ Lévi, 'La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas', 1898 (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Religieuses*, xi). On the difference between magic and religion, cf. Hempel, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, New Series, iv, 1925, p. 101, note.

⁶ Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, p. 154.

⁷ Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, p. 13; Arbman, *Rudra*, p. 96.

⁸ Arbman, *Rudra*, pp. 96, 98.

⁹ Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, p. 15.

the barriers which keep the divine personalities apart from one another are broken down.

(c) *The speculative hymns.* Such a soil is favourable to the growth of monistic speculations. A poet asks (RV. x. 88. 18) how many Agnis, how many Sūryas, how many Dawns there are, and a hymn in the Appendix to the eighth book (RV. viii. 58 [Vāl. 10]. 2) answers: There is but one Agni, though kindled in many places, one Sūrya extended over everything, one Dawn shines over this all.

And if thus the different Agnis, Sūryas, and Dawns are in reality only the daily manifestations of one Agni, one Sūrya, one Dawn, may not the different gods of the pantheon be similarly conceived as so many appellations of a single deity? Such reasoning inspires the verse (RV. i. 164. 46): 'They call it Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni; likewise it is the heavenly well-winged Garutmant [the Sun]; that which is one the wise designate by different names, they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan.'

(d) *The divine power of assuming many shapes (māyā).* Such speculations find their support in the old mythological concept of the divine power which enables a god, notably Indra (RV. iii. 53. 8; vi. 47. 18), to assume many shapes.¹

2. Monistic tendencies in the Brāhmaṇas tending toward a simplification of empirical multiplicity.

(a) In the Brāhmaṇas the tendency to see oneness behind the empirical multiplicity of the phenomenal world increases. There it is not confined to the pantheon as when in a theological disputation (ŚB. xi. 6. 3; JB. ii. 76-7) the number of divinities is step by step reduced from three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine to one,² but profane multiplicities are treated in the same way. Thus the number of days in a year is reduced to one (ŚB. xii. 2. 2. 23); the seasons to one, viz. the rainy season (ŚB. ii. 2. 3. 7 Mādhy. rec. = i. 2. 3. 5 Kāṇva rec.); all animals to the genus cattle (ŚB. xiii. 3. 2. 3). Occasionally this same idea is expressed by the statement that one single entity typifies³ a multiplicity of entities; thus each separate season typifies all the seasons (ŚB. viii. 7. 1. 3), or the goat typifies all animals (TS. v. 5. 1. 2-3). The idea assumes a still different form of expression when it is said that one single entity enters⁴ a multiplicity of entities; thus Agni entered (*praviśat*) into man, horse, cattle, sheep, and goat and thus became (*abhavat*) these five animals (ŚB. vi. 2. 1. 1).

(b) The effect of this monistic tendency is especially noticeable in regard to

¹ Hillebrandt, *Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xiii, 1889, p. 317; *Vedische Mythologie*, iii. 172; the author, *Journal American Oriental Society*, xviii. 38; xxvi. 177, note, 192, 195, 340; *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, xv, 1909, p. 190.

² Cf. further the frequent identification of all the gods with Agni (AB. i. 1. 4; TS. vi. 2. 1. 7; 2. 2. 6; TB. iii. 2. 8. 10; K. x. 1, p. 125, 9; MS. ii. 1. 7, p. 8, 6 and 14; Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, p. 14) and the Brāhmaṇical development of Prajāpati Oldenberg, loc. cit., p. 26).

³ On *rūpa*, cf. Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, pp. 106, 114.

⁴ Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, pp. 108, 173.

the human senses. One sense is selected from among the rest ¹ and supremacy over the others is ascribed to it. In the frequently repeated story of the Dispute of the Senses (*prāṇasaṁvāda*) this role is assigned to breath (*prāṇa*) because (1) man continues to live though bereft of speech, hearing, sight, &c. (Ait. Ār. ii. 1. 4; Bṛh. Ār. Up. vi. 2, Kāṇva rec.; Chānd. Up. v. 1; Kauṣ. Up. ii. 12-14; 3. 2); (2) in sleep all the other senses cease functioning (AV. x. 4. 25; ŚB. x. 5. 2. 15) but breath is ever awake (AV. xi. 4. 25); (3) through lack of food the other senses are impaired (Chānd. Up. vi. 8. 1; vii. 9. 1); and (4) if there were not a unifying principle behind the senses it would be impossible to form a simultaneous percept through the senses of sight, hearing, touch, smell, &c. (Kauṣ. Up. iii. 2). The same idea, differently phrased, is found at ŚB. x. 3. 3. 6, which states that, during sleep, speech, sight, mind, and hearing enter into breath and, on waking, emerge again out of it (cf. Kauṣ. Up. ii. 13). Breath is therefore at Chānd. Up. iv. 3 designated by a gambling term ² as the 'Gatherer-in' (*saṁvarga*). Later the Ātman assumes the part of sovereign over the other senses, and in a number of passages it is distinctly stated that it is the Ātman who, acting through the other senses as his instruments, really sees, hears, thinks, speaks, &c. (Bṛh. Ār. Up. i. 4. 7; ii. 4. 11; Chānd. Up. viii. 12. 4).³

3. Identification of macrocosm and microcosm.

(a) The connexion of certain organs or functions of the human or animal body with macrocosmic entities is old and frequent. A funeral litany (RV. x. 16. 3; cf. Lanman, *Sanskrit Reader*, Notes, p. 379) bids the sight of the departed to go to the sun, his vital breath (*ātman*) to the wind (cf. AV. xviii. 18. 2. 7; Tait. Ār. vi. 1. 4; 7. 3);⁴ AV. v. 9. 7 identifies sight with the sun, breath (*prāṇa*) with the wind (cf. K. xxxvii. 15, p. 95, 10; xxxvii. 16, p. 96, 12; ŚB. x. 3. 3. 6-8), the vital breath (*ātman*) with the atmosphere, the earth with the body; a Khila of the Rigveda (Scheftelowitz, p. 154, no. 3) bids sight to go to the sun, breath (*prāṇa*) to the wind, life (*asu*) to the atmosphere, hearing to the quarters, the body to the earth. In a spell to prolong life (AV. viii. 2. 3) breath (*prāṇa*) is taken from the wind, sight from the sun. In a prose passage of the Atharva Veda (xv. 18. 1-4) the right eye of the Vṛātya is identified with the sun, his left eye with the moon, his right ear with the fire (*agni*), his left ear with the cleansing wind (*pavamāna*), day and night are his two nostrils, Diti and Aditi his two skull-halves, the year is his head. In another passage (AV. ix. 50. 20) this earth became the breast of the primal he-goat (*aja*), the sky its back, the atmosphere its middle, the quarters its two sides, the two oceans its paunches. A long list of similar identifications is given for the sacrificial horse at TS. vii. 5. 25; ŚB. x. 6. 4. 1; Bṛh. Ār. Up. i. 1, Kāṇva rec.; TB. iii. 9. 23. The same parallelism lies at the bottom of the *adhidaivatam* and *adhyātmam* passages.⁵

¹ Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, pp. 66, 85.

² Lüders, *Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akademie*, 1916, p. 278.

³ At Ait. Ār. iii. 2. 4 (in fine) the *antarapuruṣa* takes the place of the Ātman.

⁴ Cf. Bṛh. Ār. Up. iii. 2. 13, Kāṇva rec., where the cosmic entities into which the parts of the human body enter are enumerated in detail.

⁵ Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, p. 57.

(b) *Puruṣa and Ātman*. A further connecting link between microcosm and macrocosm is furnished by the two *termini technici* *Puruṣa* and *Ātman* which serve at the same time as designations for the highest microcosmic and macrocosmic principles.

1. *Puruṣa* as the primal cosmic principle occurs as early as RV. x. 90. In this cosmogonic hymn the moon is born from his (the *Puruṣa*'s) mind, the sun from his sight, Indra and Agni from his mouth, the wind from his breath, the atmosphere from his navel, the sky from his head, the earth from his feet, the quarters from his hearing. Similarly Ait. Ār. ii. 1. 7 speaks of the unfoldings (manifestations, *vibhūṭayah*) of the *Puruṣa*: by his speech were created the earth and Agni, by his breath the atmosphere and Vāyu, by his sight the sky and the Sun, by his hearing the quarters and the Moon, by his mind the waters and Varuṇa.

But by the side of this primal cosmic *Puruṣa* we find the term *Puruṣa* also used to designate the animating and directing principle which dwells in man and other objects of the empirical world. The Brāhmaṇas and frequently the Upaniṣads refer to a *Puruṣa* in the sun (ŚB. vii. 4. 1. 17; x. 5. 2. 3; 7; 13; 23; Bṛh. Ār. Up. ii. 1. 2; ii. 3. 5; iii. 9. 12, Kāṇva rec.; Chānd. Up. i. 6. 6; iv. 11. 1; Kauṣ. Up. iv. 3; Jaim. Up. Br. i. 25. 10), in the lightning (Bṛh. Ār. Up. ii. 1. 4; ii. 5. 9; Chānd. Up. iv. 13. 1; Kauṣ. Up. iv. 5; Jaim. Up. Br. i. 26. 8); in the human eye (ŚB. iii. 1. 3. 11; x. 5. 2. 1; xii. 9. 1. 12; Bṛh. Ār. Up. iii. 3. 5; iv. 2. 2; v. 5. 2; Chānd. Up. i. 7. 5; iv. 15. 1; viii. 12. 4; Kauṣ. Up. iv. 18; Jaim. Up. Br. iv. 24. 12-13). In a hymn recited at the breaking up of a house occurs the verse (AV. ix. 3. 12): 'Obeisance to the domestic fire (*agni*) as it proceeds out of the house and obeisance to thy *Puruṣa*'; the house is here conceived as inhabited by its own spirit and thus personified as at ŚB. ii. 4. 1. 14, Mādhy. rec. = i. 4. 2. 9, Kāṇv. rec., where it is said to tremble with anxiety on the return of the master.¹

2. *Ātman* very early assumes the meaning of the psychic principle, 'the soul', which senses and sustains life, as contrasted with the body (*tanū*). Thus, RV. i. 162. 20, addressed to the sacrificial horse as it approaches the place of slaughter, prays: 'May not thy dear *ātman* (cf. *φύλον ἡρόν*) be disquieted, may not the axe hurt the parts of thy body (*tanvāḥ*, plur.). RV. x. 97. 8 extols the power of healing herbs which seek as their booty the *ātman* of the ill man, i.e. which are desirous to wrest away the life-principle of the ill man from the demon of illness as warriors wrest booty from their vanquished enemies. The term *ātman* thus comes to mean the principle which animates and directs the objects of the empirical world. RV. iv. 53. 6 calls Sūrya the ruler (*vaśin*) of the movable and immovable objects of the world, a thought which RV. i. 115. 1 expresses by the phrase 'the *ātman* of that which moves and that which does not move'. ŚB. xiv. 3. 2. 1 calls the sacrifice 'the *ātman* of that which exists and of all the gods', because, according to the priestly view, all beings and the course of events rest upon and are governed by the magic potency of the sacrifice.

¹ Originally the *Puruṣa* is conceived of as a small man of the size of a span (K. x. 4. p. 128, 11; xi. 5, p. 149, 16) or of a thumb (Tait. Ār. x. 38. 1 and cf. Colonel Jacob's Concordance, s.v. *aṅguṣṭhamātra*).

The term Ātman thus usurps one-half of the meaning of the older Puruṣa, and soon the other half, viz. that of the primal cosmic principle, is also covered by Ātman. In the Upaniṣads this process is practically completed, but there are still traces which show the gradual ousting of the term Puruṣa by Ātman. Referring to the cosmogonic Puruṣa hymn RV. x. 90 the Bṛh. Ār. Up. i. 4, Kāṇv. rec., says: 'In the beginning this all was the Ātman in the shape of the Puruṣa'; the Upaniṣad has substituted Ātman for the Rīgvedic Puruṣa, but the older term has found refuge in the qualifying adjective. In the long dogmatic piece Bṛh. Ār. Up. ii. 1 (cf. Kauṣ. Up. iv. 2) a sudden break occurs in the middle; the first half of the discussion centres around the Puruṣa, then the Ātman takes its place (Bṛh. Ār. Up. ii. 1. 23, Mādhy. rec. = 20, Kāṇv. rec.; cf. Kauṣ. Up. iv. 20). Similarly Bṛh. Ār. Up. ii. 3 deals in its first nine paragraphs with the Puruṣa, but in paragraph ten there follows a series of expressions which are characteristic of the Ātman dialogues of Yājñavalkya. A comparison of the two versions of Bṛh. Ār. Up. iv. 3-4 shows that here an old Puruṣa piece has been worked over and adapted to the new terminology. Apart from such traces, however, the term Ātman in the Upaniṣads has assumed both meanings of the older Puruṣa and denotes both the microcosmic and the macrocosmic primal principles.

As regards the term Ātman there is finally a grammatical peculiarity which tends toward monism, viz. the use of this word as *singulare tantum*¹ even when it has clearly nominal force, as in the sacrificial formula TS. iv. 2. 4. 1 where we find the singular *ātman* parallel to the plurals 'bodies' (*tanuṃ*) and 'hearts' (*hṛdayāni*).

4. Cosmogonic speculations. The qualitative identity of macrocosm and microcosm. The identity of the *causa materialis* and the resultant product.

The scholastic writers agree in laying down the rule that the product (*kārya*) is in substance identical with its *causa materialis* (*upādānakāraṇa*), since the former is only another state (*avasthāntara*) into which the latter has passed.² From this logical rule it follows that it is possible to determine the substantial essence of every phenomenal object if its *causa materialis* is known.³

¹ The author, *Syntax of Cases in the Narrative and Descriptive Prose of the Brāhmaṇas*, i, 1926, § 59, Ex. 175, Rem., pp. 184-8.

² Rāmānuja on Vedānta Sūtra, i. 4. 23: 'The product does not differ in substance from its *causa materialis* but is identical with its *causa materialis* which has merely passed into another state' (*kāraṇam eva 'vasthāntaram āpannam kāryam na dravyāntaram*); Śāṅkara on Vedānta Sūtra, ii. 1. 14: 'It is not proper to assume a difference in substance for the product on the one hand and its *causa materialis* on the other. . . . It is held that in truth the product does not differ in substance from its *causa materialis* and that the assumption of such a difference would sublate the very existence of the product' (*kāryakāraṇayor ananyatvam avagamyate . . . kāraṇāt paramārthato 'nanyatvam vyatirekeṇā 'bhavaḥ kāryasyā 'vagamyate*). In this respect the *causa materialis* (*upādānakāraṇa*) differs from the *causa efficiens* (*nimittakāraṇa*) for which such substantial identity with the product does not exist, for it is clear that the carpenter differs in substance from the house which he builds (cf. Śāṅkara on Vedānta Sūtra, i. 4. 23: *nimittakāraṇād avyatiṛekas tu kāryasya nā 'sti, loke takṣṇaḥ prāsādayatiṛekadarśanāt*).

³ Śāṅkara on Vedānta Sūtra, i. 4. 23: 'Thus the knowledge of everything is made possible through the knowledge of its *causa materialis*' (*tac co 'pādānakāraṇavijñāne sarvavijñānam sambhavati*).

The older literature does not formulate this principle in this exact form, but in substance it forms the basis of Chāndogya Upaniṣad, vi. 1. 3, that from a single piece of clay everything that is made of clay may be known, since the product differs from its *causa materialis* only in form and name.¹ And it can be traced far beyond the Upaniṣads. Inasmuch as food generates living beings (Tait. Ār. viii. 2. 1, *annād bhūtāni jāyante; annād vai prajāḥ prajāyante*) food is identified with our body (RV. x. 107. 7, *dakṣiṇā 'nnaṁ vanute yo na ātmā*). Similarly food, because it is the material cause of life, is identified with the life-breath (AB. vii. 13. 8, *annaṁ ha prāṇaḥ*; TB. ii. 8. 8. 3, *annaṁ prāṇam, annam apānam āhuḥ*). Because animals were created from the *prāṇāḥ* of the Creator they are identical with the *prāṇāḥ* (ŚB. vii. 5. 2. 6). The year (i.e. time) is identified with death because it causes death (ŚB. x. 4. 3. 1). Water is identified with order, because where there is abundance of water order reigns, but when there is a drought the stronger seizes upon the weaker and disorder prevails (ŚB. xi. 1. 6. 24). At AV. xix. 42. 1 (*brahma yajñāḥ*) and at AB. vii. 22. 4 (*brahma vai yajñāḥ*) the sacrifice is identified with the *brahman* because it is the product of the magic power inherent in the sacrificial formulae and actions (*brahman*), and the black antelope skin is identified with the sacrifice (ŚB. vi. 4. 1. 6; TS. v. 4. 4. 4) because it typifies the *brahman*. Because this whole empirical world rests upon the sacrifice and its ordered course directly depends on the sacrifice (ŚB. iii. 6. 3. 1) the sacrifice is regarded as the *ātman* of all beings and all gods (ŚB. xiv. 3. 2. 1). And because the sacrifice, in turn, rests upon the *brahman*, this whole Universe is identified with the *brahman* (Chānd. Up. iii. 14. 1, *sarvaṁ khalv idaṁ brahma*).

Hindu cosmogony knows of no *creatio ex nihilo*, but the act of creation is always conceived as a projection out of the body of the Creator: the Creator, by whatever term he may be designated, emits (*ṣṛj*²) or brings forth, begets (*jan*) or fashions (*mā + nis*;³ *takṣ + nis*⁴) the creation out of his own substance. For this reason every Hindu cosmogony is forced to assume the substantial identity of the creation with its creator, because in the act of creating the substance of the creator merely passes into another state.⁵ This is either tacitly assumed, as in the Puruṣa hymn (RV. x. 90), or explicitly stated, as at Bṛh. Ār. Up. i. 4. 5, Kāṇv. rec., where the cosmic principle Ātman 'recognized: "I am the creation (*ṣṛṣṭi*) because I have created (*aṣṛṣṭi*) this Universe."⁶

Upon this basis rests the cosmogonic proof of pantheistic monism which the sixth book of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad furnishes. Though typically Upaniṣad-like in its unsystematic character the following essential points are clearly set forth: Only the *sat* (the *ens realissimum*) existed in the beginning (vi. 2. 1). From this *sat* successively emanated (*ṣṛj*) the three secondary elements, viz. from the *sat* heat (*tejas*), from heat water (*āpaḥ*), from water food (*anna*) (vi. 2. 3), which are respectively characterized by their colours (*rūpa*), viz. red,

¹ *yathā, somyai, 'kena mṛtipiṇḍena sarvaṁ mṛtmayaṁ vijñātaṁ syād, vācā 'rambhaṇam vikāro nāmadheyaṁ, mṛtike 'ty eva satyam.*

² Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, p. 168.

³ Oldenberg, loc. cit., p. 170.

⁴ Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 457.

⁵ *kr + vi-ā*, Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, p. 173.

⁶ Oldenberg, loc. cit., p. 116, note 1.

white, and black (vi. 4. 1). All empirical objects are composed of these three secondary elements (vii. 4. 1-4; 5. 1-4) and may therefore be reduced to them (vi. 4. 6-7; 8. 4¹); and since the three secondary elements (*tejas*, *āpaḥ*, *anna*) themselves successively proceeded from the *sat*, all empirical objects, macrocosmic as well as microcosmic, have the *sat* as their real ultimate substance (vi. 8. 4), in the *sat* they have their ultimate origin (*mūla*, 'root' = *causa materialis*). And hence it follows that any empirical object, however novel it may be in regard to outward form and name, may be at once known as regards its true substance (vi. 1. 2; 4. 5).

In the preceding paragraphs an attempt has been made to sketch as briefly as possible the ground upon which the pantheistic monism of the Upaniṣads grew. An investigation of the literary remains antedating the Upaniṣads shows it to be the result of a slow but steady development, the final outcome of the combination and weaving together of various strands whose origin may be traced back to the Vedic hymns and subsequent early Brāhmaṇical speculations all tending in the same direction.²

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¹ At Chānd. Up. vi. 8. 3-6 *suṅga* takes the place of the later *kārya* and *mūla* that of the later *upādānakāraṇa*, Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, p. 161.

² Edgerton, *Journal American Oriental Society*, xxxvi, 1916, p. 202; Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, p. 8.

A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE BEHISTŪN INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS

THE discussion of the chronology of the Great Behistūn Inscription of Darius entered upon a new phase with the proof by Weissbach (*ZDMG.* lxi. 723-4), from the Babylonian text as published in King and Thompson's edition, that the Old Persian words *hamahyāyā θarda* (col. iv, lines 4, 41, 45, 52, 60) were to be interpreted as 'in the same year'.¹ Weissbach arranged, accordingly, the campaigns of Darius against the nine rebels or pretenders to the throne, whom he claims to have subdued 'in the same year' (col. iv, § 52), in such a way as to bring the events as nearly as possible within that space of time; but even so they occupy in his reckoning a year and a half, from the murder of Gaumāta on the 10th of the Persian month Bāgayādish (29 Sept. 522) to the defeats of the Parthian and the Persian rebels on the 1st and 5th respectively of Garmapada (April 3 and 7, 520).² That this scheme did not conform to the words of Darius was admitted by Weissbach, who, disliking to charge such a staunch upholder of the truth with a lie, merely reproached him for 'exaggeration' (*ZDMG.* lxii. 640); but, apart from the question of royal morality, it is difficult to see why Darius should have made such a claim while giving a series of dates that are incompatible with it. Also it is surprising that an interval of thirteen months (7 March 521-3 April 520)³ should have elapsed between the two battles against the Parthian rebels, and one of ten and a half months (25 May 521-7 April 520) between those fought with Vahyazdāta in Persia, even though no shorter chronology was possible so long as the identification of the Old Persian month Garmapada with Nisan (April) was accepted.

Shortly after the publication of Weissbach's articles, however, a new fact emerged which may alter the status of the question, although apparently little regard has been paid to it. In 1911 the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine were published for the first time by Sachau,⁴ and in the fragments of the text of the

¹ For additional support of this rendering from the Elamitic text of the Inscription, see Bork in *OLZ.* xv. 69.

² Weissbach's chronological scheme is to be found in his articles 'Zur Neubabylonischen und Achämenidischen Chronologie', *ZDMG.* lxii, 1908, at pp. 631-40; 'Zur Chronologie der Bisutūn-Inschrift', *OLZ.* xi. 485-91, 1908; cf. his remarks in *Die Keilschriften der Achämeniden*, pp. lxx-lxxii (Leipzig, 1911). His order of the events is adopted, with some hesitation, by G. Buchanan Gray in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, iv. 173-81, 662-3 (Cambridge, 1926). Robert W. Rogers, *A History of Ancient Persia*, pp. 84-98 (New York, 1929), gives few dates, but seems inclined to a longer chronology. For Weissbach's reduction of the Persian-Babylonian calendar of this period to the corresponding Julian dates, see the table appended to his article 'Zum babylonischen Kalender', in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, pp. 281-90 (Leipzig, 1909). Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, ii. 2. 436 (Münster, 1924), gives the same dates as Weissbach for the Babylonian new year during 523-518 B.C.

³ Weissbach, *Keilschriften*, p. 43, gives 5 February as the equivalent of 22 Viyakhna (Addaru, Adar) in 521, but this seems to be a mistake for 7 March, according to the table in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*.

⁴ *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka . . . zu Elephantine*, Leipzig, 1911. Subsequent editions are those by A. Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine*, Leipzig, 1911; and by A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1923.

Behistūn Inscription there is a passage (Papyrus 62, recto, col. 1, line 17), corresponding to col. iii, ll. 46–7 of the Persian text, where for *garmapadahya māhyā*, 'of the month Garmapada,' the Aramaic version has BYRH T . . . —, 'in the month T —'. The editors of the papyri have conjecturally filled out the month-name as Tishri (October),¹ but the Iranian scholar Tolman pointed out immediately² that the other month-name beginning with the letter Tau, Tammuz (July), must be chosen, since the OP *garmapada* signifies 'station of warmth'. To this philological argument an equally strong historical one may be added. Darius tells us (i. 42–3) that Gaumāta 'seized the sovereignty'³ on the 9th of Garmapada, and this event cannot possibly be postponed until October, since the evidence of the Babylonian contract tablets proves that Gaumāta was slain in the autumn.⁴

If, however, on the strength of 'the month T —' in the papyrus, we conclude that Gaumāta assumed sovereignty in July and not in April, 522, we must deal with the arguments by which Weissbach,⁵ Marquart,⁶ and others assigned the act to the earlier date. Their evidence comes primarily from the Babylonian tablets already referred to, which recognize the usurper under his throne-name Bar-zi-ya (OP Bardiya). Two of them, from Babylon itself, are dated in Ayyaru (Iyyar) and Simannu (Sivan) of his 'accession year', and the remainder in his 'first year'. That the two methods of dating refer to the same (Babylonian) year has been shown beyond doubt by Weissbach and Kugler; but it does not follow from the tablets dated in the second and third months of the 'accession year' that Gaumāta must have 'seized the sovereignty' in the first month, Nisannu (Nisan), as Marquart maintains. They prove merely that his *de facto* recognition in the city of Babylon took place after the Babylonian new year (26–7 March 522), while elsewhere in Babylonia his reign was regarded as beginning somewhat earlier, probably with his uprising on 11 March. It is noteworthy that in Babylon from Dūzu (Tammuz) onwards the dates are of the 'first year', a circumstance which agrees with Gaumāta's assumption of sovereignty on 9 Dūzu (Tammuz), or 2 July 522, on which occasion he would very likely have proclaimed that his reign should be reckoned as beginning at the time of his revolt.

As a corollary, the death of Cambyses, which Darius (i. 43) places after

¹ Sachau, p. 193, translates: 'Im Monat T— (Tišri?)'; similarly Cowley, p. 252 (text), p. 258 (trans.). Ungnad, p. 88, leaves the choice open between Tishri and Tammuz, but doubts whether T— is the name of a month, as the formula here is unusual. It is true that elsewhere in the papyrus fragments of the Behistūn Inscription the date formula reads 'on the nth of N', omitting the words 'day' and 'month', but the formula 'in the month N' occurs in other papyri, cf. Cowley, No. 20, line 1, No. 30, lines 4, 19. The Aramaic version of the Inscription shows a general tendency to abridge, hence the omission of the day (given of course in the OP text) is not so remarkable.

² 'Identification of the Ancient Persian Month Garmapada', *Am. Journal of Philology*, xxxii. 444–5 (1911).

³ We do not know the precise implication of this phrase (OP *xšāθram agarbāyatā*), but may conjecture that it refers here to some formal act of enthronement, such as is described by Plutarch, *Life of Artaxerxes*, ch. 3.

⁴ See Weissbach, *ZDMG*. lxii. 631–5; Kugler, *Sternkunde*, ii. 2. 392–5.

⁵ *ZDMG*. lxii. 631–5; see also *ZDMG*. li. 509–23.

⁶ 'Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran', in *Philologus*, Supplementband 10 (1907), at pp. 126–32.

Gaumāta's formal accession, must likewise be postponed until midsummer, even though Herodotus (*Hist.* iii. 66) says that he reigned for seven years and five months in all. As Kugler has pointed out,¹ the actual duration of Cambyzes' reign must have been at least seven years and seven months, from the sixth month of his accession-year to the first month of his eighth year, hence we need not be deterred by the demonstrably inexact statement of the Father of History from lengthening it by another three months. Probably Herodotus, who goes on to say (iii. 67) that the seven months of Smerdis filled out the eight years of Cambyzes, found this latter number in his chronological source, which reckoned in the Babylonian official fashion by full years only,² and he arrived at the period of seven years and five months by simply subtracting the seven months of the usurper.

Coming to the series of events following the murder of Gaumāta and the accession of Darius, we are enabled, if Garmapada is Tammuz and not Nisan, to place the dates of the final battles against the Parthian and the Persian rebels in July 521, instead of April 520, and thus to bring the total duration of those campaigns within a more probable compass, as well as within the 'one year' demanded by the statements of Darius. At once, however, we meet a wellnigh insurmountable obstacle in the narrative of the Behistūn Inscription itself. After mentioning the revolt of Fravartish in Media (§ 24), Darius says that he sent against the rebels his general Vidarna, who fought a battle with them at Mārush on the 27th of Anāmaka (Ṭebet, Ṭebet), 12 Jan. 521, and then waited at Kampada in Media until Darius himself came into Media (§ 25). Next follow the accounts of the campaigns of Dādarshish and Vaumisa in Armenia (§§ 26–30), ending respectively with the battles of Uyamā on the 9th of Thāigarchish (Simannu, Sivan), 21 June 521, and of Autiyāra on the last of Thuravāhara (Ayyaru, Iyyar), 12 June 521. In each case the narrative ends (§ 28 end, § 30 end): 'Thereafter Dādarshish (Vaumisa) for a time (*ēitā*) waited for me in Armenia until I came into Media.' With § 31 Darius resumes the story of the Median campaign in these words: 'Saith Darius the king: Thereafter I departed from Babylon. I marched into Media. When I arrived in Media . . .' The decisive battle with Fravartish was fought on the 25th of Adukan(a)isha, a month not yet identifiable, since the Babylonian equivalent is lost in a lacuna of the text. Fravartish fled to Ragā, where he was captured by the army of Darius (§ 32). Now, when we come to the account of the Parthian campaign (§§ 35–6), we find that after the first battle of Hystaspes against the rebels on the 22nd of Viyakhna (Addaru, Adar), 7 March 521,³ and before the second one on the 1st of Garmapada, Darius sent to him the Persian army from Ragā as a reinforcement. Consequently the battle on the 1st of Garmapada must have followed the defeat of Fravartish on the 25th of Adukan(a)isha, which in turn appears to follow the termination of the Armenian campaigns. But since these were suspended in the third Babylonian month, June–July 521, the battle with Fravartish could not have been fought earlier than the fourth month, July–August, which then could not be identified with

¹ *Sternkunde*, ii. 2. 394.

² Kugler, *op. cit.*, pp. 389–91.

³ For this date see note 3, p. 361 above.

Garmapada, and the end of the Parthian campaign would have to be set at a later date. It seems, indeed, inherently improbable that Darius should have lingered for six months or more in Babylon before confronting Fravartish, his most dangerous adversary, but all scholars, including those who accept Weissbach's 'one year' theory, have felt constrained to arrange the events thus by reason of the language of the Inscription.

As a way of escape from this dilemma, I venture to suggest that we regard the account of the Armenian campaigns in §§ 26-30 as a parenthesis in the narrative, just as the campaigns themselves were a side issue in the general course of events, and that we join in thought the beginning of § 31, 'thereafter I departed from Babylon. I marched into Media', to the end of § 25, 'my army waited for me at Kampada in Media until I came into Media'. It is noticeable that nothing is said later on about a junction of the troops in Armenia with Darius's main force, and they seem to have taken no part in the battle with Fravartish. Their mention in this awkward fashion, interrupting the story of the Median campaign, is probably due to the fact that the sending of Dādarshish and Vaumisa to Armenia did fall in the interval between the preliminary expedition of Vidarna into Media and the march of Darius himself, even if some of the encounters in Armenia were subsequent to the battle with Fravartish on 25 Adukan(a)isha. On this hypothesis, Darius would have left Babylon late in the winter or early in the spring, according as we identify Adukan(a)isha with the eleventh Babylonian month, Shabaṭu, or the first, Nisannu, the only two at this time of the year for which we do not know the Persian equivalents. To the objection that Dādarshish and Vaumisa could not be said to be waiting for Darius to come into Media if he was already there, we may reply that the language of § 49, where Darius says that the second Babylonian revolt broke out 'while I was in Persia and Media', would seem to indicate that he had left Media after the execution of Fravartish and had gone into Persia, to return later into Media after the disturbances in Persia had been quelled. It would then be this second sojourn in Media that is referred to in § 28 and § 30, and it is likely that the final pacification of Armenia had not been accomplished at the time when the Inscription was composed.

An additional confirmation of the sequence of events here proposed may perhaps be found in § 41, where Darius, after telling of the outbreak of Vahyazdāta's rebellion in Persia, says that he sent against him 'the Persian and Median army that was by me', under the command of Artavardiya, and continues: 'The other Persian army marched after me to Media. Thereafter Artavardiya with his army marched to Persia'. This passage certainly seems to imply that Darius had already started for Media before the beginning of the campaign against Vahyazdāta, the first battle of which was fought on the 12th of Thuravāhara, 25 May 521.

While it cannot be denied that this rearrangement of the chronology of the Behistūn Inscription imputes a serious awkwardness of expression to Darius or his secretary in the composition of §§ 25-31, it seems justifiable, at least provisionally, until further evidence is brought to light, to maintain the identi-

fication of the month Garmapada with Dūzu (Tammuz), or July, and thus to avoid placing any of the events mentioned in the Inscription in the second year of Darius. Whether all of them can be brought within the twelve months following his accession is a problem for which it would be rash at present to propose a definite solution.

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AHURA MAZDA IN ASSYRIAN

THAT Ahura Mazda makes his first recorded appearance in an Assyrian god list has been generally admitted by students of the Zoroastrian religion since Hommel drew attention to the name.¹ Hommel presented the text in transliteration only, with here and there a version of a few lines; his failure to give a complete translation adds to the difficulty of its use by non-Assyriologists. Since far-reaching conclusions have been drawn from this reference, it may be well to examine it again from the standpoint of an Assyriologist.

The first question is that of date. Our tablet comes from the library of Ashur-bani-apal (668–626 B.C.). This in itself furnishes only a lower limit. The great majority of the religious texts in this library were copied from Babylonian originals, often of great antiquity, and our first conjecture might well be that this also is ancient.

Closer examination proves, first of all, that the text is Assyrian and not Babylonian. A large part is devoted to lists of the gods who dwelt in the temples of various Assyrian cities—Ashur, Nineveh, Kakzu, and Tarbisu. The reference to the Nergal of the city of Tarbisu in vi. 3 may afford a clue to a closer date. Tarbisu appears to have been of little importance until the last century of the Assyrian empire, from Sennacherib onward.² This would imply that the list was composed in the later half of the Sargonid period—that is, in the seventh century B.C.

A considerable section of the list is taken up with the 'gods dwelling in the land of Assyria'.³ This is rightly interpreted by Hommel as meaning the gods of the Assyrian Empire in contrast to those of the Assyrian homeland. The greater number of the deities here mentioned have indeed names strange to the Assyriologist. One is Haldia, the god of the country of that name, the modern Armenia. In lines 19–21 of column xi we find Iapritu, goddess of Apir in Elam, Iblaitu, goddess of Ibla in North Syria, and Kaldaitu, goddess of the Chaldaean land. Here at least there is no attempt at bringing together gods of neighbouring countries. The next two gods cannot be located. Then come, in one line, the god Assara and the god Mazaš,⁴ each with the sign of divinity before it. In the next line we have 'the seven gods, the gods of heaven', and in the one following 'the Anunnaki, the gods of earth', while in succeeding lines we have the gods of the four winds and the 'gods, the lords of the camps'.

All these must accordingly be foreign gods, included in the list because some part of the territory they ruled as divine monarchs had been incor-

¹ H. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, iii. 66, ix. 24; F. Hommel, *Proc. Soc. Biblical Archaeology*, xxi, 1899, pp. 127, 137 ff.; cf. J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, 1913, pp. 31 ff.; A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies*, 1928, pp. 39 n. 8, 204.

² Cf. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, pp. 328, 346, 370, 395, 494, 636.

³ x. 37 f.

⁴ Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 31, and regularly, writes Mazāš, but with no warrant in the cuneiform writing.

porated in the Assyrian empire. While there is nothing in this list of conquered gods to give absolute evidence of the date of composition, one receives a distinct impression that it is the product of some scribe of Ashur-bani-apal. Haldia was never a part of the Assyrian empire, but Ashur-bani-apal does claim, however wrongly, that its last known ruler, Sardurish III, recognized his suzerainty.¹ His campaigns in South Babylonia and in Elam, resulting in the complete if temporary conquest of these two regions, would also justify his inclusion of the goddesses of Apir in Elam and of the Chaldaeans. The probabilities distinctly favour a date near the end of Ashur-bani-apal's reign, to which these references in his annals belong. We may therefore date this list tentatively to something like 640-630 B.C. At any rate, it is impossible to push the date much farther back in time.

Hommel draws attention to the highly important fact that in the name Assara we have still preserved the common Indo-Iranian *s*; that the change to the later Iranian *h* has not yet taken place. In this he must be correct if the identification of Assara with Ahura is to stand. If, however, we are even approximately correct in our dating of the god list, we cannot accept his further conclusion 'that we have here the same older pronunciation of Eranian words as in the Kassitic Surias, "sun" (later Ahura and Hvarya, but comp. Sanskrit Asura and Suria). . . . In the same Kassitic period, between 1700 and 1200 B.C., I suppose, was borrowed by the Assyrians the Iranian god Assara-mazas'.² Students of the Zoroastrian religion should therefore exercise extreme caution in drawing conclusions from this supposed early date. Such evidence as we possess points to a date of 640-630 B.C., not to one of 1200 B.C., much less of 1700 B.C.

Those who have dealt with this list seem to take it for granted that we have here reference to an already composite god, Ahura Mazda. How a date of 1700 B.C., 1200 B.C., or even 640 B.C., for the composite Ahura Mazda could be reconciled with the constant variation in the Gathas themselves, the order Ahura Mazda alternating with Mazda Ahura, not to speak of the frequent references to Ahura or Mazda alone, seems not to have troubled them. It should be noted, however, that the Assyrian list itself gives no warrant for such a belief. The sign for god appears before Assara and again before Mazaš. It might indeed be argued that the second sign for divinity was a mistake of the Assyrian scribe, but parallels must then be cited for similar errors, and these, we fear, will be difficult to discover.

The obvious conclusion would be quite different. In such a god list, the placing of a second god in the same line means only one thing, identification. Our line would then be properly translated: 'Assara is to be identified with Mazaš.' An interesting parallel may be cited for the god who became the greatest deity of the later pantheon, next to Ahura Mazda himself: Mithra was equally known to the Indo-Iranians in Mitanni, to the writers of the Rig

¹ Rassam Cylinder, x. 40 ff.

² Hommel, *op. cit.*, 139. The expression 'borrowed' is scarcely exact. This whole section of the god list deals, as we have seen, with gods of foreign cities and countries under Assyrian rule.

Veda, and to the authors of the Avesta. His name appears in another Assyrian god list in the form of a gloss to the god Pa-shu-ul,¹ who is elsewhere identified with the sun-god Dulazagga and with the Nabu of Tilmun, the Bahrein Islands in the Persian Gulf.²

That the Assyrians should gloss Assara by Mazaš is not so improbable as it appears at first sight. Mazda was known to the Assyrians, at least through proper names of Median chieftains, as early as the time of Sargon, who mentions among these Median chieftains Mashduku, Mashdakku, and Mash-daiaukku.³ It is at least a possible hypothesis that the new divinity Assara was equated with a somewhat better known Mazda.

Iranian scholars seem to have suffered no qualms in identifying Assara Mazaš with Ahura Mazda. It is indeed passing strange that the Assyrians in the time of Sargon (722-705 B.C.) pronounced Mazda as Mašda, while in that of Ashur-bani-apal (668-626 B.C.) they said much less correctly Mazaš, with complete omission of the *d* and with the sibilant at the end; this sibilant was of course actually pronounced by the Assyrians as *s* and not *sh*, as in Babylonia, though they continued to employ the sign for *sh*. The doubling of the sibilant in Assara seems also to have caused no trouble.

In this connexion we might note the use of the name of the divinity in our next important oriental document, the Behistun inscription of Darius I. The Old Persian regularly employs Auramazda. The Elamite has Uramashta, where the sibilant follows the usage of Sargon's inscriptions. The Babylonian, which we should expect to give us the older cuneiform spelling, does give variant forms, Uramazda, Uramizda, Urimizda, and Urimizda', but all these are clearly based on the Persian tradition.⁴

The 'seven' who appear in the next line of our god list after Assara Mazaš have been supposed to represent the seven Amshaspands, contrasted to the seven Anunnaki of the following line. 'This means,' according to Moulton, 'that the deity has been pretty thoroughly assimilated to Semitic conditions.'⁵ 'When at a very early date he [Ahura Mazda] was borrowed⁶ by the Assyrians, he was connected with seven Igigi, spirits whose "sevenness" may very well have supplied the hint for post-Gathic Parsism.'⁷ But Moulton himself realized the difficulty of assuming *seven* or in fact any true Amshaspands at so early a period, and indeed he seems not to have been quite sure where he stood on this question.

It need only be observed by the Assyriologist that there is nothing in the list except mere juxtaposition to raise the slightest probability that the Igigi and Anunnaki have anything to do with Assara Mazaš. Save where the Igigi

¹ H. Rawlinson, op. cit., iii. 69, 63; P. Jensen, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ii. 195, n. 2; cf. i. 390, n. 1.

² Cf. Hommel, op. cit., 139.

³ F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième Campagne de Sargon*, 1912, p. 10; H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, 1889, ii, pl. 44, G, 17, 28; D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 1927, ii. 76, 104; cf. K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, 1914, p. 295.

⁴ L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, *Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun in Persia*, 1907.

⁵ Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 31.

⁶ This term, borrowed from Hommel, is, as we have seen above, inexact.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 241; cf. p. 252.

and Anunnaki themselves are crowded into succeeding lines there is no other case in this section where such juxtaposition certainly means connexion, and there are cases where it certainly does not. Extreme scepticism is therefore justified toward any attempt to identify the 'seven' with the Amshaspands.

Such are the conclusions of an Assyriologist as to this Assyrian reference to Ahura Mazda. The Assyrian origin of the god list cannot be questioned; the date is settled within narrow limits. In the light of Assyrian custom, we must further conclude that the list does not prove the early existence of a composite Ahura Mazda but rather the identification of two originally independent deities.

All further investigation must take its start from these facts. We might, if we are inclined to conjecture, suppose that Ahura and Mazda were once separate divinities of independent Iranian tribes, and that our list shows them on their way to the later amalgamation as Ahura Mazda; but this is a mere guess. If Assara is actually Ahura, and the weight of probability still inclines toward this identification, then the fact of date must be faced. Somewhere about 640 B.C. his name was still pronounced with the *s*, but in the Gathas of Zoroaster we have the later form Ahura, written with the *h*. We might, of course, assume that the Gathas were composed in a more distant region where the sound shift had taken place earlier, and in our dense ignorance of this whole period of Iranian history we cannot deny the possibility. At the same time, the more obvious hypothesis would be to assume that the sound shift found in the Gathas does actually mean a later stage in the development of the common language.

Unless, then, we are to adopt the somewhat precarious hypothesis of a sound shift in a more distant dialect at a considerably earlier time, we are compelled to date the Gathas and so Zoroaster at a time appreciably later than 640 B.C. This would automatically exclude the placing of the Prophet's period around 1000 B.C. Such a dating finds no support in the ancient tradition, and is urged only because some moderns feel that so early a date 'must' be assumed for the proper 'evolution' of the religion. The 'must' of phonetic change is at least as compelling.

Professor A. V. Williams Jackson has collected once and for all the source material bearing on the difficult problem of Zoroaster's date, and has in masterly fashion laid down the principles which must be followed in the investigation.¹ All future students must build on his foundations. The general run of Greek and Latin writers contribute nothing of value. When they do not date him to 5000 B.C. or 6000 B.C. they connect him with Ninus and Semiramis. Obviously this is due to no oriental source but is a mere Greek combination. The apparent syllogism ran something like this: Zoroaster was in Bactria, Semiramis conquered Bactria, therefore Zoroaster and Semiramis were contemporaries. Even were the premises correct, the conclusion was dubious. But we now know that Semiramis never conquered Bactria, that the only basis for the Greek legend is to be found in certain

¹ A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, New York, 1901.

forays of her son Adad-nirari III against the Medes, who were settling on the western borders of the later Iran.¹

When we consider the difficulties faced by the Parsis under Muslim rule, it is not surprising that their recollections of the Achaemenian period were not entirely exact. According to the *Bundahishn*, a work of the ninth Christian century, though doubtless containing older material, the 'Preaching of the Religion' took place 258 years before Alexander, or about 603 B.C.² This is a much more probable date, in view of our investigations, than those which are earlier. West 'corrects' the traditional chronology to make the date of Zoroaster's birth 660 B.C.,³ and this 'correction' has been generally accepted. The later tradition does undoubtedly preserve a roughly accurate memory of the time elapsed between Zoroaster and Alexander, but we surely cannot press too far the details of a chronology which has forgotten the succession of the Achaemenian monarchs and actually omits the most important of all, the great Darius.

The computation of the *Bundahishn* might be allowed a certain value in the absence of other data, could we be sure that it represents the tradition of the Sassanid period. Neither of these assumptions is correct. We do have earlier data which do appear to present the Sassanid tradition. Ammianus Marcellinus was born at Antioch a little over a century after the foundation of the Sassanid monarchy and the final codification of the Avesta. He might have heard from his grandfather of the sack of his native city by the Persians. His life was spent in active service on the Euphrates frontier, fighting the Persians when war was on, learning much from them in days of peace. In other respects, his accounts of the Persians have proved unusually trustworthy, and we may therefore assume that he is repeating Persian tradition when he definitely makes Zoroaster a contemporary of King Hystaspes, the father of the first Darius.⁴ The absence of this dating in the numerous references in the earlier Greek and Latin writers increases the probability that this is indeed native Sassanid tradition. Not quite two centuries later the Byzantine historian Agathias still remembered the older tradition that this Hystaspis was the father of Darius I, though others were beginning to say that this was some other ruler of the same name.⁵ This is our first trace of the *Bundahishn* chronology, which ignores Darius I.

That this early Sassanid tradition of the date of Zoroaster is correct is shown by three other references which confirm this general dating and yet appear to represent an entirely different line of descent. The Egyptian Eutychius makes Zoroaster a contemporary of Bardiya, the Syrian Bar Hebraeus the contemporary of Cambyses, and with these agrees the Arab al Makin.⁶ Possibly the era dating from around 559 B.C. employed by a Chinese sect of Zoroastrian origin may also have some evidential value.⁷ All this

¹ A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, pp. 158 ff.

² E. W. West, *Sacred Books of the East* (Pahlavi Texts), v. 1880, p. 150 f.

³ *Ibid.*, xlvii, 1897, pp. xxvii ff.

⁴ Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6, 32; cf. Jackson, *op. cit.*, x. 244 f.

⁵ Agath. ii. 24; Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 248 f.

⁶ Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

seems clearly to indicate that Sassanid tradition identified the Vishtaspa of the Gathas with Hystaspes, the father of the first Darius. Darius is admittedly the first Achaemenid monarch in whose religion signs of Zoroastrianism may be detected; indeed his inscriptions give us the impression of a definite propaganda by a new and zealous convert. We may therefore accept the Sassanid tradition of the date of Zoroaster as inherently probable. Most interesting of all, this date fits quite well the uncorrected chronology of the Bundahishn.

This is not the place nor is the writer competent to discuss the complicated question of the composition of the Avesta. One point, however, may be here noted. The official Persian inscriptions of the Achaemenid monarchs were published in a script developed from the cuneiform. This is more than surprising when we recall that a purely alphabetic writing had been used over wide portions of Western Asia for many centuries. Babylonia itself, the home of the cuneiform, had begun to supplement, if not to supplant, the cuneiform by the Aramaic form of the alphabet as early as the eighth century. The Aramaic language as well as the Aramaic script was employed in the Persian chancellery in the days of Cyrus,¹ and succeeding rulers employed the Aramaic regularly in their communications with their subjects in the southwestern quarter of the empire. Our surprise is still further heightened when we actually find a translation of the Behistun inscription into Aramaic in the hands of the Jewish colonists at Elephantine.²

All this evidence appears to permit only one conclusion, that Persian was not yet written in Aramaic characters. Herzfeld does indeed argue that Pehlevi originated under Darius I.³ He is correct in assuming that Pehlevi must have been invented in Babylonia or its immediate neighbourhood, since such a peculiar system, the writing of the Indo-European Persian language with whole words taken over bodily from the Semitic Aramaic, must have been evolved under the influence of the cuneiform with its large use of ideographs. Such a system, however, is already used to a slight extent in an Aramaic ostrakon of the seventh century, where a few Babylonian determinatives are represented in the Aramaic script. His further assumption that the origin of Pehlevi is to be connected with the introduction of Aramaic and of parchment will not hold, for Aramaic was already employed in the days of Cyrus, while parchment was in use in Western Asia for centuries earlier. There is therefore no evidence available at present to prove the writing of Persian in Aramaic characters during the Achaemenid period.

In view of this lack of evidence, what are we to say of the fact that the Avesta is written in characters borrowed from the Aramaic? A natural reply would be that the Avesta was first written down after the time of Alexander. It would be easy enough to assume that the metrical Gathas were handed down by word of mouth through generations of devotees, and the same might be said of the metrical Yashts. Such a conclusion would, however, force the

¹ Ezra vi. 3 ff.

² A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, 1923, pp. 248 ff.

³ E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 1924, pp. 67, 73. I owe this reference to Dr. Neilson C. Debevoise, who has just completed under my supervision a study of the Parthian political history.

placing of the prose Haptanghaiti in post-Achaemenid times. In view of the statement in the Dinkart that the Parthian king Valkhash, probably Vologases I, the contemporary of Nero, was the first editor of the scattered Avestan writings,¹ we should expect that a considerable portion of the present Avesta could be dated to the Parthian period.

This article indicates only a few stray sidelights from general oriental history which may perhaps illuminate some dark problems of Zoroastrianism. Their proper utilization must be left to fellow workers of the scholar we delight to honour.²

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¹ Cf. J. Darmesteter, *Sacred Books of East (Zend Avesta)*, iv, 2nd ed., 1895, p. xxxvii.

² Renewed study of the Assyrian god-list raises the question as to whether the placing of Assara and Mazaš in one line need even mean identification. In x. 23, for example, such utterly different gods as Sin, the moon god, Adad, the weather god, and Shamash, the sun god, appear in one line.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE SACRED FIRES OF ZOROASTRIANISM

FIRE, for the very reason that it belonged to the theologico-ritualistic apparatus of the ancient religion that he was opposing, could not be accepted by Zarathustra in his system without first being freed from the naturism of concrete phenomena. In fact, in the Gāthās, which give the very thoughts of the reformer himself, fire is spoken of under only two aspects, both absolutely new and characteristic. First, in the eschatological sense, with reference to the stream of molten metal through which humanity must pass, and in which the sinner suffers the most terrible agony while the pious man feels the pleasurable warmth of a tepid bath; for example: Yasna, li. 9: 'Of the reward that you prepare for the two kinds of men with your red fire, O Mazdāh, and with your molten metal, you set the counterpart in their souls: evil for the follower of falsehood, good for the follower of the law.' Cf. also Yasna, xxxi. 19; xxxiv. 4. But even in this eschatological sense the Fire is associated with the Spirit: Yasna, xxxi. 3: 'What you through the Spirit and Fire prepare for the two kinds of men as rewards—and you have taught this in the Law—tell us, O Mazdāh, and what is the lot assigned to the faithful, that it may be known through the words of thy mouth and that I may convince thereof all the living.' And elsewhere (Yasna, xlv. 7) the prophet asks: 'Who, O Mazdāh, will be given to me as a protector, when the follower of falsehood shall gird himself to do me violence, besides your Fire and your Spirit, through whose action the Kingdom of Law shall be realized? Make me a sharer in these tidings.' Yasna, xliii. 9: 'I knew you for a saint then, O Mazdāh Ahura, when the Good Spirit came to me. At his demand: "For whom shall you decide?" I answered: "I wish, as far as in me lies, to be mindful of the Law in every offer of homage to your Fire."' Hertel justly observes (*Die Sonne und Mithra*, p. 54), that in this last strophe is expressed disapproval of cruel sacrifices, and their substitution by means of an ideal offer of homage to the Fire of Ahura Mazdāh.

But what is this Fire of the Gāthās if not the divine essence itself, as immaterial as the spirit with which it is associated? It has come to pass then, that Zarathustra has idealized the nature of Fire and transformed it into a symbol of the divine power itself. If we compare his conception with that which dominated the Vedic books, the hypothesis seems fairly probable that, far back in the period of the Indo-Iranian community, there already existed this idea of a celestial fire that burns in the heart of men and at the same time confers spiritual powers, will, energy, and strength. At such a period, certainly—and the re-appearance of these elements in a later phase of the Iranian religion (see below) is a sure proof of it—this conception must already have been embodied in an intricate series of manifestations, sometimes anthropomorphical, and of ritual complexities. Zarathustra discarded this apparatus and preserved the symbol only. He acted similarly in other

cases, as with the Ameša Spentas. From the beautiful and comprehensive study that Geiger¹ has devoted to the origin of these divinities, their ancient kinship and common origin with the Vedic Ādityas are clearly proved; but with these divinities also Zarathustra has discarded all their naturalistic attributes to present them in the form of purely abstract conceptions. However, later on, when the echo of the reformer's voice had become fainter in time, and his doctrine had come into contact with an age in which the essential lines of the old religion were tenaciously guarded, the abstractions begin to take on concrete form again, reassuming the characteristic features of their origin. This can be observed in the doctrine of Fire as it appears in the more recent Avestā, that is in those parts that reflect the new development of the Zarathustrian doctrine.

Ātar is in the recent Avestā the first of the Yazatas and is celebrated as the son of Ahura Mazdāh. This is certainly a development of the doctrine of the fast bond between Fire and the Divine Spirit, that we have observed in the Gāthās. The conception of an immaterial fire, identical with spiritual activity, appears yet again—as for example in Yasna, xxxvi. 1 et seq., 'With the action of Fire we approach you here, O Mazdāh Ahura, through your own most holy spirit, which yet prepares sorrow for those for whom you wish to prepare sorrow. Come to us, O Bringer of happiness, Ātar, son of Ahura Mazdāh, give us the highest happiness. You are indeed the Fire of Ahura Mazdāh, you are his most holy Spirit . . .'; but by now it has undergone a certain *rapprochement* to material reality, and so in the world of abstract conceptions there begin to rise the lines of a materialization which is shown in the specification of various fires. The sacrificial element, therefore, predominates. Yasna, xvii. 11: 'Thee, Ātar, son of Ahura Mazdāh, do we venerate; the Bərəzisavah fire we venerate; the Vohufryāna fire we venerate; the Urvāzišta fire we venerate; the Vāzišta fire we venerate; the Spəništa fire we venerate . . . To Ātar, lord of all things, created by Mazdāh, son of Ahura Mazdāh, follower of the Law and dispenser of the Law, we sacrifice, and also to all separate fires.' The names of the separate fires have each a meaning, as for instance Bərəzisavah 'whose benefit is on high',² Vohufryāna, 'to whom the flame is dear', Urvāzišta 'who gives the greatest joy', Vāzišta 'the most beneficent',³ Spəništa 'the most sacred'. But by now one speaks of five distinct kinds of fire that have special attributes and powers. The source through which we know most intimately their nature is the Bundahišn, the book of creation, a Pahlavic book of late publication, but which contains some remarkable ancient traditions. Of this work there exist two versions, one Indian and the other Iranian, this latter the so-called Great Bundahišn. Concerning

¹ B. Geiger, 'Die Aməša Spəntas. Ihr Wesen und ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung' (*Sitzungsber. d. Ak. d. Wiss. in Wien; Philos.-Hist.*, Klasse B, 176, Abh. 7), Wien, 1916.

² *bərəzisavah*-, 'hohen Nutzen Während' according to Bartholomae, *Altir. Wörterb.* 961: 'welches himmelslichtige Himmelsglut besitzt' according to Hertel: *Die Sonne u. Mithra*, p. 51. The meanings given by Hertel to *savah*- and *barəz*-, although the etymological bearings he has indicated should be kept in mind, do not seem well founded after an examination of all the material furnished by the Avestā.

³ *Vāzišta* 'der beste Fahrer' according to Hertel (see above).

the sacred Fires the two versions present no noteworthy differences. We translate from the Great Bundahišn (Anklesaria Photozincographic ed.), p. 122 and following:

'Of the nature of the Fires, thus it is said in the religious books: five fires were created, and namely the Burzisavah fire,¹ the Vohufryān fire, the Urvāzišt fire, the Vāzišt fire and the Spēništ fire. (The Burzisavah fire is that which burns in front of Ahura Mazdāh and is self-fed).² The Vohufryān fire, that is the dispenser of good, is that which is found in the bodies of men and animals. The Urvāzišt fire is that of plants. The Vāzišt fire is that which strives with Spēnǰayra in the clouds.³ The Spēništ fire is "the shining one that in the world is used for work".⁴ Of these five fires,⁵ one consumes both nutritive substances like that which in men's bodies dwells in the stomach and has the task of digesting food and water; one feeds on one food only, like that which is in plants which live and grow on water alone; one feeds on water, like that which in the world serves for work;⁶ and one consumes neither water nor food like the Vāzišt and the Burzisavah fire which is in the earth, in the mountains, and in all things.

'The three fires, namely Farnbagh, Gušnasp and Burzīn Mihr, were from the beginning of things created by Ormazd as splendours for the protection of the world, and they, as splendours, are eternal in the world. During the reign of Tahmuras, when humankind on the back of the cow Sarsōk emigrated from Khvaniras into the other parts of the earth, when at night the sea became stormy with the wind and when the water invaded the braziers containing the fire which had been placed on the cow's back, these fell with the fire into the water. But all three fires like three splendours rose in the place of the braziers upon the cow's back, and gave light to men until the sea had been crossed.

'Yim during his reign was always successful in his undertakings with the help of these three Fires, and it was he who established the Farnbagh fire in a temple on Mount Khvarrēhōmand in Khvārizm. When Yim was killed the Farnbagh fire saved the royal splendour from the hand of Dahāk. At the time of the propagation of the faith this fire was transported from Khvārizm to Mount Rōšn in the boundary zone⁷ where it is still to be found.

'The Gušnasp fire also protected humanity until the reign of Kay Khusrav. When Kay Khusrav destroyed all the old idols, this fire alighted on his horse's neck, dispelled all the darkness and made light until the old idols were all destroyed. Thereupon the temple was founded on Mount Asnavant. It is called Gušnasp because the latter alighted on the horse's

¹ In the Pahlavi translation of Yt. xvii the attributes of the *burzi-savah* and *spēništa* fires are interchanged in the sense that the former is indicated as a fire for daily use and the second is the 'celestial fire'.

² Missing in the Great Bundahišn: supplied from the Bundahišn.

³ A Daivic being of whom we know nothing beyond this enmity with the Vāzišta fire.

⁴ The Great Bundahišn adds: and the Vahrām fire.

⁵ Great Bundahišn: Six (in figures).

⁶ The Great Bundahišn adds: and the Vahrām fire.

⁷ See below at p. 383.

neck. The Burzīn Mihr fire protected humankind in the same manner until the reign of Vištāsp. When Zarathustra the immortal proclaimed the new religion and diffused it and established it so firmly that Vištāsp and his followers were won to God, this fire accomplished many miraculous things and Vištāsp had it placed in a temple on Mount Revand, which is yet called *Pōšti Vištāsp* ('Vištāsp's shoulders').

'These three fires and the Vahrām fire are the source of all terrestrial fires and lend them their being, in the same way that the soul of the spiritual world makes its abode in the body of man while this is still in the maternal womb, and is its chief moving force until it comes to life, and then when the body dies, and mixes again with the earth, the soul returns to the spiritual world.'

After some considerations of exegetic character, it is said that each of the three Fires is consecrated to a social class: 'The Farnbagh Fire, which is the king of fires, is the priest, the Gušnasp Fire is the warrior, and Burzīn Mihr is the agriculturer.'¹

The problem now raised has a double aspect: what is the origin of the five sacred Fires mentioned in the more recent Avestā, and what is that of the three sacred Fires described by the Bundahišn? Certainly all these represent the rising again in new forms of the ancient Indo-Iranian religious tradition, which gave great importance to Fire and its manifestations.

It is interesting to note that in the Gāthās, an expression of Zoroastrianism in its first stage, the priest is called *airyaman* 'companion', while in the more recent Avestā he is *aθurvan-āθravan-*; in spite of some difficulty of phonetic nature, no doubt can be thrown on the identity of this name with the Sanscrit *atharvan* priest; they are both akin to *ātar* 'fire', and mean literally: 'Lord of the fire'. Here, as also in the denomination of the other two castes of warriors and agriculturers, the later Avestā is more faithful than the Gāthic to the vocabulary of the Indo-Iranian tradition;² as we have seen, the world as reflected in the later Avestā is much nearer to us than the Gāthic is to the Indian world.

In the Vedic religion fire has its divine personification in Agni, a figure certainly originating in the ancient Aryan-European inheritance. Among the many characteristic features that distinguish him from other Vedic divinities—the barely anthropomorphic character is noteworthy—there is also the fact that various forms and re-births are ascribed to him. In the first place two births are ascribed to him, one terrestrial, the other celestial: 'there is he of the two births (*dvijanman*) and his action is a duplicate one among gods and men.' (RV. i. 127. 7; ii. 195. 2; iii. 2. 2, etc.³) And it is to him in his celestial and in his terrestrial form that the priests' prayer is addressed: RV. ii. 9. 3: 'We celebrate you, O Agni, in your highest seat, with hymns we celebrate you in the lowest dwellings.'

¹ Cf. also *Nyāiṣṇ* 5, 6 (ed. Dhalla, p. 150); Dēnkart vi. 293.

² Cf. A. Meillet, 'Trois Conférences sur les Gāthas de l'Avesta (*Ann. du Musée Guimet*, Bibl. de Vulgars, t. 44), Paris, 1925, p. 19 et seq.

³ Cf. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 105 et seq.

But elsewhere and frequently the number of three is given to the births of Agni; it seems, however, that it is not so much a question of a canonical number, so to speak, as the births indicated in the various passages are not identical and do not recur in the same order. RV. x. 451: 'Agni was first born in the heavens, a second time in the world of men as Jātaveda ('the one who knew all beings'), the third time in the waters.' ii. 95, 35: 'These (i.e. the hands) preserve his three origins—one in the sea, one in the sky, and one in the waters.'¹

Elsewhere the enumeration of the births is much longer. ii. 1. 1: 'Agni, the splendour which is in the heavens and in the earth, in the plants, and in the waters, O worthy of prayer. . . .'

And in the Atharvaveda (xii. 1, 19 et seq.) the enumeration is complete: 'Fire is in the earth, in the plants; the waters contain fire, fire is in the rocks and within men; fires are to be found in cows and horses; fire burns in the heavens; to the god Fire pertains the vast atmosphere; mortals kindle fire, the means of sacrifice, to whom the fat is dear.' Although, then, the nature and origin of the various fires do not appear here canonically fixed, their dual nature, divine and terrestrial, remain firmly established, and also the tendency to give to fire three origins, perhaps even because of the well-known predilection for the number three. In the Avestā, in fact, we now find more clearly determined these various aspects of fire, but it is not hard to see that the Iranian conception and the Indian conception spring from the same roots. Fire has a divine aspect, the fire which burns before Ahura Mazdāh, and it has a terrestrial aspect, that created by men for the needs of daily life. To these two fires are added three others, that which is in the plants, that which is in the clouds (i.e. lightning), and that which is a principle of life in men and animals. These three fires are also known to the Rgveda, as we have seen, with the only difference that instead of fire in plants is mentioned fire in the waters. As Oldenberg has well pointed out (op. cit., p. 113 et seq.) in the fire which rises from the waters one must not see the lightning that bursts from the clouds, but the very water that is in the plants, since water and plants already in the period of the Indo-Iranian community are in close connexion, and since the wood from which the flame springs has been fed by water, and so there must be latent in it the force that later bursts out into flames.

In concluding, in the Yazata of the Avestā also we must recognize the lines of the Indian divinity. It has certainly some characteristics of its own, like its identity with the sun, but common to both divinities are this multiplicity of origin so amply attested, and the absence in both of those anthropomorphic features that are very clearly to be seen in other divinities, who have, nevertheless, as we shall see, the same origin.

Of the very ancient mythological legends that flourish in the Avestā, not one has any connexion with Ātar. The symbolical meaning of fire, not

¹ Since in the preceding strophe there is mention of the fire made by men, Hildebrandt, *Lieder des Rgveda*, Göttingen, 1913, p. 16, considers two only here: 'eine im Meer, eine in den Wassern am Himmel', that is, in the clouds.

denied by Zarathustra, continues to be vividly felt even in the later development of Zoroastrianism, and this has certainly prevented the forming of anthropomorphic myths around it, analogous to those which had gathered around the much more ancient Vedic religion.

Besides these five fires, the Bundahišn speaks of three others; and it is precisely these which were most widely worshipped in the Sāsānidic period, when the ancient religious tradition came to new life with the renascence of national Iranian feeling.

The myth of mankind being transported with its sacred fires on the back of the cow Sarsōk from the central zone of the earth to the other continents, is unknown to the Avestā, and its origins remain very obscure. The conception of the division into seven zones (*karšvar-*) is held by the Iranians in common with the Indians, according to whom, as we know, the earth is composed of a middle zone (*Jambudvīpa*), around which are six other zones separated from each other by the sea.¹ But of the migration of the peoples on the cow's back² there is no trace in the Indian conceptions of cosmology. Evidently, here it is a case of a myth which has arisen under other influences, and although it is impossible to prove any bond of common origin, one cannot help comparing it with that of Europa transported across the sea by Jove, who for love of her had become *ταῦρος χειροθήτης*. These three fires, however, are themselves part of the purest Aryan tradition, inasmuch as they are connected with the figure that became in the course of the centuries the most characteristic and important figure of the Iranian pantheon, i.e. Mithras.

The name Farnbagh means 'God of glory'. Generally one understands 'the fire of divine glory', but the word belongs to a type of compound that precludes this interpretation, which would require rather the form *bayafarna* which, indeed, as a proper name, recurs in the form Bafarrak in seals of the Sāsānidic age, and which the Greeks translated by *Μεγαφέρνης*. Farna³ is the continuation of the Avestic *xvarnah*, which means 'Splendour', and in particular the 'Splendour which accompanies regal dignity'. Mithras is the divinity which has the most splendour.⁴ Yt. x. 67: 'Mithras of the wide pasture lands, we celebrate; the swiftly moving one, who in the high-wheeled chariot created by the spirit, flies from the Arzahi world to the shining Khvaniratha world, accompanied by the Mazdaic splendour and by the Ahuric Victory.' Yt. x. 141: 'He has with him a victorious weapon, well-forged, he is vigilant in the darkness, infallible, the strongest among the strong, the most valorous among the valorous, he is the wisest of the gods, accompanied by the Splendour. . . .' According to the legend of the fifteenth

¹ Cf. W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder, nach den Quellen dargestellt*, Bonn a. Leipzig, 1920.

² In the *Bundahišn* (in both versions) this cow is given another name; the spelling is uncertain: Justi reads *hadhayos*, Anklesaria *hadhaysa*. Probably one should read *hudāgoš*, 'good cow', with reference to the connexion *hudah-gaw* that occurs frequently in the later Avestā. Cf. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, p. 509.

³ The normal form in Parsik is *farr*: 'rn' is preserved through the influence of Avestic spelling; cf. *farr* and *xvarreh*, mod. pers. *khurra*; cf. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, i. 148. As regards the 'f' for the initial *xv-* in *farr*, we see a loan from a northern dialect; cf. W. Lentz in *Zeitschr. f. Ind. und Iran*, iv. 288.

⁴ Hertel, *Die Sonne u. Mithra*, p. 202 et seq.

Yašt, consecrated to the *χvarənah*, he was the first to receive from Yima the regal Splendour, Yt. xix. 35: 'For the first time the splendour of King Yima departed, the splendour of King Yima left him, the son of Vivahvant with the form of an eagle. Mithras of the vast fields, of the ears that hear, of the thousand energies seized this splendour; Mithras, the lord of all lands we celebrate, whom Ahura Mazdāh created as the most splendid of spiritual beings.'

The name of the second sacred Fire is handed down in the Bundahišn in the form *Gušnasp*, but it is curious that its origin is explained as being from *buš*, 'mane', and *asp*, 'horse'. The name is evidently a compound of *vušn*, 'male', and *asp*, 'horse'. In the Avestā *varaša* (Sanskrit *vṛṣan*-) it is found once only in a late text; but the continuation in Middle and Modern Persian is complete and well-attested; *vṛṣan* is used in the *Ṛgveda* of the horses of Indra (iii. 35. 3) and, as is known, is a name given to Indra himself. The origin of the popular etymology given in the Bundahišn should be traced, in my opinion to an Avestic passage (Yt. x. 11) in which it is said: 'He is invoked by the warriors on the neck of their horses, who plead for speed for their chariot and health for themselves.'¹

The third sacred Fire, *Burzīn Mihr*, is evidently 'the high Mithras'. The Avestic word, *barəza*; is referred by Hertel (*Die Arische Feuerlehre*, i. 13) to the Vedic *brh*- (see above); however, by now the two words have been differentiated clearly in use, in the sense that one has assumed the fundamental meaning of 'force', and the other that of 'height'.

In their very names the three sacred Fires are linked again to the figure of Mithras; they are undoubtedly epithets of the God that have acquired a certain autonomy, becoming themselves objects of adoration in the form which was considered a manifestation and symbol of his power. This helps us finally to understand the epithet 'threefold', given to Mithras in a passage of the so-called Dionysius the Areopagite.²

Windischmann, 'Mithra' (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1859), p. 59, recalls some attempts to explain this appellative by referring to the three signs of the Zodiac that appear in each season, or to a trinity of gods such as Liber, Apollo, and Sun, as quoted in Arnobius; or Sun, Mithras, and Fire in Curtius Rufus. These explanations are unsatisfactory, the one because the astronomical reference is rather weak and is unnecessary, the other because the invocation of Mithras together with other divinities does not prove his identity with them; in fact one might say that the invocation to the sun and Mithras together shows, on the contrary, that their mutual identity had not yet been established. On the other hand, the reference to the three sacred fires of Zoroastrianism fully explains the epithet 'threefold', in so far as the most important rite, a national one, one might almost say, that

¹ *Barəšaēšu paiti aspaṇam*. One can interpret: 'Mithras is prayed to by the warriors riding on the necks of their horses'. But since chariots are mentioned, and since the construction of *paiti* allows of it, it is better to understand that the divinity is invoked to exercise his beneficial influence on the animal that should bear the warriors to victory.

² *Ep.* vii. 2. *μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τοῦτο ταῖς Περσῶν ἱερατικαῖς ἐμφέρεται φήμας, καὶ εἰσέτι Μάγου τὰ μνημόσυνα τοῦ τριπλασίου Μίθρου τελοῦσιν.*

the Magi celebrated in Persia for Mithras, was the preservation of the three sacred fires in three separate temples. That the adoration of the fires was strictly bound up with the worship of Mithras is seen also from other evidence.

Plutarch in his *Life of Artaxerxes II* (*Art. x.*) tells that Artaxerxes II caused his troops to be preceded by a standard with a golden cock borne on a lance. It is very unlikely¹ that the origin of such a custom is to be connected with the fact that Cyrus the Younger had been killed by the hand of a certain Carius, and that the Carii were called 'cocks', because of the plume they wore upon their helmets. Now we know that the cock was the personification of one of the three Fires, namely, of the Farnbagh fire.

In the Pahlavic romance dedicated to the founder of the Sāsānidic dynasty (*Kārnamak-i artaxšēr-i pāpakān*, ed. Noshervan, § 132 and following) there is described the attempted murder of Ardašīr by his wife, using a poisoned food. Ardašīr is about to take the bowl from the woman's hand, when he is saved by the intervention of the Farnbagh fire. Kārñ, 134: 'It is said that the shining and victorious Farnbagh fire flew into the room at that moment in the form of a red cock, and beat its wings against the grain in such a way as to make the bowl slip from Ardašīr's hands and fall to the ground.'

Now we know that under Artaxerxes II Mithras assumed great importance in the Iranian religion and became the patron god of royal dignity, the god of victory. The cult of Mithras accompanies step by step the cult of fire, and Xenophon (*Cyr. vii. 3. 12*) mentions that already at this period there was a chariot drawn by horses adorned with red trappings which carried the sacred hearth. The reasons for which Mithras acquired greater and greater importance, so as in the end to escape from the limits of the Iranian religion and conquer the West, cannot be established with any surety; but the question will certainly have been influenced by the preponderance which the priestly caste of the Magi had been gradually acquiring—though in the period of the Achaemenid dynasty it was, so to speak, in the ranks of the opposition.² To the Magi, indeed, must surely be attributed the profound modification that Zarathustra's doctrine underwent after the disappearance of the prophet; and from their circle comes all the vast mythologico-religious material that is grafted on to it.

The figure of Mithras as it appears to us in the Avestā has in its complexity the sure traces of its origin. His identification with the starry sky insisted upon by Hertel (op. cit.) is very doubtful; but on the other hand it is true that Mithras in the Avestā is never identified with the sun. The reason for this is that Mithras is by now in the Avestā a personified divinity to whom is given a symbolical character of varying nature, but to whom one may say that any link with natural phenomena other than fire is lost; the connexion with

¹ Cf. Clemen, op. cit., 87. As is known, Mithras for the first time appears invoked together with Ahura Mazdāh in the inscription of Susa, and in that of Hamadān, of Artaxerxes II. In Plutarch (*Art. 4*) Artaxerxes swears by the name of Mithras.

² One should remember the rebellion of Gaumāta the false Bardiya, of whom we learn in the inscription of the rock of Bisutūn. That the Magi should be unwilling to give up their theocratic organization, which gave them so much power, is quite natural.

fire is not lost because this element itself has become a symbol of the same conceptions that are dominant in the figure of Mithras. This is particularly well seen in the other fire that is added to the triad already mentioned, namely the fire Vahrām. While the three fires are distinct and separate and each has its own seat, the Vahrām fire is multiple and is worshipped in various places. Ardašīr I, according to tradition, established various centres for its worship as a mode of celebrating his victories. Now the Vahrām fire is undoubtedly a development of the Iranian divinity of Victory, that is, *Vurθraγna*, celebrated in the fourteenth Yašt of the Avestā.

About the identity of Vurθraghna with the Indian Indra Vṛtrahan, there can remain no doubt, after the most careful study that B. Geiger (op. cit.) has made of this question. But we must add that Vurθraghna is not a separate divinity, but is always closely linked with Mithras, with whom he has many features in common. And the reason for this is that in the Iranian Mithras some characteristic features of the Indian Indra have been assimilated, since Indra in the Iranian faith has fallen to the level of a demon. The warlike character of Mithras undoubtedly derives from the dominating aspect of Indra; for an example of detail it is enough to note that his weapon, the *vazra*, is the same weapon that Indra has in the Ṛgveda (*vajra*), and that the other great undertaking attributed to Indra after the murder of Vṛtra, the liberation of the cows, is attributed in the Avestā to Mithras (Yašt, x. 85-6).

Besides this we can confidently assert that if Vurθraghna has made himself independent of Mithra, while remaining at the same time bound to him through their common dependence on Indra, it has likewise happened with *χvarənah*, the 'regal glory', who has yet a certain autonomy, as is seen in the fact that the nineteenth Yašt of the Avestā is dedicated to him; yet he is inseparable from Mithras, not only because the latter is the divinity that is most amply endowed with, and dispenser of 'regal glory', but also because of the fact that the conception of this immaterial and invisible being has its profound origins in Indra, the Indo-Iranian god of victory. Indra Vṛtrahan and Vurθraghna have as a common trait, the fact that both appear in animal form; but *χvarənah* also has for his incarnation the ram, an animal whose form is taken by Indra (*meša bhuto*: RV. viii. 2. 40) and which is the totem of Vurθraghna. In the 'Account of the Deeds of Ardašīr', Ardavān who asks for news of the fugitive is first told by the people that behind the latter's horse ran a ram; and then continuing their information, they add first that the ram ran alongside the horse, and then that it was seated on the saddle with him. And then the priests, when interrogated, take away all hope from Ardavān since they declare the ram to be no other than the 'regal glory', and once it has come to Ardašīr's aid it is impossible to capture him. In the legendary tradition contained in the epic Yašts of the Avestā the *χvarənah* passes from Mithras to Traitauna, and so the position of the latter in relation to Mithras becomes identical with that of the Vedic Trita in relation to Indra Vṛtrahan.

In the five fires of the Avestā, as in the three sacred Fires and in the

Vahrām fire, known to us through a later tradition, there are then traces which recall to our minds divine figures of most hoary antiquity, namely, Agni through the five Fires, Mithras through the three Fires, and Indra through the Fire Vahrām. These are not the only signs of the coming to life again of the ancient tradition; it is a whole mythological and religious system that establishes itself in the framework of Zarathustrian doctrine;¹ it is enough to consider the Ameša Spentas, which, having lost contact during the Zarathustrian reform with the Indian Ādityas so as to become abstract conceptions, reappear in the later Avestā fixed in the number of seven and with naturistic attributes just like the Ādityas, and in the worship of Soma, which springs up vigorously again together with its allied myths.

In one of the cuneiform inscriptions of Cappadocia that date from the fourteenth century B.C. (in the treaty made between Suppiluliuma King of Khatti and Mattiwaza King of Mitanni), there occur among the names of other gods the names of Mithras, Varuna, Indra and Nāsatya as gods of Mitanni in Northern Mesopotamia; and in another inscription (cf. Hrozný in *Revue Assyriologique*, xviii. 1. 34 et seq.) there is the name of Agni. The presence of such Indo-European divinities cannot be explained without admitting that in this epoch an Indo-Iranian nucleus existed already in Mesopotamia. Now, it is a fact that the peoples who were called by the Assyrians Manda, and later Mada, Madai, that is the Medes, belonged to the Indo-Iranian group, as is proved by numerous Aryan words found in the Kikkuli text of Mitanni, and which are rightly ascribed to them by Forrer (*Zeitschr. d. Morgenl. Gesell.* lxxvi, 1922, p. 247 et seq.). Let us take for example *aikavartanna*, 'a turn', *teravartanna*, 'three turns', etc.

Undoubtedly these divinities originate in these peoples of Manda who certainly exercised a great influence over the peoples of Mitanni, as is proved by the fact that the kings of Mitanni have Aryan names (Artatama, Šutarda, etc.) the same origin must be ascribed to the Aryan names that we find in the Tell el Amarna texts (Šuwardata, Artamania, etc.). Unfortunately we do not know the language of the Medes and we have very few proofs of its kinship with the Avestic language;² it is therefore impossible to decide whether the final version of the Avestā was made in the country of the Medes; it can be stated with certainty, however, that through the work of the Magi, the Zarathustrian doctrine underwent that profound modification to which we have several times alluded, and developed, always enriching itself with elements from the ancient Indo-Iranian religion. The Medes, confined in their mountains, were faithful custodians of the ancient naturistic religion through many centuries, and this religion remained so vital that when the teaching of Zarathustra came into contact with it, the latter became profoundly transformed by it. This intensely conservative element in the religious world is easily explained by the existence among the Medes of a

¹ R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione di Zarathustra nella storia religiosa dell'Iran*, Bologna, 1921, p. 130 et seq.

² The language of the Avestā, in so far as it is given to us to know it through the uncertainties of the written tradition, does not correspond to a particular dialect, but is a literary *κοινή*. Nevertheless, the North-Western element predominates.

dominant priestly class, that reminds one strongly of the priests of Brahmanic India.

So it has come to pass that Fire, which in the doctrine of Zarathustra had become only a symbol and a synonym of spiritual energy, assimilates in the later development of Zoroastrianism a naturalistic character on the one hand, and a social character on the other. In the five Fires the naturism of Agni comes to life again to a certain extent. The three Fires are derived from the figure of Mithras, which has been gradually taking shape on Iranian soil, with some characteristics taken syncretically from the Indian Indra; one aspect of Indra is established in the Vahrām fire. Moreover, the three fires have each the protection of a social class: the Farnbagh fire that of the priests, the Gušnasp that of the warriors, the Burzīn Mihr fire that of the workers. There is no doubt that the number of the fires is to be considered in connexion with that of the social classes and in fact depends on this; the traditional distinction of caste has been preserved decided and clear in this people ruled by a theocratic organization, and the denomination of the various castes becomes again that of the ancient Indo-Iranian society.

The localization of the three sacred fires carries us back to the Iranian north; the temple of the Gušnasp fire is at Ganjak in Ādharbaigān, the Burzīn Mihr in Khorāsān; the Farnbagh fire is said to have been first found in Khvārizm, and then during the time of the propagation of the Mazdaic faith, to have been transported to another locality. The Indian text of the Bundahišn says that this seat is Kābul; but in the Iranian text there is mention of a Mount Rōšn, situated in a province indicated by the name Knarndkan, in which name many¹ have wished to recognize the locality Kāriyān in Pārs, to the north-west of Bēdshahr. But this is not possible, and the reading should obviously be *dēh i kanārakān*,² or 'the boundary province'. There is no other evidence to establish the seat of the Farnbagh fire, and since the evidence of the Indian version is to be rejected because of the fact that Kābul was always traditionally considered a seat of infidels, the only evidence is that of the Iranian Bundahišn, and this does not lend itself to readings other than the one we have given. What is meant by 'boundary province' we do not know precisely, but it seems to us probable that Armenia is referred to. We know from information given in the speech of Agania Seigaraci on the subject of the cross, that there existed in Armenia a *hurbak*, sacred fire, that Hübschmann himself³ (*Armenische Grammatik*, i, 181) identifies with the Iranian Farnbagh.

That this fire may have been established in Armenia can be well explained

¹ G. Hoffmann, 'Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischen Märtyrer' (*Abhandlungen f. die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vii, 3), 1880, p. 284 et seq. A. V. W. Jackson, 'The Location of the Farnbagh Fire', in the *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, xli, 1921, p. 81 et seq. E. Herzfeld (see above), p. 148 et seq.

² Perhaps it should be read just as it is written, i.e. *kanārangakān*, cf. *χαναράγγης* 'governor of a province', Christensen, *Empire des Sassanides*, Kopenhagen, 1906, p. 27, No. 8.

³ Of fire-worship in Armenia there is other evidence; it must have been imported there with the worship of Mithras (Mihr) who was adored as a god of invisible fire; the word *hour* (from *atar*) means in fact invisible and immaterial fire. Cf. M. Kovalevsky in *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists* (1892), London, 1893, ii, 846.

by the existence of the close bond between Armenia and the Iranian world, whether as a province under the rule of the Achaemenids, or under the dominion of a dynasty that was a branch of the Arsacidic family and still under the influence of Iranian culture. In the *Book of Artāk Virāz* (edited and translated by Asa-Haug-West, p. 146) we learn that the priests and learned men of Īrān, with the intention of reducing to its primitive purity the Mazdaic doctrine, which had become decadent and corrupt after the invasion of Alexander, united themselves in council at the seat of the victorious Farnbagh fire. If such information is true, and there is no reason to doubt it, the Council must have taken place in Armenia; this is not improbable if one considers, among other details, that the Armenian throne was occupied for some time by Pacore himself, the brother of Vologeses III to whom is traditionally attributed the arrangement of the sacred texts. Whereas the other two fires and their seats are frequently spoken of, the seat of the Farnbagh fire is not mentioned elsewhere; this is undoubtedly to be borne in mind, together with the fact that in the Sāsānidic period Armenia was more or less out of reach, and, although subject to Iranian influence and the scene of perennial conflicts with the Romans, enjoyed its own separate religious life.

In the Sāsānidic age the highest importance was assigned to the fire Gušnasp, which became the symbol of imperial power.¹ In the famous letter of Tansār to the Shāh of Tābaristān, translated by Darmesteter (*Journ. As.*, 1894, i. 516 et seq.) Tansār clears the Shāhānshāh of the charge of having had the sacred fires extinguished, replying that 'after Darius the provincial kings each instituted a fire for their personal use, and this was an innovation contrary to the orders of the ancient kings.' It seems, then, that under the Arsacids the independent princes of the various provinces maintained each his own fire, and that the Sāsānids revived for themselves the right of maintaining in Ganḡān the fire symbolical of supreme power. The temple of Ganḡān, the marvels of which² Georgius Kedrenus describes, was destroyed by the Emperor Heraclius, who occupied the city, expelling therefrom Khusrav Parvēz.

The Vahrām fire was worshipped instead in every province,³ and when Persian independence was lost, it assumed more and more ritual importance, and indeed still preserves this among the Parsees. In every house, besides, a fire was kept alive, a symbol of the family tradition.

If we study with some profundity the development of fire-worship in Zoroastrianism, we may say, gathering together the threads of our investigations, that in Īrān, while assimilating survivals of the ancient Indo-Iranian

¹ Christensen, op. cit., p. 66. Naturally the Magi were the custodians of the temple and celebrated the ceremonies. Cf. Procopius, *Bell. Pers.* (ed. Haury), ii. 24. 260, 2-7.

² *Patr. graeca* (Migne), p. cxxi. 789. Kedrenus is of the end of the eleventh century, but he bases his account on Teophanes and his successors. Analogous accounts are found in Nicephorus and in 'Tzetzes', cf. Lebeau-St. Martin, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, Paris, 1828, p. x, 161, cf. Rosenberg, 'Khosrow Anushirwan and Charle Magne in Legend', *Journal of Carmen Or. Institute*, 3 (1923), 56.

³ In the Pahlavic tale 'the History of Zarēr' (§ 24) only the priests who serve the Vahrām fire are exempt from the mobilization ordered by Vištāsp against the infidel.

religion, it nevertheless preserved that symbolical character with which Zarathustra had taken it into his system. The bond that united it to Mithras slackened, because Ahura Mazdāh, in the Sāsānidic period, became once more the only God. Outside Īrān, Mithras had a development that carried him very far from his own figure in Zoroastrianism. But we must not for this reason believe that the naturistic elements that we find in him were added in Asia Minor as survivals of the very ancient Indo-Iranian religion. As we have seen, exactly the same state of affairs is already to be found in the Mithras of Zoroastrianism; and one may confidently assert that the point of departure of Mithraism is that moment in the Iranian religion when from the worship of Mithras there branches off the worship of the three Fires. This fullness of meaning and the consequent importance of the rite can explain the central and therefore unique position that Mithras assumes when the Iranian religion was carried beyond the boundaries of his own country, and Mithras's capacity for development, in naturistic as well as in symbolical directions, when brought into contact with other religious cults.

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FULCRA OF SPIRITUALISM IN THE ZARATHUSH- TRIAN RELIGION

IT is a matter of fact that the Spiritualism in the modern time has spread over the whole world, and that there is hardly a single religion which has not been infested by it. That fact as well as the subject of Spiritualism itself has been discussed by many people, more or less scholarly, and different opinions pro and contra have been formed. At present there is a large literature about Spiritualism perhaps in any language of the world. Therefore it is not possible to supply an even only superficial survey of the literature about Spiritualism in such a short article as this should be. If somebody will be interested in more details, the names of authors and titles of the works can be easily found in general catalogues and in usual books of reference. For those who are interested in the relation of Spiritualism to Zarathushtrian religion only one book ought to be mentioned here. It is the book *Spiritualism through Zoroastrian Eyes*, by Rastamji Edulji Dastoor Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., where many references to the literature about Spiritualism can be found. I must, however, expressly say that I shall not give a review of that book, but I must touch it as its subject and my article deal with the same theme, but from various points of view, and with quite different object and aim.

It is a fact which cannot be disputed that in modern times there are Parsis, some of them very orthodox, who are inclined to accept ideas proclaimed by Spiritualism, and even try to prove the admissibility of their doing by citing sentences from sacred writings, &c. I have ascertained that fact already during my first stay in Bombay in 1909, and afterwards many times at meetings with Parsis in India and in Europe. Therefore it is not possible to say simply that there are no Spiritualists among Parsis, but the fact must be explained. Mr. Rastamji Edulji Dastoor Peshotan Sanjana, in his book, simply says that Spiritualism is absolutely incompatible with the Zarathushtrian religion, and proves it by a long series of quotations from the Sacred Scriptures of Zarathushtrians. I cannot deal with the merits of every detail of his evidence, but must admit its general validity.

My own aim is quite different. I do not care about the standpoint of the Zarathushtrian theologian and his zeal to preserve the inherited religion as pure as possible, but I ask, why even the Zarathushtrians succumb to the impetus of the rapacious wave of Spiritualism. And I try to give a few replies, but I cannot exhaust the problem in every detail in order not to exceed the limits of an occasional publication. It would grow to a book if all causes should be supported by quotations. Therefore it is necessary to select only those which are most important from the point of view of the Comparative Science of Religions.

The first question to be replied is the question what is Spiritualism from the standpoint of the religious morphology. The reply is very easy. It is a tertiary religious phenomenon, and as such requires a developed secondary religious system as a nourishing ground in order to be able to exist at all. The

tertiary religious phenomena are similar to animal or vegetable parasites who cannot live without its animal or vegetable supporter. That is the great difference between the primary religious phenomena, which are a direct result of the human nature, and the tertiary phenomena, which are in fact deductions, sometimes drawn by false analogies, from the more developed secondary religious phenomena. Sometimes the tertiary religious phenomena require a destructive process in the secondary religious phenomena, and always suppose a lower degree of understanding among the men who fall a prey to it, than is required by that higher religious system where it strikes its roots. In other words, a tertiary religious phenomenon can grow only in such a religious society where the standard of the mentality of at least a number of the believers does not correspond with the standard of the religious system. And that must be in every secondary religion with a developed theology, as there are always many less educated people who cannot understand every detail of the theology, but notwithstanding that they do brood over religious problems which they do not understand, and, instead to ask a man of knowledge for explanation, they solve the problem from the standpoint of their standard of knowledge and understanding. Therefore they fall down to the standard of primary mentality of the mankind, and their products in the province of religion correspond to the primary religious phenomena, except that they use many achievements of the higher religious systems. Thus the tertiary religious phenomena appear to us as degenerative phenomena; in short, they are what we call in the common life *superstitions*.

It is quite clear from the above arguments that every tertiary religious phenomenon has a primary religious phenomenon as its counterpart and a secondary religion as its basis. By the primary religious phenomenon the degree of development or standard of the tertiary phenomenon is determined while the secondary religion is its mere environment.

Now we can return to our special subject. Spiritualism is a tertiary religious phenomenon which originated in the Christian environment when the Christian religion spread to nations and races on a much lower mental standard and much less educated than those nations where the Christian religion arose and developed. The primary religious phenomenon corresponding with Spiritualism is Animism. In short, Spiritualism is a conglomerate of animistic beliefs among those of Christianity.

It can be seen from the above arguments that the connexion of Spiritualism with Christianity is not an inseparable one. Moreover, the start of Spiritualism just in the Christian environment has been a mere chance, helped by the Christian eschatology. Of course the start of Spiritualism has been caused by misunderstanding the Christian eschatological beliefs and by establishment of possibilities not admitted by the Christian religion. In short, it has transplanted the developed Christian eschatology to the standard of the primitive mentality of a man in the animistic stage of religious development. And the same process could happen, and actually happened, among other secondary religious systems, too. And of course, that Spiritualism which has arisen in the Christian environment spread by the help of favourable circumstances in

the province of other religions where a ground had been prepared either by similar eschatological tendencies, or by appearance of similar animistic inclinations of the mentality of the people concerned. In this way Spiritualism, in course of time, penetrated everywhere, and nowadays there is hardly a religious system which, in its popular form, is not tainted by Spiritualism.

After these preliminaries, now we can consider the position of Spiritualism in the Zarathushtrian environment. At first we must fix the position of the Zarathushtrian religion among the morphological hierarchy of religions which is very essential for our problem.

The Zarathushtrian religion had developed from the original primitive Aryan religion in which nature worship was the chief feature. It is a secondary religious formation, with highly developed theology and eschatology, and cult adapted to it. There are, however, no universal tendencies—at least in its later development—and therefore it is rather exclusive: it does not admit converts in the proper sense of the word. This exclusiveness has saved the Zarathushtrian religion from foreign influences, except a few of very old pre-Zarathushtrian elements, and a few Indian elements accepted by Parsis after their arrival in India.

Now there is the question which facilities, and at what time, have brought elements of Spiritualism in the Zarathushtrian religion to enable persons of the present generation to accept indiscriminately ideas of western Spiritualism as not conflicting with ideas of the Zarathushtrian religion.

If we go through the older parts of the Avesta we cannot find a single passage from which the existence of spiritualistic ideas in those times could be inferred, and hardly such ideas could have been contained in the lost parts of it. Of course, there is the Zarathushtrian eschatology and the belief that the human soul lives after the death of the body according to the deeds during life either in Heaven or in Hell. But nowhere the possibility of communication with the world of the dead is even mentioned. Moreover, there is according to all the Zarathushtrian Sacred Scriptures an insurmountable barrier between the world of men and that of the dead, which requires many minute observances at funeral ceremonies and other occasions.

Quite differently, however, developed the praxis influenced by the popular customs and beliefs as they are reflected in the later parts of the Avesta, especially in the Yashts. Popular worship of ancestors is acknowledged here officially, and an official ritual is fixed for it with fixed place and its special time. It is the worship of Fravashis which is the first break in the barrier, and the first admission, that the communication between living men and the souls of the dead is possible. Even belief in ghosts seems to appear in the late Pahlavi literature. But nowhere the possibility of a direct communication with the other world is mentioned in undisputable terms.

The only exception is the Book of *Ardā-Virāf*, undoubtedly a very late Pahlavi composition, in which a downfall of religion and a necessity of refreshing it is clearly reflected. It is the first, and as far as I know the only, reference in the whole Zarathushtrian literature to the direct communication between the human world and the realm of the dead. According to the book,

Virāf, the man who has been chosen as the medium of the communication, was *treated as if he was already dead*. Afterwards, by means of a narcotic, he was brought into a kind of trance or an artificial sleep which lasted for seven days, during which he was able to communicate with the transcendental world, and ascertain the required details of religious lore which had fallen into oblivion.

The details of the narration are of little importance for our problem. The mere fact that according to the Zarathushtrian tradition an attempt was made to communicate with the realm of the dead is sufficient to prove that, at least after the Sāsānian period, there were tendencies in the Zarathushtrian religion towards Spiritualism, although it was not Spiritualism as we know it in western countries. Moreover, we do not know whether it was a single attempt, or whether such experiments were repeated, and at what occasions. But the fact cannot be denied.

This fact, together with the worship of Fravashis and the belief in ghosts, proves, beyond any doubt, that a possibility of communication between this and the other world has been admitted even by the orthodox Zarathushtrian theology. Only the degree of such a possibility can be discussed, and it can be objected, that it serves only to very limited and special purposes.

But that is of no importance for the popular mentality, which is inclined to generalize and conclude by analogies even where they are supported by absolutely wrong premises. And therefore I am of the opinion that these three mentioned facts helped very much the plain man among the Zarathushtrians to defend the admission of Spiritualism in the complex of his popular belief, and that they represent *quasi fulcra* of the Spiritualism in the Zarathushtrian religion.

Of course they are not the only elements which helped Spiritualism to invade the popular belief of Zarathushtrians, and they are not the direct causes of that invasion. Such elements must be many, and a not unimportant one is surely the foreign environment in which the Parsi community of to-day lives. But the causes lie, I think, outside the sphere of religion, perhaps in social and economic circumstances, in Western influences, &c.

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LE NOM DE L'ENFER EN SANSKRIT

La croyance à l'enfer a une grande importance dans les religions indiennes postérieures au Vêda. Il y a donc intérêt à examiner de près, dans les plus anciens textes, le sens du mot qui désigne l'enfer. A cet égard, le passage suivant de *Jaiminîya-upaniṣad-brāhmaṇa* mérite une attention particulière :

iv. 25. 6. *daśa puruṣe svarganarakāṇi. tāny enaṃ svargaṃ gatāni svargaṃ gamayanti narakam gatāni narakam gamayanti.*

iv. 26. 1. *mano narako vāñ narakāḥ prāṇo narakaś cakṣur narakaś śrotram narakas tvañ narako hastau narako gudaṃ narakaś śiśnam narakāḥ pādau narakāḥ.*

Voici la traduction anglaise de H. Oertel:¹

'There are ten heavens and hells in man. They, having gone to heaven, cause him to go to heaven; having gone to hell, they cause him to go to hell.

'Mind is a hell, speech is a hell, breath is a hell, sight is a hell, hearing is a hell, the skin is a hell, both hands are a hell, the rectum is a hell, the penis is a hell, both feet are a hell.'

A première vue, ce passage paraît absurde. Dire que l'esprit, la parole, les pieds sont des enfers n'a guère de sens. En outre, il est contradictoire de mentionner dans l'homme dix *svarganarakāṇi* et de les rattacher ensuite au *naraka* en omettant le *svarga*. De ces deux bizarreries, la première est peut-être imputable au traducteur; la seconde a sans doute une autre origine.

Si les dix organes de l'homme sont *svarganarakāṇi* et contribuent à l'entraîner soit au *svarga* soit au *naraka*, il ne suffit pas de dire *mano narakāḥ*; il faut ajouter *manāḥ svargaḥ* et ainsi de suite pour les neuf autres termes. Que la dizaine, au lieu d'être reprise en relation avec *svarga*, ne soit énoncée qu'une seule fois et uniquement en rapport avec *naraka*, c'est probablement une lacune qui peut être due à la négligence des scribes.

En rétablissant la dizaine: *manāḥ svargaḥ*, etc., on ne fait pas seulement disparaître une contradiction choquante, on rend possible du même coup une meilleure interprétation du mot *naraka*. Dans une proposition telle que *manāḥ svargaḥ*, on obtient un sens acceptable en considérant le second terme comme un adjectif: 'l'esprit est céleste'. L'expression parallèle: *mano narakāḥ* ne peut-elle s'interpréter de même en faisant de *naraka* un adjectif dérivé de *nara* 'homme'² et opposé à *svarga* 'céleste'? 'L'esprit est humain' répond logiquement à 'l'esprit est céleste', tandis que 'l'esprit est enfer' est décidément absurde.

En tout cas, l'absence d'un adjectif *naraka* dans les dictionnaires tend à prouver que le mot cessa de bonne heure d'être employé dans ce sens.

Il reste une dernière difficulté. Si *naraka* signifie 'humain' dans *Jaiminîya-*

¹ Pour le texte sanskrit et la traduction anglaise, cf. *JAOS.* xvi. 222.

² L'existence d'un nom *naraka* dérivé de *nara* est prouvée par le composé *Paphakanarakāḥ* (*Gaṇapāṭha* 104. 4, sur *Pāṇini* 2. 4. 68) qui désigne les descendants de *Paphaka*.

up. br. iv. 26. 1, pourquoi n'est-il pas au duel, mais au singulier devant *hastau* et *pāḍau*? On vient de voir que le mot *naraka* a dû cesser bientôt d'être considéré comme un adjectif. Du moment où il n'était plus senti que comme un nom signifiant 'enfer', les formes duelles cessaient d'être nécessaires et, par analogie avec les formes voisines, on a généralisé le singulier.

En tenant compte des observations qui précèdent, on peut restituer un texte dont la traduction serait la suivante :

iv. 25. 6; 'Il y a dans l'homme dix (organes) qui sont célestes ou humains (*svarganaraka*). Qu'on les fasse aller au ciel, ils vous font aller au ciel; qu'on les fasse aller dans l'enfer, ils vous font aller dans l'enfer.'

iv. 26. 1. ['L'esprit est céleste; la parole est céleste; le souffle est céleste; l'œil est céleste; l'oreille est céleste; la peau est céleste; les mains sont célestes; les entrailles¹ sont célestes; le pénis est céleste; les pieds sont célestes.']

'L'esprit est humain; la parole est humaine; le souffle est humain; l'œil est humain; l'oreille est humaine; la peau est humaine; les mains sont humaines; les entrailles¹ sont humaines; le penis est humain; les pieds sont humains'.

Dans iv. 25. 6, j'ai traduit *svarga* par 'ciel' et *naraka* par 'enfer'. On peut se demander s'il ne vaudrait pas mieux sous-entendre *svarga* (*loka*) et *naraka* (*loka*) et comprendre le (séjour) céleste et le (séjour) humain. Mais l'emploi répété du causatif *gamayanti* laisse entendre que, pour ceux qui ont rédigé le texte, *naraka* était déjà un séjour spécialisé où l'on allait après la mort. Toutefois, s'il est permis de poser un ancien adjectif *naraka* dérivé de *nara* 'homme', il est vraisemblable qu'on est passé de l'adjectif au substantif par l'intermédiaire d'une expression telle que *naraka-loka* désignant le monde inférieur, par opposition au monde des dieux *svarga-loka*. *Naraka*, qui aurait pu désigner tout le monde inférieur, séjour des vivants et des morts, a pris un sens plus étroit et ne s'est appliqué qu'au séjour des morts. Le souci d'éviter les mots de mauvais augure a pu contribuer à ce résultat. *Preta* en sanskrit et *trépas* en français répondent probablement à des préoccupations du même ordre.

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¹ Un peu plus loin, la série des dix organes est reprise et *guda* est alors remplacé par *udara* 'ventre'.

THE SYRIAN *Š.BĀṬ* (FEBRUARY) WITH HIS *ĠIMĀR* AND HIS *MUSTAQRADĀT*

IN Syria the month of February is known as *Š.bāṭ* (colloquial for شُبَات),¹ or *Iš.bāṭ* (إِشْبَات). *Š.bāṭ* is the cloudy, stormy, uncertain month whose reputation is evil in the Arabic-speaking world. Nothing is too hard to say of *Š.bāṭ*. Any one in frowning humour, any one whose presence bores, anything dark, gloomy or distasteful is said to be مثل غيمة شباط ('like the cloud of *Š.bāṭ*'). As the French saying has it: 'Février entre tous les mois: Le plus court et moins courtois.' In Syria it is for the most part a cold month, when heavy rain or hail showers sweep over the land. *Š.bāṭ* is the unlucky month. In some villages of the Lebanons people chalk crosses on their doors to ward off his evil influence and do not feel happy until he is past and gone. Any one with the power of the 'evil eye'² is said to have been born in that month. Its soil is proverbially cold [اصقع من طينة شباط]; its rain breeds worms [ميتة شباط بتدود]; and it is currently believed that if its rainwater runs into wells they become fetid by June [ميتة شباط بالبئر بتختم بحزيران]. In its unhappy weather no one proceeds far from home. Only the weaver who travels abroad to sell his wares will think of leaving the shelter of his own home or of spending the night elsewhere [ما بتمسب في شباط غير صانع الخواط]. Its cold, however, it is popularly admitted, can be of service. It is reputed to ward off the locusts and drought that might otherwise appear during the summer months [برد شباط بيمنع الجراد والقحاط].

Š.bāṭ's weather is notoriously liable to change. It may do so several times even in the course of a single day. This finds expression in the proverb which likens an untrustworthy person to *Š.bāṭ*—'no reliance on his word' [مثل شباط ما على كلامه رباط]. The rapid alternation of sun and rain, so peculiar to this month, is poetically compared to the opening and shutting of an eye. If the weather be clear and bright with sunshine people say *Š.bāṭ* is opening his eye [افتح عينه شباط], but if dark and cloudy he is shutting his eye [غمض عينه]. *Š.bāṭ* is also described as 'one-eyed' [شباط الاعور]. The explanation given is that *Š.bāṭ* is so called because one side of his face is bright and the other dark—a combination of sunshine and storm.³ The term 'one-eyed'

¹ The Arabic in this article is, of course, colloquial Arabic.

² The power of the 'evil eye' [العين] is a matter of firm belief amongst the Syrian peasantry and, indeed, generally throughout the Near East, and the fear of it is real. All manner of misfortunes and mishaps are attributed to its influence. The possessor of 'blue eyes and parted teeth' [عيون الزرق وسنان الفرق] is reputed to possess this power in a marked degree.

³ This is, perhaps, the explanation of the Sardinian proverb, *Frearzu facies facies* ('double-faced February'): [Cf. C. Swainson, *A Handbook of Weather Folklore*, 1873, p. 41].

in Syria is also one of reproach, and the epithet may be interpreted here in that sense also. Great respect is shown always to the blind but none to the 'one-eyed', who are looked upon with misgiving and have the reputation of being ill-tempered, suspicious, and spiteful.¹ To meet an اعور is deemed unlucky, and a stone should be turned to ward off the evil effects that may be expected to result from the encounter.

Yet the sun of Š.bāṭ is not welcome. It has the reputation of paining the head, as the Syrians say, 'like the blow from a clothes-beetle' [شمس شباط بتوجع].² Indeed the wind and cloud are regarded as more healthy and much to be preferred to his sun and rain [شباط غيمه وهواه خير من شمس وشتاه], both of which are undesirable. The relative values of the suns of Š.bāṭ, Adhār (March) and Nisān (April), are quaintly expressed in the popular saying: 'Said the old woman, "The sun of Š.bāṭ for my daughter-in-law, the sun of Adhār for my daughter, and the sun of Nisān for me and my old age"' [قلت العجوز: شمس شباط لكنيتي وشمس اذار لبنيتي وشمس نيسان لي ولشيبتي]. The mutual antipathy of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is proverbial in Syria as elsewhere, but perhaps more so in Syria than elsewhere.³ Š.bāṭ, then, even when he opens his bright eye, is not to be trusted. The coldness of the soil at that season is unfavourable for sowing, and no good result can be expected from grain sown in Š.bāṭ when the harvest time comes. As the popular saying somewhat crudely but forcibly expresses it, الفراط الذى يزرع فى شباط ما يحصد الا الفراط [Qui mense Februario serit, nil nisi crepitum ventris metit].

Of Š.bāṭ it is said that three live coals [جمار]⁴ fall from heaven during its course, with an interval of a week between each. The idea underlying this is the gradual increase in the warmth of the weather. Thus if snow should chance to fall towards the end of the month people say it will not lie long because the جمار have fallen. Strangely enough, in Syria the subsequent state of the weather, no matter what it may be, is ascribed to the condition of the جمار. If the weather chance to be wet they say the جمره was wet, and if dry the جمره was dry. According to the *Calendar of Cordova*⁵ (10th cent.) the first جمره falls on the 8th February, the second on the 14th, and the third on the 21st.

¹ There is a saying, اقرع لا تداقر والاعور لا تجاكر ('Do not wound the feelings of the bald-headed and do not tease the one-eyed').

² In other lands, where similar weather conditions are found in a later period of the year, a similar effect is attributed to the sun of March. There is, for instance, an Illyrian proverb, 'Better to be bitten by a snake than to feel the sun in March', and Shakespeare in *Henry IV* makes Hotspur say, 'Worse than the sun in March this praise doth nourish agues'. [Pt. I. iv. 1].

³ In Syria they say 'It is written on the gate of Paradise never mother-in-law loves her daughter-in-law, and, on the gate of Heaven, never daughter-in-law loves her mother-in-law' مكتوب على باب الجنة ما فى حماه بتحب كنة ومكتوب على باب السما ما فى كنة بتحب [حماه]. They say also, 'When the mother-in-law loves her daughter-in-law the dogs will get into Paradise' [ان كان الحماه بتحب كنة بتطيع الكلاب فى الجنة].

⁴ Colloquial plural of جمره.

⁵ Vide *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'Annee* 961, ed. by R. Dozy, Leyden, 1873, s.v.

On the other hand the calendar which Hoest has translated¹ gives them as falling on the 7th, 17th, and 21st. According to Jemayyel² the جمار fall on the 7th, 14th, and 21st, whilst Beaussier³ gives them for Algeria and Tunisia as falling on the 18th and 25th of February and the 4th March, with a fourth, less well known, falling on the 20th of July. Lane⁴ explains that they stand for the first three degrees of heat—the first in the air, the second in the earth, and the third in the water. The first falls exactly one zodiacal month before the vernal equinox, and each lasts seven days. The present writer, when in Mount Lebanon, was told that the جمار were seven in number. The first was held to fall in the first week of Š.bāt, so that with an interval of a week between each جمر the last would fall at the time of the vernal equinox. Dr. T. Canaan⁵ seems to have been drawn away on a false scent when he tries to show that the جمر, 'ist eine Raupenart die sich im Winter entwickelt'. Thus Š.bāt has this redeeming feature, that in him the longed-for warmth of summer has its origin. 'Even if he scratches and kicks', say the Syrians, 'he has in him the scent of summer' [شباط ولو شبط ولبط ربحة الصيف فيه].

The most interesting sayings, however, in which Š.bāt figures are those associated with the *mustagraḍāt* or 'borrowed days'. The مستقرضات is the term given to the first three days of March, which, according to popular fancy, are borrowed from March by February. Š.bāt, amongst his other defects of character, has the reputation of being very hard on old people, especially old women,⁶ whose particular enemy he is [شباط عدو العجائز]. To carry out his vindictive pursuit of old women Š.bāt is said to borrow three days from Adhār (March), which he makes wildly tempestuous in order to achieve his purpose. Hence we have the legend of Š.bāt and the old woman—a legend that is widespread and, as we shall see, by no means confined to Syria and Palestine.

The tale runs: Four days were left of Š.bāt, and the old woman cried 'Hai! Hai! Š.bāt is gone, and a stick to his back!' But Š.bāt overheard and planned his revenge. He said to his brother Adhār, 'Lend me three days; I want to get the old woman in my clutches'. Having obtained them he intensified the hail, lightning, and thunder, so that the old woman burned her spinning-wheel in a vain attempt to ward off her fate. The changes are rung on the legend in

¹ *Nachrichten von Morocco*, Copenhagen, 1781, p. 252 sq.

² A. Jemayyel, *امثال العوام في الشهور وفصول العام*; *Al-Maṣriq*, viii, 1905, p. 692.

³ *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, Algiers, 1887 s.v.

⁴ *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v.

⁵ 'Das Kalendar des Palästinensischen Fellachen', *Zeitschr. Deutsch. Palästina-Vereins*, xxxvi, 1913, p. 285, note 2.

⁶ The عجوز is not held in esteem, and to this unfortunate fact several proverbial sayings testify. It is permissible to curse her [عجوز عليها لعنة تجوز]. 'Do not play with fire, nor torment the عجوز'. [النار لا تنكشها والعجوز لا تنكزها] 'عجوزها'. 'To do away with old hags all means are lawful' [حينما تقطع العجائز كل مفعول جاز]. 'Put the maids in a castle to be gazed on, not hid; Pop old wives down the well and on with the lid' [حط صبايا في القصر وفرّج عليهم حطّ العجائز]. [في البير وسكّر عليهم and so on.

different localities. At Sūq al-Gharb in the Lebanon she sells her plot of ground as well as burns her spinning-wheel. At Baiṣūr I found it given by the Druzes in quaint rhyme, as follows :

قال شباط لاذار يا حنوني قرضني سبعة عيوني تدقق [= حتى ادقق] لك العجوز وبنيتها عشن
على شأن فيك معيرونى¹

of which a free translation may be given—

Said Š.bāṭ to Adhār, O my friend,
Seven days, my dear, I hope to me you'll lend,
Wherewith both hag and daughter I'll destroy,
For 'gainst me sore their tongues they did employ.

[Lit.—For they have compared me unfavourably with you.] At Petra they say that the old woman insulted Š.bāṭ, exulting that he was past and had neither killed her nor snapped her tent-pole. Š.bāṭ appeals to Adhār for three days. 'Lend me three days and I shall go to the confines of the desert to seek the rain.' The three days are granted. Š.bāṭ assembles the clouds, swells them with rain, and launches them against the old woman. Her tent-pole is broken, her effects scattered abroad, and she herself drowned. In Moab the old woman mocks at Š.bāṭ because his time is up and he has taken neither the 'he-goat nor the mother of the she-kid'. Š.bāṭ, favoured with three days from Adhār, sends a violent storm which sweeps away the old woman.² In the Dead Sea region the old woman derides Š.bāṭ for failing to produce rain. With only three days left he borrows three from Adhār. Six days of heavy rain followed, and the torrents from the hills swept the old woman and her flock into the sea.³

In Morocco the period from 25th February to 4th March is called الحسوم (Fez) or more commonly حنين. At Hiania we are told the old woman went out to the pasture with the sheep and goats. As the ground was very dry and the crops were suffering from drought she asked حنين to send rain. Hayyan in his turn asked March to lend him one day. This he did, and rain fell so heavily that the old woman perished, but the animals escaped to the village.⁴ The Berbers of Ait-Warāin call that period Tamġart (the old woman); and according to Westermarck⁵ the story they tell there is that once when it was raining during the first three days of the period the calves in her yard took refuge in her tent; but she drove them forth telling them not to be afraid of a little rain. Then Brāyer (February), feeling insulted, said to Marsu (March) 'O March, lend me an evil day that I may kill with it the bad old woman'. March, who at that time had thirty-two days, lent him one. There ensued much rain and cold and snow. Tamġart, her tent, and all her animals were transformed into stone. Another Moroccan version has it that the old woman asked her children to

¹ The م in this word is a rank colloquialism.

² Vide A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris, 1908, p. 324, note 3.

³ Vide J. E. Hanauer, *Folklore of the Holy Land, Moslem, Christian, and Jewish*, London, 1907, p. 307 sq.

⁴ E. Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco*, Helsingfors, 1913, p. 71.

⁵ l.c., p. 71.

Whilst the legend of the old woman and the borrowed days is found in its fullest form in Syria it would appear to have spread westward to Africa. In North Africa, as we have had occasion to observe, it is found in varying forms, but still forms which leave no doubt as to the common source of the legends. We can, moreover, trace the spread of the legend to Europe. But there, as is natural, having regard to the weather conditions on that continent, it is March instead of February who borrows from the following month.

There is a story among the country folk of Andalusia to the following effect: 'A shepherd once upon a time promised March a lamb if he would favour the flock with propitious weather. March agreed, and conscientiously acted up to his part of the agreement. But just before the end of the month, when he asked for his lamb, the shepherd, bethinking himself that only three days were left of the month and that his flock was in fine condition, refused to implement his promise. "So you won't give me my right?" said March; "then, know this, that in the three days I have left, and three more that my gossip April will lend me, all your sheep shall die"; and accordingly such fearful weather ensued that the whole flock perished.'¹ We find a similar story in the south of France. 'A rich man said on 30 March: "*Mars and Marsillon* are past, costing me neither cow nor bull-calf." March heard this and said to April: "April, lend me one day, lend me two, lend me three, and with one which I have that will make four, and we will reduce to extremity all his cattle."²

In Milan there is a saying: 'March bought a cloak from his father and pawned it after three days,' which Swainson³ thinks may have reference to the 'borrowed days'.

The oldest form of the legend in Britain is probably that of the *Faoilteach* in Gaelic Scotland. These are three days said to have been borrowed for some purpose by February from January, who was bribed by February with three sheep. The three days by Highland reckoning occur between the 11th and the 15th of February, and it is accounted a most favourable prognostic for the ensuing year that they should be as stormy as possible.⁴ The *Faoilteach* period is followed by the *Feadag*, the *Gearran*, and then the *Cailleach* (old woman). The bounds of these periods cannot be determined exactly. But the *Cailleach* lasts seven days. The 'old woman' tries hard with her *slachdan* (beetle) to beat down the grass, which is beginning to grow, in vain. Immediately following on the *Cailleach* come three days called the *Oisgean* or 'ewes'.⁵ The old farmers in Devonshire call the three first days of March 'blind days', and they were anciently considered so unlucky that no husbandman would sow any seed on any one of the three.

¹ O. von Reinsberg-Dueringsfeld, *Das Wetter im Sprichwort*, Leipzig, 1864, p. 97 sq.

² J'ai passé Mars et Marsillon, sans qu'il m'en ait coûté ni vache ni taurillon. Avril prête m'en un, prête m'en deux, prête m'en trois, Et un que j'ai, ça fera quatre, et nous mettons tout son bétail aux abois. C. Swainson, l.c., p. 66 sq. ³ l.c., p. 54.

⁴ Mrs. A. Grant, *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland*, London, 1811, ii. 217.

⁵ A. Nicolson, *A Collection of Gaelic Proverbs and familiar Phrases*, 2nd ed. Edinburgh, 1882, p. 411 sq.

A common form of the saying in this country is:

March borrows of April
Three days and they are ill.
April borrows of March again
Three days of wind and rain;

or in yet another form:

March borrowed from April
Three days and they were ill.
The first was frost, the second was snaw,
The third was cauld as ever't could blaw.

The fuller form, which also suggests more readily the Oriental form, is the Scottish version given in the *Complaynt of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1801):

March said to Aperill
I see three hogges upon a hill,
But lend your three first days to me
And I'll be bound to gar them dee.
The first it sall be wind and weet,
The next it shall be snaw and sleet,
The third it sall be sic a freeze
Sall gar the birds stick to the trees;
And when the borrowed days were gane
The three silly hogges cam' hirplin' hame.¹

Thus do the quaint conceits of early peoples pass from tongue to tongue and land to land. But few, I think, will venture to deny that the legend of the 'borrowed days' is at its most natural and best in its Eastern garb. *Ex Oriente Lux!*

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¹ *Hogges* or *hogs*—a term used by Scottish shepherds for one-year-old ewes; *gar* = cause; *hirplin'* = crippling.

INDIANS IN WESTERN ASIA IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY B.C.

THE famous correspondence between the Egyptian Government and its officials on the one hand and sister Governments in Asia on the other which was discovered at Tel el-Amarna made us acquainted with the Mesopotamian kingdom of Mitanni and the names of many of its rulers. Among the letters was one from a king Dusratta which was written in the native language of the country. The language belonged to the agglutinative class and is still but partially deciphered.

The discovery nearly twenty years later of the cuneiform tablets preserved in the libraries of the Hittite capital at Boghaz Keui in Cappadocia brought to light fresh information concerning Mitanni. Not only did we acquire a large amount of additional knowledge as regards its history and princes, but we further learned that it was not homogeneous in either population or speech. Along with the deities of Mitanni and Babylonia deities with Indian names are invoked in its records, and by the side of Mitanni another name is employed which could be read Kharri or 'Kharriyan' and in which, therefore, Dr. Winckler proposed to see the name of the Aryans.

Meanwhile attempts had been made to explain some of the names of the Egyptian officials in Syria mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna tablets as of Iranian origin. The tablets had already informed us that Artatâma was the grandfather of Dusratta, while Artassumara was his brother, and a Mitannian is also mentioned who bore the name of Artêssupa. It was easy to see in them the Iranian *arta*. The fact that in one of the tablets from the library of Assur-bani-pal Mitra is stated to be a name of the Sun-god was quoted as a proof that an Iranian language was once spoken in the immediate neighbourhood of Assyria.

But further knowledge of the Hittite records showed that the attempt to explain the Mitannian names from an Iranian dictionary was illusory. The names of the deities invoked in the Mitannian documents are not Iranian, but the Vedic Indra, Varuna, Mitra and the Nâsatya. It became evident, therefore, that the Indo-European language spoken in Mitanni and its neighbourhood was not Iranian, but Sanskrit. As for the syllabary from the library of Assur-bani-pal, that belongs to a period when Assyria had long been in contact with Media and other Iranian tribes.

The conclusion derived from the names of the deities in the Mitannian documents was confirmed by further discoveries. Among the tablets found at Boghaz Keui is the copy of a work by an author named Kikkûli, descriptive of horse breeding and racing. This was in the hands of a certain part of the population of eastern Asia Minor whose language was not Hittite. The technical words and terms used in the profession, however, naturally passed into the Hittite language and they turn out to be Sanskrit. Among them are the names of the numerals: *aika* 'one', Skt. *êka* (not Zend *aêva*); *tera* 'three',

Skt. *tri*; *panza* 'five', Skt. *pancha*-; *satta*, *sapta* 'seven', Skt. *sapta*-; *nāwa* 'nine', Skt. *nava*-. Thus we have *aikawartanna* 'one turn'; *terawartanna* 'threefold turn'; *panzawartanna* 'five turns', where *wartanna* is the Skt. *varṭana*. Through these Sanskrit-speaking horse-breeders the Hittites derived one of their names for the Fire-god Agnis as well as the word *yugan* 'a yoke', probably also *yugas* 'one-year-old' and *tāyugas* 'two-year-old' used of horses and oxen.

It thus became evident that if we wish to find eastern Indo-European elements in the proper names recorded in the Tel el-Amarna and Boghaz Keui tablets we must have recourse to a Sanskrit and not to a Zend dictionary. This has been done, accordingly, by several German scholars of whom Porzig is the most prominent.¹ He has found etymologies not only for the names of the Mitannian princes, but for many other leading characters as well; Abiratta, for example, becomes the 'Old-Indian' Abhi-ratha 'Owner of a superior chariot', Artassumara is Ṛta-smara 'Remembering the sacred law', while Kretschmer turns the name of the Amorite prince of Kadesh, Aitag-gama, into Eta-gama 'Rider of a piebald'.

Support for these 'Old-Indian' etymologies is supposed to be found in the fact that several of the Mitannian names begin with Arta-. The word has a strongly Aryan appearance, and where we do not know the origin of a name or even the language to which it belongs it is easy to discover Indian etymologies for the names in which it appears. Unfortunately, however, the letter of Dusratta shows that *art*- is also a Mitannian word which forms part of the compound *att-art-(ippi)* 'grandfather', a compound of *att-ippi* 'father'. It may, of course, have been borrowed by the Mitannians from their Aryan neighbours, but so, too, may some other elements in Mitannian names which seem to bear an Aryan impress. At all events the name of Dusratta himself has thus far eluded any satisfactory Aryan etymology; Hüsing made it the Skt. *Dus-ratha* 'with a bad chariot', Scheftelovitz *Dus-raddha* 'Difficult to overcome'. The first explanation is obviously impossible; the second encounters phonetic difficulties.

The belief that the Mitannians and 'Kharriyans' were separate peoples finds no support in the texts themselves. The first name had a wider significance than the second and its origin is still unknown. If it is of 'Asiatic' derivation, *Mita-na* or *Mitanna* would mean 'land of Mita' or Midas, implying occupation at some time or other by invaders from Asia Minor. As for the 'Kharriyans', the first syllable of the name is represented by a character which has the variant values of *khar*, *khur*, and *mur*. *Khar* was selected by Winckler because he wished to identify the word with 'Aryan', which is a phonetic impossibility. *Khur* is now generally read by the German scholars for the equally impossible object of identifying its holders with the Horites of Southern Palestine and Edom. The correct reading is *Mur*, as I pointed out many years ago, at the same time that I also pointed out that the names previously read Akharu and Patina should be Amurru and Khattina—corrections which have since been silently adopted by all Assyriologists. The

¹ In the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, 1927.

Murri claim connexion with the city of Mirrekhnas or Murrekhna mentioned in the Syrian List of Thothmes III (Nos. 160, 177) where we have the name of Murra with the territorial suffixes *-na* and *-kh*. Lenormant long ago identified the name with that of Urrakhinas a town in Qurkhi, west of Diarbekir, which was captured by Tiglath-pileser I. (The followers of Winckler, however, may console themselves with the fact that in the mountains north of Qurkhi Tiglath-pileser places the land of Kharia which in 1888 I suggested might be Karia, the classical Korra, north-west of Diarbekir.)

In the letter of Dusratta Masrienne and Murwu-kha, where *-kha* is the territorial suffix as in Mukis-khe 'the country of Mukis', interchange with Mizzirre 'Egypt', and Mitanni. The native name of Mitanni, accordingly, must have been Murwu, Murwu-khe. In the Hittite cuneiform texts *Mur-las* signifies 'Mitannian', *Mur-li-li* 'in the Mitannian language', and Mûru, it is worth noticing, is stated by Shalmaneser III (*Black Obelisk*, 130) to have been a stronghold of Arame the son of Agusi north of the Amanus. In any case Marlos, the native name of Mallos as found upon coins, would correspond with the Hittite Murlas.

Murwe, Murri, Mur are, I believe, the same name as Murrû, the original Sumerian form of the name afterwards Semitized as Amurru, where the initial vowel is the prothetic *a* before the double consonant *mw* (see my article in *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, Sept., iii). In the later Assyrian days the name came to include the Semites of the West, just as did also the name Hittite, but primitively it denoted the Mitannian population of Subaru or Mesopotamia, which extended to the Mediterranean on the one side and to the eastern bank of the Tigris on the other. We know from the Egyptian monuments that this Amorite population belonged to the blond race with blue eyes and so claims relationship with the blonds of the Caucasian region. An early Sumerian poem found at Kish tells us how Lugal-banda, the Sumerian ruler of Dêr, crossed the Tigris and 'expelled the wicked Murrû from the whole of Sumer and Akkad', establishing his capital at Erech (Langdon, *Weld-Blundell Collection in the Ashmolean Museum*, i. 5, 8). We appear to have here a tradition of the Sumerian conquest of Babylonia, the inhabitants of which at that time were the blond Amorites from whom the Sumerians distinguished themselves in their later literature as 'the black-headed' or 'black-haired race'.

To sum up: (1) There is no evidence for the belief, now abandoned, that there was an Iranian element in the population of the Near East in the Tel el-Amarna age. (2) There was, however, in both Mesopotamia and Eastern Asia Minor a people who spoke—not a derivative language from Sanskrit—but Sanskrit itself and who occupied themselves with breeding and training the horse. (3) There is no evidence that this people bore the name of 'Kharriyan'; on the contrary instead of 'Kharriyan' the name must be read Murriyan and is, in fact, identical with the native name of Mitanni (Murwu). (4) Arguments derived from the conjectural etymologies of proper names are always dangerous, more especially where the language to which the names belong is unknown. (5) The single support for ascribing an Indian etymology to certain Mitannian and other names breaks down on examination, *arta*

being a Mitannian as well as an Indo-European word. While, therefore, it is possible that some of the personages mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna and Hittite texts were Indian and bore Indian names we have no proof at present that such was the case. We must be satisfied with the fact that Sanskrit was spoken in the Near East in the fifteenth century before our era, and that a Proto-Indian people were once included within the limits of the Hittite Empire.

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STAMMT DER RELIGIONSSTIFTER MĀNI AUS DEM IRANISCHEN HERRSCHERHAUS DER ARSAKIDEN?

H. SCHAEDEr behauptet in seiner Schrift, *Urform und Fortbildung des manichäischen Systems*, S. 68 f., das die Mutter des Religionsstifters Māni aus dem Geschlechte der Arsakiden gestammt hätte. Da nun Fihrist angibt, dass ihr Geschlecht *as'ānija* geheissen habe, muss also SchaeDer annehmen, dass *as'ānija* ein alter Schreibfehler für *ašyanija* sei. Wäre dieses der Fall, so hätte man erwartet, dass ein Sprössling dieses alten, iranischen Königsgeschlechts einen rein iranischen Namen tragen würde. Allein sämtliche 3 Namen, die Fihrist für Māni's Mutter überliefert, *Mais*, *Marmarjam*, *Utāhim*, sowie der in den griechischen Anathematismen angegebene Name *Καπόσσα* sind uniranisch. Daher erscheint es sehr zweifelhaft, ob *as'ānija* aus *ašyanija* verschrieben sei.

Dagegen trägt der Geschlechtsname von Māni's Vater, der bei Fihrist *haskanija* heisst, einen iranischen Charakter. Dieses Wort kann auf altiran. **χasakāna* zurückgehen. Letzteres Wort wäre wohl von dem Verb **χas* 'verwunden' (np. *χästān* 'verwunden', *χäsidān* 'zerkauen', air. **χad-s*: aw. *χad*) abgeleitet. Wenn hingegen SchaeDer meint, die Fihristsche Schreibung *hask-* könne die ältere Schreibweise für jüngerer mittelpersisches *hašk-* sein, da jedes altiranische *sk* im Mittelpersischen zu *šk* übergegangen sei, so irrt er sich. Inlautendes altiranisches *sk* hat sich auch im Mittelpers. unverändert erhalten. Altiranisches inlautendes *sk* ist im Neupersischen nach *a*, nur wenn ihm ein *r(l)* vorangeht zu *šk* geworden, was ich in *Ztschr. f. Indol. u. Iran.*, vi. 117 ff. dargelegt habe. SchaeDer setzt für *haskanija* ganz willkürlich **χaškanija* ein, das wiederum für **aškānija* stehen solle, ohne eine sprachwissenschaftliche Begründung dafür zu geben. Seine aus diesen hypothetischen Formen gezogene Schlussfolgerung: 'danach würden Māni's Eltern beide aus dem gleichen königlichen Geschlecht stammen', beruht also auf unhaltbaren Voraussetzungen. Diese seine Hypothese will er aber noch durch folgende Erwägung stützen, 'dass eine Frau vom *fürstlichen* Geschlecht nur einen Ebenbürtigen heiraten könnte'. Dabei bedenkt er nicht, dass seine Behauptung, sie stamme vom *fürstlichen* Geschlecht, bloss auf eine unsichere Konjektur zurück geht. Aber SchaeDer führt S. 69 noch einen anderen 'Beweisgrund' dafür an, dass Māni vom Herrscherhause stamme. 'Māni wird nämlich in 2 Liedern, die uns in den Turfanfragmenten erhalten sind und in denen er als Redender auftritt, als Herrschersohn bzw. Herrscherspross bezeichnet (Müller, *Handschr.* ii. 29, 108); diese Bezeichnungen sind wörtlich zu verstehen'. Aber auch diese hier von SchaeDer angeführten Beweisstücke sind unbrauchbar. In einer liturgischen Hymnensammlung der Manichäer (vgl. Müller, ii. 29) beginnt eine Hymne, die sekundär mit der Überschrift versehen worden ist: *ēn pad xvēš nuvāk* ('dieses im selbigen Liede') mit folgenden Worten: 'Ich bin der erste Entfremdete (*Uzdēh*), der Sprössling des Gottes Zarvān, der Herrschersohn (*pus ē šahrgārān*)'. In derselben Hymnensammlung heisst es ferner an anderer Stelle: 'Ich bin ein

Herrschersohn (*šahrdār zādag*) und entfremdet (*uzdēh*) bin ich der Erhabenheit geworden' (Müller, ii. 108). Hier ist von der *Seele* die Rede, denn der Ausdruck 'entfremdet' (*uzdēh*) wird gerade von der Seele gebraucht, die aus dem Himmel nach der Erde verbannt worden ist, um die Materie zu zügeln, vgl. Fragm. M 7 Rückseite:

אין רישן י' יודאן חים אור עודיה בוד חים אז חוין

'Vom Licht und von den Göttern bin ich und *entfremdet* bin ich ihnen geworden.' Die Seele wird dort auch als 'ein Gott' bezeichnet, 'die von den glänzenden Göttern geboren ist' (בג חים כי זאד אין בנאן באמין).

Gerade diese Vorstellung ist der mandäischen Religion eigen, von der die manichäische sehr beeinflusst worden ist.¹ Die Seele heisst dort 'der Sohn lichter Herrlichkeit' (Ginzā übers. Lidzbarski, p. 461), 'ein grosses Glanzwesen', bzw. 'Sohn der Gewaltigen' (Ginzā, 576, 469 f. 305). Die in den beiden manichäischen Hymnen sich zeigende Eigenart, dass die Seele selbst als Redende auftritt, findet sich gerade im Mandäismus, vgl. Ginzā, S. 592: 'Ein Glanzwesen, ein Sohn von Glanzwesen bin ich, ein Sohn Gewaltiger bin ich, ein Glanzwesen, ein Sohn Grosser bin ich, wer brachte mich in die irdische Welt und liess mich da wohnen, in dem Hause, das die Lügner gebaut haben? . . . Ich bin der *erste* Glanz, wer liess mich im Hause der sieben (Planeten) wohnen?' Ebenso wie im Mandäismus ist die Seele auch im Manichäismus als *erstes* Gottwesen aus dem Lichthimmel nach der dämonischen Erde gewiesen worden.

Aber auch der manichäische Gott Jesus trägt die gleichen Epitheta, die wir bei der vom Himmel stammenden Seele finden. So heisst Jesus im nordiranischen Fragment M 10 (vgl. Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, S. 126): 'Du bist geboren zum Herrschertum' שחרדאריתם; ferner 'du Prinz, Herrschersohn' חו ויספוזר שחרדאר. Ähnlich wird er im Fragment 189^v als 'unser neues Herrschertum' bezeichnet.²

Selbst wenn solche Bezeichnungen auch für Māni zu belegen wären, dürfte daraus nicht gefolgert werden, dass er vom Herrscherhaus der Arsakiden abstamme. Letztere Dynastie heisst im Mittelpersischen *Aškān*, dessen š aus uriranischer Zeit stammt; denn das Wort geht bekanntlich auf altpersisch *aršaka* zurück, das im Mittelpersischen als *Aršak* bzw. *Ašak* erscheint, wovon dann *Aškān* abgeleitet ist, der als Vater des *Ašak* überliefert wird (Tab. 710, 7, Albīrūnī, 113, 3, Justi *Iranisches Namenbuch*, S. 28). In dem mandäischen Buch Ginzā (übers. Lidzbarski) heisst er demgemäss *Ašaq*, Sohn des *Ašqān*. Also kann der bei Fihrist überlieferte Name *ḥaskanija* unmöglich mit *Aškān* in Verbindung gebracht werden.

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¹ Vergl. Scheftelowitz, 'Die manichäische Zarathustra-Hymne M7.', in *Oriens Christianus*, 1927, 268 f., ferner Scheftelowitz, 'Die mandäische Religion und das Judentum', in *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judentums*, 1929, 231; Der göttliche Urmensch in der manichäischen Religion', in *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.* 1931, 220.

² Waldschmidt-Lentz, *a.a.O.*, S. 96.

PERSIAN DUALISM IN THE FAR EAST

WHILE the spread of the Persian dualism in the West is well known, the influence of this doctrine in the Far East seems to be yet entirely unexplored, although the names of dualistic gods or ghosts are spread from China to the Arctic Ocean. All the Altaic peoples have borrowed the name of Ahuramazda: Turkish (Altaic) *Kurbustan*, Mongolian *Khormosta*, Manchu *Khormozda*, which means the king of the celestial gods. *Irmun* or *Ilmun* (southern Manchu) means the god of darkness, corresponds to the *Ahriman* and is found only in Manchu. The Tungus *Buga*, celestial god, seems to be borrowed from *Baga*, the other name of *Ahuramazda*. The same root is probably in the Mongolian word *bogda*, godlike, divine.

The borrowing must be very old and during the last thousand years was scarcely possible. But before the Arab invasion in Transoxania has been not only pure Zoroastrianism, but also dualistic sects, persecuted in Persia (W. Barthold, *Turkestan down the Mongol Invasions*, p. 180). The further intercourse between Transoxania, Mongolia, and Siberia is beyond all doubt. During the tenth century the Mohammedans in all likelihood extinguished the dualistic sects in Central Asia.

It is more difficult to prove Zoroastrian influence on the Chinese, where we likewise find two primeval forces, the *Yin* and *Yang*. Professor A. Forke seems to deny the Persian influence, as he writes:

‘Like *Yin* and *Yang*, the Persian deities represent light and darkness, good and evil, but in the fundamental ideas both nations differ to such an extent that mutual influence can hardly be thought of. . . . In point of fact the *Yin-Yang* theory is purely physical, the Persian conception religious-mystical, and where the former overlaps the sphere of religion, it distinguishes itself quite clearly from the Persian dualism.’¹

These arguments are certainly very important, but in my opinion not sufficient for a total denial of a contact between the Persian and Chinese conceptions. If we do not deny Zoroastrian influence to the Slavs in Europe as far as the Manchus in the Far East, it is improbable that the Chinese were not in contact with their neighbours. In olden times new ideas and new words were not borrowed from books, and for that reason two different conceptions of these dual forces or deities are not a proof of their different origin.

I cannot agree also with the prevalent opinion of the sinologists that we may put back the origin of the *Yin-yang* theory till the end of second millenium B.C. I prefer the criticism of my old professor, V. Vassilyeff, who denies the authenticity of the Chinese literature before Confucius. The old documents have not only gone through the editing of Confucius, but have also been falsified, and the prehistoric chronology is fantastic (P. Schmidt,

¹ *The World-conception of the Chinese*, pp. 220-1.

Chinese Classics, Vladivostok, 1900). One thing is indubitable, that Confucius already knew the *Yin-yang* forces.

The old pronunciation of the Chinese *Yin*, the force of darkness and evil, was *Yim*, which corresponds to *Yima*, another name of *Ahriman* (O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, i, pp. 9 and 108). This fact approaches again the Chinese dualistic forces to Persian dualism. Two words with similar phonetic and semantic values cannot be a game of chance.

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DIE GÖTTIN ṚTIŠ IM AWESTA

MIT VERGLEICHENDEN AUSBLICKEN NACH INDIEN UND HELLAS

DIE Göttin Ṛtiš hat einen Namen, der völlig klar ist. Er ist das Femininum zu dem Neutrum *ṛtam*, das in den Weden und der späteren indischen Spekulation ebenso eine führende Rolle spielt wie in der Mazdä-Lehre, wo es als *Ṛtam wahištam* einen der ersten *Amṛta Spanta* (den Gegner des Ēšma oder Indra) bezeichnet. Da *ṛtam* den Lauf der Welt, der geistigen und der körperlichen, also Wahrheit, Ordnung, Recht, auch das dem entsprechend eingerichtete Opfer und seinen Gang bedeutet, muss auch Ṛtiš, soweit der Name für sie bezeichnend ist, in solchen Vorstellungen wurzeln, und diese Vorstellungen müssen, so lang die Bedeutung von *ṛtam* lebendig bleibt—und das tut sie bis in die späte Zeit—auch immer irgendwie schon beim blossen Namen Ṛtiš mitgeschwungen haben. Das hindert nicht, dass Ṛtiš allerhand Sondersinn erhält. Aber der Sondersinn muss stets mit der Grundbedeutung Fühlung haben. Der Antrieb, ihn zu entwickeln konnte dabei eben so stark von der Spekulation ausgehen wie von dem Hereinwirken anderer, z.T. vielleicht auch aus verwandten Ansätzen gebildeter Gottheiten. Die Personifikation ist nicht neben dem Appellativ entstanden, sondern mit ihm—wie bei Themis (vgl. L. Weniger in Roschers *Lexikon*, v, Sp. 571). Man ist nicht berechtigt, abstrakte Götternamen ohne Weiteres aus der Spekulation der Religionsstifter zu erklären; 'Die Abstrakta sind in den orientalischen Volksreligionen schon frühzeitig für mythologische Namen eingetreten und werden in synkretistischer Zeit aus leicht begreiflichen Gründen bevorzugt' (R. Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche*, Heidelberg, 1917, S. 9). Abstraktion und Zugehörigkeit von Kult und Mythos schliessen einander in gewissem Sinne durchaus nicht aus.

Spekulation hat bei der Sippe der zu *ṛtam* gehörigen Wortbildungen von allem Anfange an stark mitgewirkt. Für Ṛtiš kommt wohl besonders in Betracht, dass man in Indien schon im Ṛgwēda mit *ṛtū* den regelmässigen Lauf der Zeit, die Monde, Jahreszeiten, Opferzeiten, aber auch die Regel des Weibes bezeichnete. Entsprechendes muss in Iran vorgelegen und die Vorstellung von einer weiblichen Gottheit Ṛtiš mit bestimmt haben. Der Ertrag der Jahreszeiten verleiht Wohlstand, die Regel ist das Zeichen der Gebärfähigkeit. So wurde Ṛtiš Göttin und Schützerin des Geschlechtslebens des Weibes und weiterhin des Ehelebens überhaupt, aber auch Spenderin von (durch Frömmigkeit verdientem) Wohlstand. Das setzt eine positive Bewertung der Regel voraus, und in derselben Richtung liegt es, wenn das mit der Regel behaftete Weib *ṣiprawatī* heisst, der Blutfluss also als Same aufgefasst und dem Samen des Mannes (*ṣipra*) gleichgesetzt wird (vgl. J. Hertel, *Die arische Feuerlehre*, i. Leipzig, 1925, S. 48). Heisst aber die Regel auch *daḥšta*, das Weib in diesem Zustande *daḥštawatī*, dann leitet diese Vorstellung von einer 'Gezeichneten' wohl zu negativer Wertung über. Sie gilt als unrein, wird abgesondert und muss hernach wieder

gereinigt werden. Dementsprechend wurde die Regel als Strafe für eine erste Untreue oder einen frevlerischen Verrat des Weibes betrachtet. Nach einer Erzählung bei Somadewa straft Agnis das Weib, weil es sein Versteck verraten hat (J. Hertel, a.a.O.); man denke an Twaštar bei den Weibern. Der volkstümliche Gedanke vom Wankelmute des Weibes lag bereit, um die Göttin mit neuen Zügen auszustatten. Die unverbrüchliche Ordnung, die sie verkörpern soll, ist ohnedies zu unpersönlich, gibt ihr zu wenig Spielraum zu eigentlicher, von den Gebeten ihrer Gläubigen gelenkter Wirksamkeit. Sie verleiht Glücksgüter und sie kann zur Göttin des Glückes, ihre Gunst die Laune einer Unbeständigen werden. In derselben Richtung liegt der Sondersinn, den das Wort *ṛtiš* angenommen hat: (Schicksals)Los, Lohn, Anteil. Es gibt gute und schlimme Lose. Verteilt sie, wie die Mazdā-Lehre will, das Sittengesetz oder der Zufall? Gewiss spielt *Ṛtiš* dem Menschen oft arg mit, und um so mehr muss er, wenn er ihr bittend naht, ihre gute Seite betonen. Daher nennt er sie besänftigend 'die gute *Ṛtiš*'. Um das richtig zu würdigen, denke man an die Wohumanō gedanklich und dem Namen nach genau entsprechenden furchtbaren Eumeniden (W. Schultz, 'Die Rachegötter von Zēla', *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, xxxii. 207–11). Aber hinter dem Zufall steht doch die Schicksalsmacht, die man weiss, ahnt, sucht, und ihr unwandelbares Vorbild ist der Himmel und der erhabne Gang seiner Gestirne. So würden wir uns nicht wundern, der geheimnisvollen, zwischen Gesetz und Zufall wirkenden Göttin auch als Himmelsmacht zu begegnen.

In diese einfache, ungezwungene Entwicklung von Sinn und Geltung der Göttin *Ṛtiš* lassen sich die im Awesta von ihr überlieferten Züge ohne Schwierigkeit einordnen.

Den Gāpā's ist 'die gute *Ṛtiš*' fremd. Die Göttin ist ihnen die ausgleichende Gerechtigkeit. Die schätzerreiche *Ṛtiš* wird als (Schicksals)Lose (*ṛtiš*) an die beiden Parteien den Nutzen und Schaden (vgl. aber J. Hertel, a.a.O., S. 7 u. 15, 10) verteilen (Jasna xliii. 12). *Ṛtiš* wird Gebüren (*rāšnam*) verleihen (Jasna xxxiv. 12). Durch die Kraft der *Ṛtiš* wird das nachbarliche Haus gemehrt, das (jetzt noch) der Drußgenosse inne hat (Jasna, l. 3). Man betont ihre Zuverlässigkeit: sie soll eine langdauernde Wehr bieten (Jasna, lii. 1)—vielleicht schon, weil man ihre Unzuverlässigkeit fürchtet. Die 'gute' *Ṛtiš* rächt das Böse; daher wird sie mit der 'guten' *Ādā*, der Göttin der Rache (vgl. W. Schultz, a.a.O., S. 208), genannt. Sie belohnt aber auch das Gute, und daher steht sie neben dem, der das Paradies (den Ort des guten Feuers: J. Hertel, a.a.O., S. 18) zuweist (Jasna, lx. 7). H. Lommel, *Die Yāšts des Awesta*, Göttingen, 1927, S. 158, betont die vergeltende Wirksamkeit der *Ṛtiš* in den Gāpā's so stark, dass er in Jasna xliii., 12 sogar, sehr ansprechend, übersetzt: 'Die Vergeltung, die die Vergeltungen verteilt.' Man könnte auch in freierer Wiedergabe sagen: Die Regel, die die Vergeltung regelt.

Im Jašt ist, wie H. Lommel (a.a.O., S. 159) mit Recht hervorhebt, bloss die segnende Seite der Gottheit herausgearbeitet. Ein 'Verblassen' muss das aber nicht sein; die Gāpā's und die Jašts haben andere Grundeinstellung; dort herrscht der Ernst der letzten Dinge, hier die Neigung, der

Gottheit, an die man die Gebete richtet, die beste Seite abzugewinnen. Lommels Wiedergabe von Rtiš mit 'Segnung' ist auch zu eng. Vielleicht am deutlichsten sieht man das bei xvii. 17: 'die vom geraden (Weg) nicht abweicht, die erhabne gute Segnung'. Rtiš im Jašt ist fast nur 'die gute Rtiš'. Das Gepräge des Awesta schliesst es aus, dass ein Wort über ihren Wankelmuth fallen könnte. Aber darin, dass sie zustimmenden Sinns zu langer Gemeinschaft (vgl. Jasna, lx. 7) ihre Füße in das Haus niedersetzt (xvii. 6), oder darin dass ihre Häuser die weitaus ersten zu langdauerndem Unterstande (xvii. 8) sind, drückt sich doch wohl auch die Sorge aus, ihre Gnade, die sie ihrem Verehrer zuwendet (xvii. 15), könnte flüchtig sein (vgl. oben Jasna lii. 1). Zwar heisst es in ihrem Jašte, dass sie ihre Füße in das Haus niedersetzt, aber im Arštāt-Jašt (xviii. 4) setzt sie nur *einen* Fuss im Innern des schönen, für den Herrscher erbauten Hauses nieder—auch das wohl zunächst ein Zeichen ihrer Flüchtigkeit, der allerdings auch ihre unverrückbare Beständigkeit gegenübergestellt wird (xvii. 17).

Eigenartig ist die Formel: *sie lief herum, sie ging herum*, mit der jedesmal eingeleitet wird, dass sie dem Opferer sein Gebet erfüllt (xvii. 23–52). Bartholomae übersetzt: 'Es umkreiste (ihn) laufend, es umkreiste (ihn) gehend' die gute Rtiš—schwerlich richtig, und H. Lommel, a.a.O., S. 163 ff., der: 'Es kam herbei, es ging herbei' übersetzt, scheint mir das Besondere des Ausdrucks bloss zu verwischen, aber nicht zur Lösung zu führen. Meines Erachtens handelt es sich um das Zuwenden der Gunst (vgl. xvii. 15). Die Göttin dreht ihrem Verehrer, wenn sie ihm gnädig ist, ihr Gesicht ('Schau her auf mich!') zu, ihre helle Seite, wie sie auch nach Wunsch (*wasapa*) dem (d.h. ihrem) Leibe Glanz (*hwarnah*) zu verleihen vermag (xvii. 14). Wem sie die Bitte abschlug, dem kehrte sie dann wohl unfreundlich den Rücken. Dem entsprechend steht sie auch wie eine Tänzerin bloss auf einem Fusse. Aber gewiss drückt sich in diesen Wendungen nur ein besonderer Einschlag im Wesen der Rtiš aus, denn die Vorstellung, dass sie auf einem Wagen unbeirrbar herzufährt, ist eine davon recht verschiedene.

Der Wagen der Rtiš hat seine vorgeschriebene Bahn; sie lenkt ihn den geradesten (Pfad), natürlich den Pfad des *ṛtam* (vgl. Bartholomae, Sp. 232 oben). Entweder fährt Rtiš allein (xvii. 17), oder sie ist Wagenlenkerin des Mīpra, wo dann, um noch ein Übriges zu tun, die Mazdā-Lehre die Pfade bereitet, dass er gut geht (Jašt, x. 68). Aus dieser Verbindung mit Mīpra wird verständlich: wer der Rtiš einen Opferguss darbringt, bringt ihn auch dem Mīpra dar (xvii. 2). Das Bild wird weiter ausgemalt: die Mazdā-Lehre ist die Schwester der Rtiš, Mīpra ihr Bruder (samt Srōša und Rašnuš), Arəmati ihre Mutter, Mazdā ihr Vater (xvii. 17). An Stelle des dahinsausenden Wagens kann auch der Pfeil treten, und so befördern Rtiš und Pārəndiš, Mazdā und Mīpra den Flug des Pfeiles des Rəša (Jašt, viii. 37); oder der Wagen der Rtiš erhält eine Fracht: die Weisheit aller Sōšjant's. Sonst ist Spender der Weisheit Hōma, der Born des *ṛtam* (Jasna, x. 4). Alle anderen Rauschtränke sind vom Ēšma begleitet, indess Hōma vom Rtam begleitet ist (xvii. 5). So ist es gerade wieder aus der Grundbedeutung der Rtiš verständlich, dass man ihr mit Hōma gemischte Milch opferte (xvii. 3).

Die Vorstellungen des Wagens und des Bornes (der Weisheit usw.) schliessen einander nicht aus; der Born kann ja selbst ein über den Himmel fahrender (A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I, Breslau, 1891, S. 325, Anm. 1), ja sogar bespannt sein (ebd. S. 326; vgl. S. 312).

Eine Eigenschaft des Sōma ist, dass er heilt (Jašt, x. 9 u. ö.). Dieselbe Heilkraft besitzt der Mond (Jašt, vii. 5), der nach indischer Auffassung sich bekanntlich jeden Monat wieder von seiner Krankheit, der Schwindsucht, erholt. Im übertragenen Sinne kommt diese Kraft z. B. auch der Anāhitā zu (v. 1), aber da ist es blosser Formel. Bei Ṛtiṣ hingegen ist es mehr, und auch mehr als etwa blosser Übertragung von Hōma her. Schrieb man ihr auch gelegentlich geradezu die Heilkraft des Hōma zu (Wispr. ix. 1), oder liess sie mit Srōṣa den Hōma filtern (Jasna, xxvii. 6), so liess man sie doch auch im Hause des Hōma weilen (Jasna, x. 1), oder gar den Hōma ihr (xvii. 38—oder der ihr offenbar nahe verwandten *Drwāspā*: Jašt, ix. 18) opfern. Das setzt voraus, dass man seine Kraft sogar auch von der ihren herzuleiten bereit war.

In der Tat sind die Wendungen, in denen von der regelnden, auf das Bessere hinwirkenden Heilkraft der Ṛtiṣ die Rede ist, sehr selbständig. Die Kraft der Ṛtiṣ, die das Haus mehrt (Jasna, I. 3), ist gewiss dieselbe, durch die sie auch über Rind und Futter gebietet (Jašt, xix. 54). Aber es liegt mehr in der Stelle, denn merkwürdiger Weise wird von diesem Mehren gesprochen, obgleich das Haus noch dem Drujgenossen gehört. Den Sinn erschliesst Jasna, lx. 4. Die Heilkräfte der Ṛtiṣ sind so breit wie die Erde, so lang wie die Flüsse, so hoch wie die Sonne; sie sollen mit Hilfe des Kommens der Frawṛti's bewirken, dass der Hausstand in den Besitz des Besseren übergehe—also nicht weiter beim Drujgenossen verbleibe. Der erste Teil sagt mit einer schönen, weltumspannenden Formel etwas vom Wesen der Ṛtiṣ aus, voll wahrer religiöser Ergriffenheit; im zweiten Teile ist das in theologische Spekulation umgebogen. Dennoch besteht eine fühlbare Verbindung. Was kann es denn sein, das Ṛtiṣ über die ganze Erde hin, überall wo Wasser fliesst, Sonne scheint, heilkräftig zum Bessern wendet? Ich meine, hier ist deutlich Ṛtiṣ als Göttin des Wachstums, der Wiederbelebung der Natur zu spüren. In dem Kommen der Frawṛti's aber möchte ich deren Eingehen in neues Erdendasein vermuten. So erhält das von Ṛtiṣ geförderte Haus einen neuen Hausherrn, und war der Vater noch Drujgenosse, so wird durch Fügung der Ṛtiṣ der Sohn schon den wahren Glauben haben. Der auch aus Indien bekannte Weg von der Läuterung der Seele oder des Samens im Monde oder der Sonne schwebt vor. Von dort kommt der Lebenskeim über das Wasser und den Regen in die Pflanzen, von da wieder durch die Nahrung in den Samen der Männer und Weiber. Auch der Same des Gajomard wird nach der umständlicheren Auffassung des grossen Bundahišn (H. H. Schaefer, *Iranische Lehren*, S. 231, 2. Teil von Reitzenstein-Schaefer, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1926) in der Sonne geläutert. Zwei Drittel nahm Nērjōsang, ein Drittel empfing Spandarmad. Dazu dürfte gehören, dass *Drwāspā*, die wohl nichts Anderes als eine Nebenform der Ṛtiṣ ist, im Monatslaufe (Sih rōčak, I. 14) zusammen

mit der Seele und dem Schöpfer des Rindes genannt wird. Denn das Rind entspricht dem Menschen und wir wissen aus den Mithräen, wie vom getöteten Rinde die Nährpflanzen und Früchte ausgehen sollten. Dass Rtiš über Rind und Futter gebietet, wurde schon erwähnt. Rtiš besitzt alle Heilkräfte der Wasser, Tiere und Pflanzen, um alle Gefahren zu bannen, die dem von ihr beschützten Hause drohen (Jasna, lii. 1).

Der Jašt an Rtiš enthält auffallender Weise von der das Leben verteilenden Tätigkeit der Göttin nichts, oder vielmehr bloss einen Rest: die Bestimmung über den Anteil an ihrem Opfer (xvii. 54–6). Hier steht sie deutlich als Göttin der ehelichen Fruchtbarkeit vor uns. Die noch nicht oder nicht mehr Fruchtbaren dürfen nicht an ihrem Opfer teilhaben; also sind bloss die durch Regel oder Samen Ausgezeichneten, noch in den lebendigen Lauf der Welt voll Eingegliederten, zugelassen. Entweicht Rtiš und verbirgt sie sich, so muss das der monatlichen Absonderung des mit der Regel behafteten Weibes entsprechen. Und ist nicht, wie man zunächst von Ĵahi, Ĵawwah, dem Weibe des Noah und ähnlichen Gestalten her erwarten möchte, sie selbst die Schuldige—bei einer mazdaistischen Gottheit war daran nicht zu denken und genauere Beziehung auf die rituell verabscheute Regel musste umgangen werden—, sondern sind Andere die Schuldigen, die sie dazu bringen, zu entweichen und sich zu verbergen, dann müssen auch diese Anderen die Schandtaten begangen haben, in deren Gefolge sich an der Göttin das Entweichen und Verbergen, am Weibe die Regel eingestellt hat. Das scheint die 'Logik', aus der wir die Geschichte von der Flucht der Rtiš, wie sie vorliegt (S. 421 f.), verstehen müssen. Die drei Klagen der Rtiš (xvii. 57–59) stehen mit ihrer Flucht in fühlbarem Zusammenhange. Aber sie wenden den Stoff aus dem Kosmischen ins rein Moralische. Wir sind an der Stelle angelangt, wo es nötig ist, auf den Aufbau und die Einzelheiten des Jaštes an Rtiš einzugehen.

Der xvii. Jašt beginnt in der üblichen Weise mit dem durch ihre Eigenschaften umrissenen Bilde der Gottheit. Die wichtigsten Züge sind: sie ist licht, hoch, schön, ihre Räder sausen, d.h. sie kommt in rascher Wagenfahrt herzu, sie ist heiltätig (s.S. 410), von weiter Einsicht (1). Sie kommt mit der Weisheit der Sōšjants angefahren (s.S. 409), verleiht Weisheit und eilt dem zu Hilfe der sie von nah oder fern anruft (2). Darum opfert man ihr Milch mit Hōma (3), und das gibt den Anlass zu einer Abschweifung über Hōma (4, s.S. 410).

Es folgt, wie Rtiš denen, in deren Haus sie ihre Füße gesetzt hat (s.S. 409), Glanz, Wohlgerüche, Bequemlichkeit, Reichtum, Pracht, Rosse (und Kamele), Silber, Gold und Kleider verleiht (6–14). Eine höhere Kulturstufe wird hier vorausgesetzt, als wenn es sich bloss um Rinder und Futter (Jašt, xix. 54), ein einfaches Mehren des Hausstandes (Jasna, l. 3) oder die Wirksamkeit der Rtiš in der Natur (vgl. oben zu Jasna, xl. 4) handelt, aus der dann auch der bauerliche Wohlstand folgt. B. Geiger, 'Die Aməša Spənta, ihr Wesen und ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung' (*Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, Bd. 176, I, Wien, 1916), S. 111, f., hat hier Einfluss des v. Jaštes an Anāhitā nachzuweisen versucht. Rtiš und Anāhitā spenden Rosse (xvii. 12, v. 130; Geiger,

a.a.O., S. 112), und Glanz (xvii. 6, v. 96; Geiger, a.a.O., S. 115). Aber das sind nicht so besondere Züge, dass gerade Anāhitā das Vorbild gewesen sein müsste. Ist R̥tiš Dr̥wāspā, d.h. hat sie gesunde Pferde, dann kann sie sie auch spenden, zumal sie selbst Wagenlenkerin ist. Sind die Füße der Lagerstätten, die R̥tiš den von ihr begünstigten Häusern verleiht, ebenso mit Gold eingelegt wie der Mantel der Anāhitā, oder handelt es sich um Wörter, die in Jašt xvii aus dem Metrum fallen oder nur in einer Handschrift stehen, also für den älteren Bestand überhaupt nicht in Betracht kommen, so beweist das nichts oder wenig. Auch Übereinstimmungen in formelhaften Wendungen, insbesondere bei der Schilderung der weiblichen Schönheit, der Gestalt und des Schmuckes des Weibes, die Freude an Wohlgerüchen, greifen nicht tief und erhärten bloss dieselbe, jüngere reichere Kulturstufe als Abfassungszeit dieser Teile. Zum älteren Bestande des Jaštes werden wir sie daher nicht rechnen. Hervorzuheben ist am Schlusse (14) der Stelle die Nutzenanwendung auf den Beter: Heil, dem du dich gesellst—also geselle dich mir. Sie leitet unmittelbar zum folgenden Hauptteile über.

Aber aus diesem Hauptteile fällt als Einschub 23–53 heraus: die Aufzählung der Helden der Vorzeit, denen R̥tiš Bitten erfüllt hat. Es ist schwer, festzustellen, wie viel davon gerade zu R̥tiš gehört, das Meiste ist sicher aus anderen Jašten entlehnt.

Der Rest: 15–22, 54–61 (von 62 = Jasna, i. 14 können wir absehen), ist eine gedanklich-stofflich nicht allzu ungleichartige Masse.

Wir unterscheiden in 15–22: 1. eine Anrufung der R̥tiš (15–16), die vom Beter ausgehen könnte und, wie der Anschluss an 14 zeigt, wohl auch so gemeint war. 2. eine fragende Antwort der Göttin R̥tiš auf einen Ruf, den sie vernommen hat und der sie veranlasst, in ihrer Wagenfahrt anzuhalten (17). Es war nicht der Ruf des Zarapuštra, d.h. Hōmapriesters, überhaupt, sondern des Religionsstifters Spitama, wie sich 3. aus seiner Antwort (18–20) ergibt. Die Göttin fährt den gradesten Pfad des *rtam*, aber um des Spitama Willen hält sie an; der ewige Lauf steht ihm zu Liebe still. Wo fährt R̥tiš? Schwerlich auf dem Himmel, denn da müsste sie entweder erst herabkommen oder den Spitama zu sich entrücken. Aber sie hält bloss an und lädt ihn ein, näher heranzutreten. Das setzt voraus, dass sie über die Erde dahin fährt, vielleicht aus weiter Ferne herankommend den Ruf vernimmt, um gleich mit sausenden Rädern nahe zu sein und anzuhalten. 4. Spitama lehnt sich auf ihren Wunsch an ihren Wagen, sie umarmt ihn, streichelt ihn bewundernd und verheisst seinem Leibe Glanz, seiner Seele Seligkeit: 'so wahr ich dir das sage' (21, 22). Ein Abschluss ist das nicht.

Der herzliche Empfang, die ruhige Stellung des an den Wagen Gelehnten ätzt voraus, dass eine Aussprache folgte, Frage und Antwort wie sonst im Awesta; Spitama sollte von R̥tiš erfahren, wie sie auf die rechte Art zu verehren ist. Das fehlt jetzt bis auf die Angabe über das Opfer (54–6), wo R̥tiš spricht, doch offenbar zum Propheten. Es kann noch allerhand dazwischen gesprochen worden sein, aber dem Sinne nach schliesst trotzdem 54 gut an 22 an; man wird bloss annehmen müssen, dass eine Frage des Spitama voran ging, etwa: Mit welchem Opfer soll man dich verehren? Die

Angabe über das Opfer ist versteckt dreiteilig. Ausgeschlossen sind 1. die Männer mit versiegttem Samen, die Weiber ohne Regel, 2. die unwürdigen Knaben, die unreifen Mädchen, und zugelassen, aber nicht genannt, sind 3. die Männer, die Samen, die Weiber, die Regel haben. Das blieb weg, weil die Regel unrein macht und ihre Erwähnung offenbar rituell bedenklich schien. In Folge dessen blieb aber auch bei der Flucht deren 3. Teil weg, der geschildert haben muss, wie die reifen Männer und Weiber die Göttin vor ihren Verfolgern retteten, indem sie sie nicht verrieten. Am Ende von 56 steht jetzt noch das Anheben zu diesem Teile als scheinbar sinnlose Wiederholung. Dreiteilig ist dann auch das Stück von den Klagen der Göttin (57-9) über die unfruchtbare (Dirne), die Ehebrecherin, die (Geraubte und) Genotzüchtigte. Diese Klagen begründen ein Entweichen der Rtiš; am Schlusse einer jeden fragt sie: soll ich zum Himmel fortgehen, soll ich mich zur Erde hinabwenden? Die Flucht der Rtiš setzt also etwas Ähnliches voraus, und diese Voraussetzung wird hier nachgetragen. Es kann nicht in die Zwiesprache gehört haben, ist aber offenbar, ebenso wie die Flucht, ein altes Stück. Der strenge, dreiteilige Aufbau, die abgesehen von geringen Störungen, gut erhaltenen und sprachlich hochstehenden Strophen, der gedanklich einfache Inhalt, deuten darauf, dass beide Stücke die ältesten Bestandteile des Jaštes sind. Das von der Flucht dürfte dabei wegen seines priesterlichen Einschlages das ältere, das von den Klagen wegen seiner Lyrik das jüngere sein. Es hängt, wenn auch mit deutlicher Abstufung, wieder mit dem Folgenden nahe zusammen. Wie auf die Klage des Rindes, oder den Hilferuf des Tištriya, antwortet auch auf die Klage der Rtiš als künstlich eingefügter deus ex machina Ahura Mazdā (60). Nicht zum Himmel soll sie fortgehen, nicht zur Erde sich hinabwenden: hier soll sie sich ergehen im Innern seines schönen, für den Herrscher erbauten Hauses. Man fragt sich verwundert: wo war Rtiš, als sie klagte, und befindet sich das Herrscherhaus etwa nicht auf der Erde? Es geht wohl nicht anders, als dass wir uns Rtiš ihre Klage im Entschweben zwischen Himmel und Erde rufen denken. Und statt der Verstecke, die sie sich draussen suchen wollte, soll ihr das festgefügte Haus Zuflucht gewähren. Verstehen wir es so, dann ist der Gedankensprung zur Nutzenanwendung nicht so gross, die Bindung der frei im Weltall waltenden Gottheit des Ariers an ein Haus, dessen Göttin sie im altorientalischen Sinne werden soll, nicht so unvermittelt. Aber 60 steht auf jüngerer Stufe als die Klage. Mazdā teilt die Rtiš dem Hause des Wištāspa ganz ähnlich zu wie die Anāhitā dem Zarapuštra (Jašt, v. 1). Das Herrscherhaus, in dem Rtiš nun Hausgöttin ist, erhält dadurch seine Pflicht, sie zu ehren, sich an ihre Satzungen zu halten und ihr, der flüchtigen, nicht ebenfalls Anlass zum Entschwinden zu geben. Wie 61 zeigt, ist das Haus des Wištāspa gemeint. J. Hertel, *Achämeniden und Kayaniden*, Leipzig, 1924, S. 79 f., hat herausgelesen, dass hier Ahura Mazdā der Rtiš opfere wie sonst der Ardwi oder Dātjā (ebd. S. 68). Allein Ahura opfert Jašt, xv. 2 nicht der Dātjā sondern dem Wajuš, und dort und Jašt v. 17 wird das mit feierlicher Formel eingeleitet, die Stellen unterscheiden sich also wesentlich von der unseren. Nicht um ein Opfer des Mazdā handelt es sich, sondern

der irdische Opferpriester will der R̥tiš opfern, wie ihr Wištāspa als seiner ihm von Mazdā zugewiesenen Hausgöttin geopfert hat. Damit fällt Hertels Datierung des Jaštes aus dieser nach ihm spätzeitlich gedachten Opferhandlung Mazdā's auf das 4. Jahrh. v. Chr. Ein einzelner Vers könnte natürlich auch sonst nicht den ganzen Jašt datieren, der aus recht ungleichartigen und auf verschiedener Stufe stehenden Teilen zusammengefasst ist. Diese Abstufung zeigt sich auch bei 61 darin, dass das Geschehen der Vorzeit auf das gegenwärtige Opfer bezogen, dieses als seine Nachahmung hingestellt wird. Das ist um so begreiflicher, als der Opferer die von Wištāspa eingesetzte Lehre vertritt.

Man hatte aber auch noch einen näheren Zusammenhang zwischen Wištāspa und den Klagen der R̥tiš im Auge. Ihre letzte Klage galt der Geraubten, und dem Wištāspa schrieb man zu, dass er mittelst der Humajā die Wāriðkanā (Bihāfarīd, Pādāfrah) wieder heimbrachte (xvii. 48-52; ix. 28-33). Der Vers lautete vielleicht (vgl. G. Hüsing, *Die iranische Überlieferung*, Leipzig, 1908, S. 144): Humaja<ja> Wāriðkanam, und Hüsing nimmt an, dass es sich um 'die bekannte Entführung per Adler' handelte. Aber auch wenn man sich bloss an Firdousi hält, tat Wištāspa an seinen Töchtern das, was geeignet war, die an ihnen von den Feinden begangene Verletzung der R̥tiš wieder gut zu machen. Es handelt sich um die dritte, letzte Schandtät; wir können uns R̥tiš durch sie gerade endgültig zum Entweichen gebracht denken. Sollte Mazdā's Zuweisung der R̥tiš an Wištāspa der Lohn für diese seine Tat sein? Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass gerade dieser Teil der Bitte des Wištāspa im Jašte an R̥tiš und in dem an die ihr wesensverwandte Dr̥wāspā seine ursprüngliche Stelle hat. Da nun das Haus des Wištāspa als Dynastie im Awesta den Namen Naotarja oder Naotara führt (vgl. J. Hertel, a.a.O., S. 43 und 75 ff.), muss auch die Flucht der R̥tiš (55/56) vor den Naotara in den engeren Gedankenzusammenhang des Schlussteiles unseres Jaštes gehören. Allerdings würde man von Wāriðkanā her annehmen, dass die 'Turer' das Mädchen entführten, der Naotarija Wištāspa es wieder heimgebracht habe, und dann versteht man nicht, weshalb die 'Turer' und Naotara die R̥tiš verfolgen. Es wäre doch recht gezwungen, wenn man etwa annehmen wollte, die Turer hätten die R̥tiš verschleucht und die Naotara müssten daher ihr nachjagen, um ihrer, schlieslich mit Mazdā's Hilfe, wieder habhaft zu werden. Eine dritte Möglichkeit wäre, dass R̥tiš den Nachkommen Wištāspa's, als sie sich vergingen, nochmals entschwand und dass ihre Flucht sich darauf bezieht. Aber auch dann wäre der Anteil der Turer nicht begreiflich.

Diese Schwierigkeiten haben J. Hertel zu einer geistvollen Erklärung veranlasst. Die Turer sind ihm die Reichsfeinde, die bei ihrem Einbruche die Männer morden und die Weiber verschleppen; die Naotara aber wurden ihnen von ihren Hassern, den Magern, wegen des Magermordes gleichgestellt (S. 79). Aber die Stelle und ihre Umgebung enthält nichts von Darius und dem Magermorde, während nach 60/61 der Naotarija Wištāspa R̥tiš zur Hausgöttin hatte und nach 48-52 von ihr die Heimführung seiner vom Feinde (den 'Türern') verschleppten Tochter erlangte. Das ist der

Rahmen, von dem aus wir urteilen müssen. Und Turer sind um diese Zeit nicht anzunehmen. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem 'historischen' Begriffe Turer-Turanier kann ich bei Hertel leider nicht finden. Daher setze ich E. Herzfelds Urteil (Völker- und Kulturzusammenhänge im Alten Orient in: *Deutsche Forschung, aus der Arbeit der Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft*, Heft 5, Berlin, 1928, 33-67; S. 53) hierher: Es 'liegt für den Gedanken, der die ganze einheimische Überlieferung beherrscht, nämlich für den Gedanken der dauernden schweren Kämpfe der Iranier mit dem turanischen Erbfeind in den nördlichen Steppen, von Urbeginn bis in die Zeit nach Alexander dem Grossen gar kein geschichtlicher Anlass vor: Der beherrschende Gedanke der epischen Überlieferung ist nichts als die Rückspiegelung viel jüngerer Ereignisse in die Urzeit'. Trotzdem ist Herzfeld (ebd.), offenbar im Banne der angeblichen Turer des Awesta, bereit, in dem dritten der Söhne des Frēdūn den Eponym eines urarischen Turer-Stammes zu sehen. Der Befund ist demnach, denke ich, eindeutig: vor-sasanidische Turer-Turanier hat es nie gegeben, sie sind also auch nicht ins Awesta hineinzulesen und Hertels Deutung scheitert auch in dieser Hinsicht an der geschichtlichen Gesamtlage und der Ungeschichtlichkeit der Spätes in die Frühzeit legenden Tradition. Nehmen wir aber auch selbst an, es hätte nicht allzulang vor der Magermordzeit, zu ihr oder bald hernach schon 'Turanier' gegeben, so beträfe ein Turereinfall doch nur zur Hälfte (durch die verschleppten Weiber), der Magermord (bei dem nur Männer getötet werden) garnicht eine Göttin, die als sie kränkende Schandtaten nur Verbrechen des Weibes und am Weibe aufzählt. Hertels Deutung ist unhaltbar. Es ist aber auch nicht richtig, dass Rtiš als Grund ihrer Flucht angebe, 'sie sei damals von den Turem und Naotara verscheucht worden' (S. 78): Sie wurde nicht bloss verscheucht, sondern, wie das Hervorheben der schnellen Rosse beweist, in rasender Eile verfolgt. Um die Rtiš zu verscheuchen, mochte Morden und Verschleppen vielleicht ausreichen, aber Rtiš wird viel härter bedrängt, sie muss sich verbergen; wird aufgestöbert und weiter gehetzt. Die Wahl des Versteckes erklärt sich, wie Hertel treffend hervorhebt, daraus, dass der Minderung der Göttin durch die Schandtaten die besondere Fruchtbarkeit der Tiere, zu denen sie flieht, gegenübergestellt ist, und, wie ich hinzufügen möchte, die geschlechtliche Unzulänglichkeit der Verräter, die Stärkung der Göttin wieder vereitelt. Hier fühlen wir theologische Konstruktion, aber nicht Geschichte, wenn auch ohne Zweifel etwas da ist, in das der Magermord mit Gewalt und unter Verzicht auf Logik hineingedeutet werden könnte. Dass Hertel das erkannt hat, darin liegt das Verdienst seiner Beobachtung. Wer sich darüber hinwegsetzte, dass die ermordeten Mager nicht vergewaltigte Weiber waren, dass das Verfolgen mehr ist als ein Verscheuchen, dass die Nawatara nicht Naotarja sind, wer bereit war, in tura Turer zu sehen und wem es auf ein überzähliges -ča im Verse schon deshalb nicht mehr ankam, weil er Nawatara für ein dreisilbiges Wort nahm—ja, der konnte den Magermord in die Stelle hineinlegen, konnte sie auf ihn deuten und unbeschadet seiner Verehrung für den Naotarja Wištāspa die übrigen verhassten Naotarja als Naotara den Reichsfeinden

der späten epischen Tradition gleichsetzen. Begünstigt wurde diese Ausdeutung vielleicht noch dadurch, dass das Magermordfest in der Tat entfernte Beziehungen zu unserer Stelle hatte, wie noch zu zeigen sein wird. Eine mehr oder minder deutliche Erinnerung daran könnte immerhin bei dem Zustandekommen der traditionellen Fassung der Stelle eine Rolle gespielt haben. Auf keinen Fall aber dürfen uns diese in den Text erst hineingetragenen Beziehungen hindern, seinem ursprünglichen Sinne gerecht zu werden.

Dieser Sinn hängt natürlich am Wortlaute, und der Wortlaut ist hier, wie im Awesta fast immer, keineswegs eine klar gegebene Grösse (s.S. 421 f.). Sind 'Turer und Naotara' möglich? Ich habe das vor 17 Jahren verneint (W. Schultz, 'Die Flucht der Rtiš' (in Mitra, *Monatsschrift f. vgl. Mythenforschung*, Wien—Leipzig, 1914–18, Sp. 104–13; Sp. 109) und sehe trotz Hertels Gegengründen (*Achämeniden und Kayaniden*, S. 99 ff.) keinen Anlass, jetzt anders zu urteilen; die Stelle enthält bloss, dass die schnellrossigen Nawatara die Rtiš eilig (heftig) verfolgten. Hertel tadelt, dass ich das -ča als aus dem Metrum fallend strich, denn ao sei Diphthong, das Wort an sämtlichen metrischen Stellen dreisilbig (S. 100). Ich muss bekennen, dass ich diesen Einwand nicht verstehe. Die 'sämtlichen' Stellen bestehen in Wahrheit aus zweien; denn v. 98 ist wahrscheinlich, xiii. 182 offensichtlich nicht metrisch. Bleibt Jašt, v. 76 Wištauruš jō Nawatarjānō, wo jō entschieden entbehrlich ist, und Jašt, xv. 35 wišō awi Naotaranam, wo statt wišō awi ein dreisilbiger Lokativ zu Grunde liegen dürfte. Das spricht also mindestens zur Hälfte, wenn nicht ganz für mich. Und S. 76 stellt Hertel selbst zusammen aw. naotara = sskr. nawatara = gr. νεώτερος. Im Sanskrit und im Griechischen ist das Wort 4 silbig; auf alter Sprachstufe muss es auch in Iran 4 silbig gewesen sein. Daran wird sich nicht rütteln lassen, und ebensowenig daran, dass Jašt, xv. 35 erst jener jüngeren Schichte angehört, die einen Naotara (Wištāspa) in Gnaden aufnimmt. So stimmt alles darin zusammen, dass -ča in der Tat zu streichen ist, u.z. aus metrischen Gründen. Dadurch ist aber die Zweiheit: Turer und Nawatara erledigt, und damit zugleich, dass tura der Turanier sei. 'Ein tura "schnell" ist wohl im Weda, aber nicht im Awesta belegt. Für die Bedeutung "Turer", "turisch" dagegen genügt es, auf Bartholomae's *Wörterbuch*, Sp. 656 zu verweisen' (S. 101). Aber gerade Hertel hat mit Nachdruck und Erfolg gezeigt, dass die Versuche, awestische Sonderbedeutungen anzusetzen, meist abwegig sind. *Selbstverständlich* bedeutet tura auch im Awesta 'schnell' oder 'wild', 'heftig' u. dgl., und der Artikel tura bei Bartholomae ist nach dieser Erkenntnis zu revidieren. Die Nawatara sind tura in ihrer Verfolgung, d.h. sie verfolgen schnell; die Dānawa—wie wir S. 426 von Šri her sehen werden, das genaue Gegenstück zu ihnen—sind ebenfalls tura (Jašt, v. 73; xiii. 38), natürlich in einem entsprechenden Sinne. Ebenso ist Franrasjan als Schwimmer flink (Jašt, xix. 57 f., 93). Es ist kein Grund, für Frijāna (Jasna, xlix. 12) eine andere Eigenschaft anzusetzen. Bleibt der Hund als Wächter gegen den Flinken oder Grimmen (Widēwdāt, xiii. 39), d.h. gegen den Dieb oder Wolf, wie sich sofort aus dem Folgenden ergibt. Das sind *alle* Stellen. Keine von ihnen enthält ein Anzeichen, dass tura Völkernamen ist, ja die Stelle von

den Danawa widerspricht dieser Annahme ausdrücklich. Also muss ich auf Hertels Übersetzung 'als die Turer mich verscheuchten und die schnellrossigen Nawatara' das anwenden, was er von der meinen zu Unrecht gesagt hat: 'sie ist von vornherein ganz unmöglich', und zwar aus philologischen wie aus historischen Gründen. Aber selbst wenn ich das von Hertel verteidigte -ča beibehalte und mit ihm Naotara 3silbig lese, kann die Stelle nur heissen: 'als die raschen (grimmen) und schnellrossigen Naotara mich verfolgten'. 'Verscheuchten' ist unzureichend; denn es bleibt nicht dabei, dass R̥tiš entschwindet, vielmehr dienen die schnellen Rosse der rasenden Verfolgung und R̥tiš flüchtet daher immer von Neuem in ein anderes Versteck. Also: mit und ohne -ča, Naotara 3silbig oder 4silbig—die Übersetzung kann nicht irgend wesentlich anders ausfallen als die von mir gegebene.

Die zuvor entwickelten Schwierigkeiten werden durch diese Sicherstellung behoben. Die Turer fallen für den alten Sinn der Stelle weg und die Nawatara müssen nicht die Naotarja sein, auch wenn, wie Hertel betont, die Dynastie Jašt, xv. 35 Naotara und Jašt, v. 98 Naotarja heisst, und obgleich es auf den ersten Blick gut zusammenzustimmen scheint, dass die Naotarja der Anāhitā opfern, um den Besitz schneller Rosse zu erhalten, den Wištāspa alsbald auch im höchsten Ausmasse erlangt, und dass die Nawatara an unserer Stelle wirklich schnelle Rosse haben. Jašt, v. 98 erweist sich bei näherer Betrachtung als recht ungleichförmig gebaute Stelle. Statt wie gewöhnlich ein Opferer erscheinen hier deren zwei, mit verschiedenen Bitten. Die Hwōgwa's erhalten Vermögen, ohne dass das Familienhaupt als Empfänger genannt wird, die Bitte der Naotarja hingegen wird nicht ihnen überhaupt, sondern dem Wištāspa im Besonderen erfüllt, in einer Form, die dringend der Unursprünglichkeit verdächtig ist. Unter diesen Umständen halte ich es für wahrscheinlicher, dass dem Opfer der Hwōgwa's das des Wištāspa hinzugefügt und aus unserer Stelle und seinem Opfer an R̥tiš konstruiert ist. Auf keinen Fall kann die Stelle die von Hertel ihr zugemutete Beweislast tragen, und sie kann nicht ausschliessen, was aus anderen Erwägungen so nahe liegt, nämlich dass die Nawatara erst spät auf die Naotarja gedeutet wurden. Hertel selbst lehnt den Stammvater Naotara mit zutreffender Entschiedenheit ab (S. 75 f.). 'Die synonyme Verwendung von Naotara und Naotairya', an der er 'durchaus nichts Auffälliges' findet (S. 101), hat ihn aber doch zur Voraussetzung. Freilich ergibt sich jetzt die Frage: Wer waren jene Nawatara? Selbst wenn wir sie nicht beantworten könnten, wäre die Erkenntnis ein Gewinn, dass sich eine ältere, wie ich glaube, mythisch-kultische von einer jüngeren, historisierenden Schichte hier abheben lässt.

Um tiefer in diese Fragen einzudringen und von einer anderen Seite an sie heranzukommen, gilt es nun, den Kern des xvii. Jaštes, nämlich 54 sammt seiner Aitiologie, und den Rahmen, in den das gebettet ist, nämlich 15–22 vergleichend zu betrachten. Schon in meiner Untersuchung über *Die Flucht der R̥tiš*, Mitrai, Sp. 105 habe ich betont, dass xvii. 54 und v. 90 (zuzüglich 132) einander ähnlich sind: auch Anāhitā schliesst eine Reihe in ihrem Sinne mangelhafter Wesen vom Opfer aus. Ich muss jetzt hinzufügen, dass auch

der Rahmen, in dem das steht (v. 85–96), ein sehr ähnlicher ist. Wie weit tragen nun diese Ähnlichkeiten, und wo liegt das Ursprüngliche?

Beim Rahmen ist die Entscheidung einfacher als beim Kerne. Jašt, v. 85–91 und 132 wird erst von xvii. 15–22 und 61 her verständlich. Ahura Mazdā redet der Anāhitā zu, von den Sternen zur Erde *wieder* herzukommen und stellt ihr vor Augen, wer alles sie verehren und welcher Gaben sie walten wird. Es ist keine Bitte darunter, die nicht auch auf R̥tiš passen würde. Diese Lockungen setzen aber samt dem 'wieder' voraus, dass die derart Angerufene entwichen war, und zwar zum Himmel. Auch R̥tiš erwägt, ob sie sich zum Himmel oder zur Erde begeben soll, und wenn Mazdā sie ins Herrscherhaus verweist, so knüpft das an ihre Klage ungezwungener an, wenn sie im Begriffe stand, zum Himmel zu entweichen. Anāhitā gibt nun den Verheissungen nach und gerät sofort mit—Zarapuštra ins Gespräch. Danach können wir uns die Anrede des Zarapuštra an R̥tiš vorstellen und das Gespräch, das sie mit ihm führte und das in Jašt, xvii. bis auf 54–6 verloren ist. Hier steht auch die Frage Zarapuštra's nach ihrem Opfer, die bei R̥tiš so merklich fehlte. Wir erfahren, dass durch das Opfer der Lauf der Göttin auf ihrer himmlischen Bahn gefördert und dass sie dadurch gegen Schlangen und andere dämonische und giftige Wesen, die sie auf dieser Bahn bedrohen, geschützt werden soll. Das passt zu Anāhitā, dem übermächtigen himmlischen Strome, ganz und garnicht, aber sehr gut zu R̥tiš, die, falls man sich ihre Wagenfahrt am Himmel verlaufend dachte, natürlich durch die Gefahren der Sternbilder richtig und unbeirrt den rechten Pfad verfolgen musste. Dass sie, die Göttin der Regel, die sich verbirgt und wieder hervorgeholt wird, dann der Mond sein sollte, ist klar. Von diesem auch wissen wir, wie ihn Schlangen, Wölfe und andere böse himmlische Tiere bedrohen. Die Stelle, die Bartholomae nach seiner recht tief eingreifenden Konjektur mit '〈nicht〉 eine Bahn diesseits (sondern) über dem Sonnenball' übersetzt, ist verderbt. War aber R̥tiš Mondgöttin, dann lag ein Zusatz darüber, wie ihre Bahn im Verhältnisse zu der der Sonne verlaufen sollte, nahe. Jenseits des Mondes ist die Welt vollkommen, diesseits nicht; R̥tiš würde passend vermitteln. Ursprünglich wird kaum mehr dagestanden haben, als dass der Opferer die Göttin in ihrer Bahn fördert. Wir wissen ja wie die Mazdā-Religion diesen Pfad dem Wagen des Mipra ebnet, den R̥tiš lenkt, und wie Hōma, der im Opfer an R̥tiš enthalten ist, die Seelen-Bahn (Jasna, ix. 16) bereitet. Für R̥tiš kommt das alles sehr, für Anāhitā aber nicht oder weniger in Betracht. Anāhitā zu Wagen belegt v. 11 doch nur sehr mangelhaft. Wer ist da ihr Wagenlenker, und nach welchem Helden sehnt sie sich? Nicht einmal ihr Name ist genannt, eine Entlehnung von R̥tiš auch hier und in v. 13 und 120 möglich (vgl. S. 412). Und das Hōma-Opfer wird bei Anāhitā zwar etwas ausführlicher beschrieben (v. 8), aber daneben stehen die Barsman-Zweige, die Zungenfertigkeit, also Gebetformeln, und Gedanke—Wort—Werk, also Gelübde (v. 17); die Barsman-Stengel, die sie in Händen hält (v. 127), sind offenbar das ihr Eigentümliche. Aus allen diesen Erwägungen passt der Gedanke, dass das Opfer die himmlische Wagenfahrt einer Göttin befördert, der in v. 90 zu

Grunde liegt, besser zu Rtiš als zu Anāhitā. Es folgt die Bestimmung, dass das Opfer bei Tage (von Sonnenaufgang bis Sonnenuntergang) erfolgen soll und dass Zarapuštra, die Priester, die Gläubigen zugelassen sind. Eine nähere Beziehung zum Wesen der Anāhitā liegt in der Bestimmung über die Zugelassenen nicht. Die Liste der Ausgeschlossenen (92, 93) wirkt völlig willkürlich, denn sie steht ohne Begründung da. Bemerkenswert ist dann die Frage, wie es mit den Opfern steht, die etwa Drujgenossen nach Sonnenuntergang darbringen. Das ist sichtlich die mazdaistische Ablehnung des Nachtopfers an die Göttin, an deren Stelle Anāhitā hier eingesetzt ist, nämlich an Rtiš. Nachtopfer sind bei einer Mondgottheit ebenso angebracht wie bei einer Göttin der ehelichen Fruchtbarkeit. Spätere Zeiten haben aus dieser Stelle ein Verbot des Nachtopfers an die Wasser abgeleitet (vgl. J. Hertel, *Die Sonne und Mitra im Awesta*, Leipzig, 1927, S. 23); das führt nicht weiter, aber bei den nahen Beziehungen der Rtiš zu Hōma ist an das *μωλυ —Opfer bei Plutarchos zu erinnern, über das man bei C. Clemen, *Die gr. und lat. Nachr. über die pers. Rel.*, Giessen 1920, S. 158 ff. nachlese. Das nächtliche Opfer der Drujgenossen erinnert doch sehr an den sonnenlosen Platz des Areimanios-Opfers bei Plutarchos. Endlich steht in v. 182 die Nutzanwendung auf den Opferpriester: das Gebet soll immer wieder die Gottheit von den Sternen herabrufen und die Heimkehr der Krieger verbürgen—wie sie dem Wištāspa bescheert war (xvii. 51). Allein Anāhitā gehört garnicht in den Mazdaismus des Wištāspa und erst Artahšassa II gewährt ihr Einlass. So ist damit zu rechnen, dass sie Züge anderer, kanonischer Gottheiten an sich zog; Rtiš, neben ihr die am klarsten ausgeprägte weibliche Gottheit des Awesta, kam dafür zumeist in Betracht und erlitt entsprechende Einbusse. War erst einmal alles für Anāhitā Verwendbare von Rtiš genommen, dann musste man den Rtiš-Jašt danach zusammenstreichen, wahrscheinlich auch ein wenig umredigieren. In dieser Zeit könnte das Stück 6–14 hinzugekommen sein (s. oben S. 411 f.). So erklärt sich das Lückenhafte an der Anrufung und dem Kommen der Rtiš und an ihrem Gespräche mit Spitama Zarapuštra. Bloss der unentbehrliche Kern bleibt stehen: die Opfervorschrift, als Begründung dafür die Flucht, als Begründung für diese die Klage.

Der Jašt an Anāhitā hat keinen ähnlich gegliederten, zu Begründungen ausholenden Kern. Dafür ist die Reihe der 'Gezeichneten', vom Opfer Ausgeschlossenen, länger und um so eigenartiger, je weniger der Zusammenhang mit dem Wesen der Anāhitā über den allgemeinen mazdaistischen Gedanken des Ausschiessens der Mangelhaften, Kranken, Hässlichen hinaus ersichtlich ist, während bei Rtiš die Gründe des Ausschlusses nicht nur von der Flucht der Göttin sondern auch von ihrem Wesen her klar sind. Da ist es nun sehr wichtig, dass eine ähnliche Reihe 'Gezeichneter' wie bei Anāhitā auch bei Jama (*Widēwdāt*, ii. 29) auftritt. Die 'Gezeichneten' sind bei Anāhitā vom Opfer, bei Jama von der Aufnahme in den Wara ausgeschlossen, u. z. auf Verfügung des Mazdā. Beide Reihen haben frakawō-apakawō (vorn bucklig—hinten bucklig, kaswiš (kätzig), vimītōdantānō (mit verunstalteten Zähnen), pēsō jō witrtōtanuš (Aussätziger, der abgesondert ist); auch entspricht der mit dem Zeichen des Anromanjuš Gezeichnete bei Jama sehr

nahe dem mit dem Zeichen Gezeichneten bei Anāhitā. Das sind 6 Übereinstimmungen von 18 Gebrechen bei Anāhitā mit 11 Gebrechen bei Jama. Aber mit der Vorschrift der Rtiš stimmt *nichts* überein. Ja, Anāhitā schliesst sogar das Weib als Geschlechtswesen—denn das bedeutet strī—überhaupt von ihrem Opfer aus, während Rtiš Männer und Weiber allein in dieser Eigenschaft zulässt. Bei Anāhitā und Jama weist 'gezeichnet' auf Gebrechen hin, bei Rtiš auf eine Tüchtigkeit, der die Untüchtigen gegenübergestellt sind. So kommt es, dass gerade die Nichtgezeichneten bei Rtiš, die Gezeichneten bei Anāhitā ausgeschlossen sind. Es besteht keine Übereinstimmung, eher ein Gegensatz, ähnlich wie zwischen Tag-Opfer und Nacht-Opfer. Aber auch Gegensätze können sich berühren, wie hier trotz allem zu fühlen ist, und so bleibt die Aufgabe bestehen, dem Ursprunge der Gebrechenreihe bei Anāhitā und Jama nachzuspüren, mit der Hoffnung, dass dabei mittelbar auch für Rtiš etwas zu gewinnen sein könnte.

Die Liste der Gezeichneten steht bei Jama sehr sinnvoll. Man versteht ohne Weiteres, dass Ungestaltete dort nicht mitdürfen, dass sie bei Jama ausgeschlossen sind, in dessen Reiche—und das ist doch wieder der Wara—alles Unvollkommene, Hitze, Kälte, Krankheit, Alter, Tod keine Stätte hat. Die Reihe der Gebrechen malt da diesen Gedanken wirkungsvoll aus. Beim Opfer an Anāhitā fällt das alles weg, die Reihe steht also dort in Folge einer Übertragung, deren Grund zu suchen ist. Jama ist eine Art Saturnus (*Kρόνος*) sein Reich oder sein Wara eine aurea aetas (H. Usener, *Die Sintflutsagen*, 1899, S. 203); als Festbrauch müssen die Saturnalien entsprechen, die Sakäen und das Magermordfest (vgl. C. Clemen, *Religionsgeschichte Europas*, Heidelberg, 1926, S. 181 ff., und den Artikel Sakäen in der RE.). Die Sakäen (vgl. C. Clemen, *Die gr. u. lat. Nachr.*, S. 125 f.) erklären die Übertragung auf Anāhitā; denn Anāhitā erhielt ihren Altar in Zēla für ihre Hilfe bei der Vernichtung der Saka (Strabon; vgl. W. Schultz, *Die Rachegötter von Zēla*, a.a.O.), die man in dem Feste darzustellen meinte. Entsprechende Feste wurden ihr auch sonst an vielen Orten gefeiert. Ja, der *pēsō jō witrōtanuš* könnte geradezu ein *pēsōtanuš* sein, also der zum Tode bestimmte 'Verbrecher' der Sakäen. Sehr eigentümlich sind auch bei Anāhitā die Blinden, Tauben, Irrsinnigen, Fallsüchtigen. Vielleicht steckt in den unerklärten Wörtern der Liste auch noch der Lahme, der Stumme. Die Anklänge an die aus den messianischen Verheissungen bekannte Reihe scheinen aber bloss in 93, und auch da nur in dem pluralischen Teile zu liegen, der wieder nichts für die oben herausgestellten 6 Übereinstimmungen liefert.

Von dem eben gewonnenen Ausblicke auf die Sakäen her zeigt sich erneut, wie selbständig die Opfervorschrift für Rtiš ist. Eine Entlehnung von Anāhitā kommt hier so wenig in Frage, wie eine solche von Jama. Vielmehr war man sogar umgekehrt bereit, den Jama seine glückhafte Herrschaft einem Opfer an Rtiš verdanken zu lassen (xvii. 28–31). Schwer wiegt das aber nicht, denn Jama opfert auch ausser der (der Rtiš wesensverwandten) Drwāspā (ix. 7–11) noch dem Wajuš (xv. 14–17) und der Anāhitā (v. 24–7) mit demselben Erfolge. Enger mit Jama verbunden ist nur das Opfer seines

Vaters Wiwahwant (Jasna, ix. 4–5), von wo sich offenbar alle die anderen Stellen herleiten. Es ist ein Hōma-Opfer, und die Sakäen werden als dionysische Feste geschildert. Nun gehört aber auch zu Rtiš das Hōma-Opfer, ihre nähere Beziehung zu Hōma war mehrmals zu vermerken. Ein gewisser Parallelismus zwischen Rtiš als einer Art Jamī und Jama ist nicht zu verkennen. Jama herrscht erst glanzvoll, dann versündigt er sich (durch Fleischessen), der Glanz weicht schrittweis von ihm, Jama muss sich verbergen und lang im Elend bleiben, aber auch der Glanz wird flüchtig und verfolgt. Darauf habe ich schon Mitra, Sp. 107, hingewiesen. Regel, Geburt, Alter, Krankheit, Tod hängen zwangsläufig zusammen, der Glaube an eine Sünde als Ursache des Eintretens dieser Übel ist weit verbreitet, volkstümlich und offenbar alt. Es gibt zahlreiche Geschichten, in denen das Weib, oder vielmehr seine Vertreterin im Mythos, sich das 'Zeichen', die 'Krankheit', die Minderung, die zu ihrer zweitweisen Absonderung führt, durch eigene Schuld zuzieht. In der Flucht der Rtiš ist die Schuld auf Andere abgewälzt, auf die Nawatara. Die Frage: In welchem Verhältnisse stehen dann diese frevlerischen Nawatara zum 'goldenen' Geschlechte des Jama? ist von hier aus nicht zu umgehen. Und weiter ist wegen der Beziehung der *καταμήνια*-menses zum Monde (vgl. darüber Roscher in seinem *Lexikon*, i. 3149 ff.; iv. 646 f.) an eine andere Gruppe von Geschichten zu erinnern, die erzählen, wie der Mond, gekränkt über die ihm von den Menschen, insbesondere einem Weibe, zu Teil gewordene Behandlung, beschmutzt und gezeichnet, sich an den Himmel zurückzieht, während er vorher im seligen Urzustande bei den Menschen weilte (W. H. Roscher, *Selene u. Verwandtes*, Nachträge). Wir werden nicht fehlgehen, auch das Entweichen der Rtiš vor den Schandtaten der Menschen in diesem Sinne aufzufassen. Wir kommen damit vom Kultischen auf das Mythische, von der Opfervorschrift auf die Flucht der Rtiš.

Die Grundlage muss hier der Text bilden, den ich schon in meiner 'Flucht der Rtiš' behandelt habe. Ich stelle ihn jetzt mit einigen Verbesserungen wieder her wie folgt:

jat mām tura¹ pazdajanta
 āsuaspa Nawatara,²
³ azəm tanuwəm⁴ aguzoi
 adari pādəm stōrahjo⁵
 <waršanois satokarahjo.>⁶
 atčit⁷ mām fragusajanta
 joi apnāju taruna,
 joi kanina anupaita.⁸

¹ Vgl. S. 416 f.

² Vgl. S. 416 f.

³ āt. Vgl. Anm. 4.

⁴ Als man *tanum* bereits zweisilbig las, fügte man am Anfange des Verses, um ihn zu füllen, *āt* hinzu.

⁵ *gauš* füllt den Vers nicht; ich fasse es als schlecht abgelesene 'Maske' auf. Die Fortsetzung *aršnō barmajōnahjo* will verdeutlichen, dass es sich um den Stier handelt; um des Gleichlaufes der Strophen Willen stelle ich sie probeweise zurück.

⁶ ergänzt aus der nächsten Strophe.

⁷ āt. Vgl. die entsprechende Stelle der nächsten Strophe.

⁸ *mytjanəm* fällt aus dem Verse.

*jat*¹ *mām tura*² *paɣdajanta*
āsuaspa Nawatara,³
*4 azəm tanuwəm*⁵ *aguzoi*
*adari garo*⁶ *moišahjo*⁶
7 waršanois satokarahjo.
atčit mām fraguzajanta
*joi naro paristaḥšudro*⁸
*joi jahika paradaḥšta.*⁸

*jat*¹ *mām tura*² *paɣdajanta*
*āsuaspa*⁹ *Nawatara*³
<azəm tanuwəm aguzoi
adari -ahjo
waršanois satokarahjo.
at noit mām fraguzajanta
joi
*joi >.*¹⁰

Das heisst möglichst wörtlich:

Als mich die wilden hetzten, die schnelle Rosse (besitzenden) Nawatara, verbarg ich (meinen) Leib unter dem Fusse des Stieres, des Herde hundertköpfig (ist). Jedoch es haben mich zum Vorscheine gebracht die unmündigen Knaben, die unreifen Mädchen.

Als mich die wilden hetzten, die schnelle Rosse (besitzenden) Nawatara, verbarg ich (meinen) Leib unter dem Halse des Widders, des Herde hundertköpfig (ist). Jedoch es haben mich zum Vorscheine gebracht die Männer, (deren) Samen versiegt (ist), die Vetteln, (die) am 'Zeichen' vorbei (sind).

Als mich die wilden hetzten, die schnelle Rosse (besitzenden) Nawatara, verbarg ich (meinen Leib) unter dem . . . des . . . , des Herde hundertköpfig (ist). Jedoch *nicht* haben mich zum Vorscheine gebracht die Männer, . . . die Frauen, . . .

Zum Wortsinne ist wenig mehr zu sagen. Dass die Nawatara 'wild' (oder hurtig) und 'schnelle Rosse habend' genannt werden, ist natürlich Schilderung. Sie sind ergrimmt, und sie brauchen die Rosse zur Verfolgung. Es reicht daher auch nicht zu, *paɣdajanta* mit 'scheuchen' wiederzugeben. Ein schnelles Scheuchen zu Pferde ist eben ein Hetzen und Verfolgen. Und Rtiš verbirgt sich, weil sie in Gefahr ist, eingeholt und ergriffen zu werden. Bedeutet nun *aguzoi* 'ich verbarg mich', dann heisst *fraguzajanta* 'sie brachten sie zum Vorscheine, bewirkten, dass sie herauskommen musste', aber

¹ *jatčit*. Vgl. den Anfang der vorigen Strophe.

² Vgl. S. 416 f.

³ Vgl. S. 416 f.

⁴ Vgl. S. 421, Anm. 4.

⁵ Vgl. S. 421, Anm. 4.

⁶ Umgestellt, entsprechend der vorigen Strophe.

⁷ *jat* fällt aus dem Verse.

⁸ Der Text deckt sich hier mit dem der vorigen Strophe. Er ist berichtigt nach 54; vgl. S. 413.

⁹ J 10.

¹⁰ Über die Ergänzung s. S. 413 oben.

nicht einfach 'holten sie hervor'. Es genügt, wenn sie beobachtet hatten, wie R̥tiš sich verbarg und ihr Versteck den Verfolgern wiesen, so dass sie, ehe diese zugreifen konnten, weiter fliehen (ein neues Versteck suchen) musste. Wäre sie wirklich hervorgeholt und gegriffen worden, dann hätte sie sich erst wieder frei machen müssen; aber davon steht nichts da, und der ganze Vorgang ist doch sehr deutlich. Es ist auch klar, dass schliesslich die reifen Männer und Frauen die Flüchtigen nicht verrieten.

Einige Überlegungen zum Inhalte schliessen sich an. Woher haben die Nawatara die schnellen Rosse? Die Naotarja haben sie von Anāhitā (vgl. S. 417). Hätten die Nawatara sie von R̥tiš, dann käme diese durch ihre eigene Gabe in Gefahr; die Undankbarkeit der Verfolger, das Wunderbare der Rettung träte schärfer hervor. Ferner: R̥tiš musste sehr klein sein, um sich unter dem Fusse des Stieres und dem Halse des Widders und eines dritten, vielleicht wieder kleineren Tieres verbergen zu können. Sie konnte auch in ihrer menschlichen Gestalt als schönes Mädchen gewiss nicht so rasch vor den rasenden Reitern fliehen. Offenbar müssen wir sie uns als Tier denken und mit Flügeln und hinreichend klein. Es bleibt nichts übrig, als sie als Fliege zu denken, vielleicht auch, mazdaistischer, als Biene. Endlich erwarten wir, dass, nachdem die Nawatara unverrichteter Dinge abziehen mussten, Lohn und Strafe von Seiten der Göttin an den Verrätern und Beschützern einsetzten. Unreife und Unfruchtbarkeit könnten Strafe, die Fruchtbarkeit könnte Lohn sein. Man beachte auch, dass mit den Kindern, Erwachsenen, Greisen die Lebensalter hereinspielen.

Zum Ganzen: Warum flieht R̥tiš? Warum verfolgen sie die Nawatara? Die Antwort auf die erste Frage ergibt sich ganz unabhängig von der Fluchtsage aus den 3 Klagen (57–59). Nach jeder Schandtats, die sie nennt, erwägt sie, wohin sie entweichen soll: zum Himmel oder zur Erde. Also bringen sie Schandtats zur Flucht, und zwar solche wieder das von ihr behütete Geschlechtsleben des Weibes. Daraus ergibt sich, dass die Nawatara entsprechende Schandtats begangen haben müssen. Vielleicht sollte es nur eine sein, vielleicht waren es mehrere und etwas andere; 57–9 trägt zwar den Grund der Flucht nach, steht aber, wie schon betont, doch wieder auf anderer Stufe. Und wir können uns auch leicht Fluchtsagen denken, die auf anderer Stufe als die erhaltene und den 3 Klagen näher standen. So liegt es nahe, bei Himmel und Erde das Wasser zu ergänzen, zumal wenn man an die die ganze Welt durchwirkende Heilkraft der R̥tiš in Jasna, lx. 4 (vgl. S. 410) denkt. Die Tiere, bei denen R̥tiš sich verbirgt, sind aber alles Landtiere. Hier eine dem bäuerlichen Weideleben entnommene Reihe, dort der Rest einer kosmischen, aber umgebogen ins Moralische. Man fühlt die verschiedenen Wege des Ausgestaltens und Anpassens. Warum R̥tiš flieht, ist also auf alle Fälle klar. Aber auch darüber kann kaum Zweifel bestehen, weshalb die Nawatara sie verfolgen. Wo R̥tiš weilt, ist Wohlstand—da gilt es, sie nicht entweichen zu lassen. Und daher fügen die Nawatara ihren Freveln, die das Entweichen herbeiführen, noch den neuen hinzu, die gekränkte Göttin zu verfolgen.

Soweit führt der awestische Stoff aus sich heraus. Er ergibt ein einheit-

liches Bild, das wir um viele, bisher noch zu wenig beachtete Einzelheiten bereichern und von da aus zu einem Ganzen abrunden konnten. Auch die Nawatara ordnen sich ihm ein. Sie sind ein jüngerer Geschlecht im Gegensatz zu dem älteren unter Jama. Und sie sind es, unter denen R̥tiš endgültig von der Erde verscheucht würde, wenn nicht Ahura Mazdā eingriffe und ihr im Hause des Naotarja Wistāspa einen neuen Wohnsitz zuwies.

Dieses Ergebnis habe ich in den Grundzügen schon in meiner 'Flucht der R̥tiš' entwickelt, wobei ich auch eine Stelle des Aratos über das Entweichen der Dike zum Vergleiche heranzog. Leider erweckte das in B. Geiger a.a.O. und J. Hertel, 'Achämeniden u. Kayaniden', a.a.O. den Eindruck, als beruhe meine Auffassung von R̥tiš nur auf diesem Vergleiche. Wie wenig das der Fall war, dürfte nun dem hier gegebenen Aufrisse zu entnehmen sein. Daher halte ich es für richtig, Dike vorerst auszuschalten, wenn ich prüfe, wie viel von den vorgebrachten Einwendungen schon für das Bisherige in Betracht kommt.

1. Geiger wendet ein, die Fluchtsage gehörte nicht ursprünglich zu R̥tiš, denn diese ist wie die Aməša Spənta's mazdaistische Abstraktion, und als solche kann sie keinen Mythos haben. Dem gegenüber habe ich bloss auf den gleich eingangs angeführten Satz Reitzensteins zu verweisen. Man kann hierüber eben auch anders denken, und der abstrakten Beschaffenheit der Göttin R̥tiš hoffe ich in weitestem Ausmasse gerecht geworden zu sein.

2. Geiger vergleicht die R̥tiš mit Lakṣmī-Śrī, die 'gute' R̥tiš mit der ἀγαθὴ τύχη. Das ist wertvoller Vergleichsstoff; Einwände sind es nicht.

3. Hertel wendet ein, die Fluchtsage gehört nicht ursprünglich zu R̥tiš, denn es gibt solche Fluchtsagen auch in den Brāhmanas, wo sie von Agnis auf die verschiedensten Gestalten und Dinge übertragen wurden. Ich sehe hierin keinen Einwand sondern eine gestellte Aufgabe: wie verhalten sich die Fluchtsagen von Agnis zur Flucht der R̥tiš? Ausser der Entlehnung kommt auch Wesensverwandtheit in Frage. Hertel hat selbst an anderer Stelle auf eine Geschichte bei Somadewa verwiesen, nach der Agnis das Weib, das sein Versteck verrät, mit der Regel bestraft, und hat, wieder an anderer Stelle, betont, dass diese Regel der Same des Weibes und 'Feuer' ist (s. S. 408). Ausserdem habe ich im Obigen (S. 411, 413, 415, 421) gezeigt, wie die Flucht der R̥tiš Zug um Zug aus deren Wesen herausgesponnen ist. Es gilt also, die Lage zu prüfen (s. unten S. 426 und 428 f.).

4. Hertel deutet 54-6 historisch und wendet sich daher gegen eine mythologisch-religionsgeschichtliche Behandlung der Stelle. Auf diese Seite der Frage, auch auf seine Auffassung des Textlichen, bin ich schon im Obigen (S. 414-417) genau eingegangen. Ich hoffe, gezeigt zu haben, dass seine Aufstellungen nicht zutreffen.

Das Förderliche an Geigers und Hertels Ausführungen sehe ich, was R̥tiš betrifft, in dem unter 2 und 3 erwähnten, von beiden geltend gemachten, weiter ausholenden Vergleichsstoffe. Er gliedert sich in meinen eignen, im Mitra vorgelegten und hier von mir erweiterten, auch den über Dike, ein. Es wird sich auch zeigen, dass die von Geiger und Hertel verneinte

Beziehung zur Lehre von den Weltaltern noch stärker ist, als ich in meiner Mitra-Abhandlung herausgestellt hatte.

Zu eng ist auf jeden Fall bei Geiger (S. 116, Anm. 1; 117, Anm. 2) die Kennzeichnung von Rtiš als Göttin des Glücks. Dagegen ist ohne Zweifel die 'gute' Rtiš auf dem Wege, Glücksgöttin zu werden, und der Vergleich mit der *ἀγαθὴ τύχη* klärend. Leider hat Geiger ihn nicht genauer durchgeführt. Nun treffen wir aber die Verehrung der *ἀγαθὴ τύχη* (meist zusammen mit dem *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων*) in Attika von 335–4 v. Chr. an. Den Stoff überblickt man bequem bei Ruhl-Waser in Roschers *Lexikon*, v. 1309 (Lpz. 1916–24). Auch bei Tyche blickt in älterer Zeit hie und da die strengere Auffassung durch, wie bei Pindaros, dem sie als eine der Moiren gilt, oder wenn sie Strafen verhängt. Auch sie wird dann Allgöttin, auch sie hat etwas Schillerndes an sich, das die Spätzeit besonders anzieht: das Problem von Notwendigkeit im Gegensatz zum Zufall, bis in die Seele und den Charakter des Menschen hinein verfolgt (a.a.O. Sp. 1321). Der Gedanke einer Personal-Tyche entwickelt sich, ja eine Stadt-Tyche. Mir scheinen die Anklänge an die Geltung der Rtiš so auffällig, dass ich iranischen Einfluss in Hellas mindestens auf die *ἀγαθὴ τύχη* vermuten möchte. Ist doch die *ἀγαθὴ τύχη* ein Gebilde der hellenistischen Zeit. Rtiš wohwi, wohwi Ādā können die Prägung der *ἀγαθὴ τύχη*, Wohumanō kann die des *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων* sehr wohl beeinflusst haben. Tyche bedeutet bei den Astrologen den Mond, Daimon die Sonne (a.a.O. Sp. 1331). Auch Rtiš, die Göttin der Regel, ergab sich als mondhafte. Endlich finden wir noch Rtiš wohwi in xvii. 60 als Personal-Tyche des Wištāspa und seines Hauses. Aber diese Beobachtungen schliessen nicht aus, dass Rtiš auch noch auf andere Weise nach Hellas hinüber gewirkt hat. Das wird noch zu erörtern sein.

Nerioseng hat Rtiš mit Lakšmī wiedergegeben und Geiger (ebd.) zieht daher auch Lakšmī-Śrī zum Vergleiche heran. Sie meidet die schlechten und trügen Menschen, darunter die Ehebrecherin und die Schamlose (Mahābh. xiii. 512 ff.); aber auch den allzu Tugendhaften flieht sie (ebd. v. 1509) wie ein Antilopenweibchen (Böhtlingk, Sprüche 4020). Śrī ist unbeständig und flüchtig (Mahābh. xiii. 3861), geht bald hierin, bald dorthin (ebd. xii. 8258). Geiger vergleicht paritačat pariṣasat und Tyche auf der Kugel. Ich möchte noch Fortuna auf dem Rade hinzufügen und die Frau Saelde. Diese Kennzeichnung der Glücksgöttin wurde nicht jedes Mal neu erfunden, sondern sie ist gewandert, und der Anstoss muss von Iran, von Rtiš, ausgegangen sein. Man vergleiche auch Widēdwāt i. 9 und xix. 5 die Parikā Hnāpati und dazu R. Bleichsteiner, 'Iranische Entsprechungen zu Frau Holle und Baba Jaga', *Mitra* i. 65–71, H. Niggemann, 'Frau Welt', *Mitra* i. 279–85 und H. Junker, 'Frau Welt in Iran', *Zeitschrift f. Indologie und Iranistik*, Leipzig, 1923, ii. 1, 237–46. Dass Lakšmī eine puṇyā L. ist, betont Geiger S. 119, um die Ähnlichkeit mit der *ἀγαθὴ τύχη* zu verstärken. Es ist hinzuzufügen, dass Lakšmī das Mal, Merkmal, Zeichen ist, so dass der Name dem Sinne nach ganz nahe zu awestisch daḥšta steht. In der Tat konnte Geiger bei ihr die Beziehung zum weiblichen Geschlechtsleben (Meiden der Ehebrecherin und Schamlosen) in wertvollen Resten nachweisen.

Aber noch mehr: die Antilope ist doch wohl eine Verwandlungsform der Göttin (s. S. 425), sie, das Reh, die Hinde das typische Tier zahlloser Fluchtsagen in Indien, Iran und Europa.

Man sieht, dass Geigers Beobachtungen, mit zugehörigem Stoffe ergänzt, das entwickelte Bild von R̥tiṣ in widestem Rahmen bestätigen und der iranischen Göttin bedeutsamen Hintergrund geben. Aber der indische Stoff bietet noch mehr; ich kann aus ihm auch noch einige der Flucht der R̥tiṣ sehr nahe stehende, meine Auffassung von dieser Sage unerwartet bestätigende Fluchtsagen beibringen.

Mahābh. xii. 228: Śrī hat bei den Dānawa gewohnt, so lang sie tugendhaft waren. Jetzt sind sie lasterhaft geworden, und sie will daher mit ihren 8 Begleiterinnen bei den Göttern wohnen. Sie verlässt den Bali, weil er die Brahmanen erzürnt hat, und zieht in Indra ein, der die nirgends dauernd verweilende Göttin mit je einem Fusse auf die Erde, die Wasser, die Feuer und die Guten stellt (ebd. 225).

Was wir hier von den Dānawa erfahren, entspricht genau dem, was ich für die Nawatara aus ganz anderen Gründen angenommen habe. Die 8 Begleiterinnen und Śrī erinnern an die Moiren oder Musen und führen darauf, ob nicht auch R̥tiṣ solche Begleiterinnen haben mochte. Sie wären bei Pārēndiṣ und ähnlichen untergeordneten Gestalten zu suchen; jedoch auch die Sōṣjants, mit deren Weisheit sie angefahren kommt, könnten Umdeutung ihres Gefolges sein. Ich habe, wieder aus ganz anderen Gründen, zu den 3 Klagen mit Hinweis auf Jasna lx. 1 eine Fassung angesetzt, in der R̥tiṣ in die drei Reiche (Himmel, Erde, Wasser) flieht, und hier haben wir eine indische Fassung, in der Śrī mit je einem Fusse auf Erde, Wasser, Feuer und die Guten gestellt wird. Zugleich entspricht das in besonderer Weise dem Zuge, dass R̥tiṣ nur mit einem Fusse im Hause steht. Wie Mazdā bei R̥tiṣ ist hier Indra bei Śrī der deus ex machina. Jedes der 4 Elemente erhält einen Anteil von Śrī, und die Guten entsprechen dabei der Luft. Es sind die *πνευματικοὶ ἀνθρώποι*. Das ist für mich entscheidend dafür, dass diese Śrī mit diesen Besonderheiten nicht indisch sondern iranisch, ein mittelbares Zeugnis für R̥tiṣ ist. Die Sage setzt voraus, dass Śrī 4 Füße hat, und wir erinnern uns, dass Lakṣmī der Antilope verglichen wurde. Davon, dass Śrī den Dānawa dadurch entschwindet, dass sie jeweils einen Fuss weniger auf der immer unwürdiger werdenden Erde ruhen lässt, erfahren wir nichts. Aber Ähnliches findet sich in Indien und Iran. Das Recht (dharma) weilt während des Kṛtajugam vollständig, als 4füssiger Stier, unter den Menschen, nimmt aber in jedem folgenden Jugam in Folge der Vermischung mit Unrecht um einen Fuss ab, so dass es in jedem Zeitalter 'anders' ist (Mahābh. iii. 13017 ff.; xii. 8500; Manu i. 81 ff.). Oder das Aussehen des Nārājana (Wiṣṇus-Kṛṣṇa) ändert sich nach den Weltaltern, den Farben der Elemente, Weltecken usw., und sein weisses Flügelross Kalki senkt ein Bein nach dem andern, um endlich mit dem 4ten die Welt in den Abgrund zu drücken, wenn die Bosheit überhand nimmt. Man erinnere sich auch der 3 Schritte des Wiṣṇus—wieder vor Bali—bei denen es um die Dreiwelt geht. Allein, wozu hat Kalki Flügel? Von Śrī und R̥tiṣ her wäre eine Stute zu erwarten, die einen Fuss nach dem

andern hebt, um zuletzt zu entfliegen. Und daran ist nun die Frage anzuschliessen: Weshalb entschwindet dem Leibrosse des Wištāspa zur Beglaubigung des in den Kerker geworfenen Zarapuštra jede Nacht ein Bein? Es liegt doch sehr nahe, dass das die in das Ross verwandelte Göttin, die Tyche des Wištāspa, ist, die die Welt verlassen will, weil dem Heiland Unrecht widerfährt.

Das Kosmische, die Weltalter—gehört das wirklich zu unserem Stoffe? Hertel sagt nein. In Jašt xvii steht kein Wort von den Weltaltern (S. 99), die erst die späte Parsentradition kenne (S. 100). Aber ich hoffe, gezeigt zu haben, dass Jama König des glückseligen Urzustandes ist und dass die Nawatara im Verhältnisse dazu die Jüngerer sind, ein minderes, in Frevel verfallendes Geschlecht. Und Hertels Behauptung, dass die Weltalterlehre in Iran erst spät ist, ist inzwischen durch R. Reitzensteins Forschungen überholt. Hertel bezieht sich S. 19 f. auf die Lehre von den Weltaltern im Bahman-Jašt, wo der goldene Zweig des 7zweigigen Baumes in der Vision des Zarapuštra das Reich des Wištāspa, der silberne das des Ardašīr (= Artahšassa), die folgenden drei Metallzweige andere spätere Reiche, der vorletzte, stählerne das Reich des Hūsrō (531–519 v. Chr.), der letzte, eisen-gemischte das Reich der Dämonen bezeichnet. Eine zweite Stelle des Bahman-Jašts gibt dem Baume 4 Zweige; die zwei ersten bedeuten das Selbe, der dritte ist das stählerne Reich des Hūsrō, der vierte, eisen-gemischte das Reich der Dämonen. Beide Ansätze ergeben, dass Gold und Silber, das 1. und das 2. Reich, dem Wištāspa und dem Ardašīr, also den Naotarja, gehören, also genau das, was ich aus ganz anderen Gründen angenommen hatte: die Naotarja (wie ich es auffasse an Stelle der Nawatara) in Verknüpfung mit den Metallen der Weltreiche oder Weltalter. Hertels Aufstellung, 'dass ein Komparativ zur Bezeichnung eines Weltalters garnicht in Frage kommen kann' (S. 100), erledigt sich dadurch von selbst. Der Komparativ Naotarja kommt mindestens von dem Augenblicke an dafür in Frage, seit dem in die Vision der Weltalter und Weltreiche auch dieses Geschlecht einbezogen werden konnte. Diese Möglichkeit bestand, seit es die Naotara als Seitenlinie der Achämeniden gab. Sie bestand aber auch schon viel früher, falls, wie dies garnicht auszuschliessen ist, die Bezeichnung von Lebensaltern in die Benennung der Weltalter (vgl. Seeliger in Roschers *Lexikon*, vi. 393, Anm. 2) über die blosse Zählung oder die Kennzeichnung durch Metalle und Farben hinaus hereinspielte. Hertel verlangt eine durchgehend einheitliche Bezeichnung aller Weltalter (S. 100), aber die Quellen sind nun einmal nicht immer so folgerichtig. Bei Hesiodos sind die Menschen des zweiten Weltalters noch Kinder, wenn sie schon 100 Jahre alt sind, die des letzten dagegen kommen schon mit grauen Haaren auf die Welt. Ein Unterschied von νεώτεροι und γηραιότεροι liegt da von Hellas bis Indien in der Luft, aber auch Hesiodos hat nicht zu allen, sondern nur zu zwei Weltaltern etwas über Alter und Altern der Menschen in ihnen vermerkt. Die indischen Weltalterlehren verfahren auch nicht bis ins Letzte systematisch. Wir erfahren, dass die Wesen der ersten, goldenen Zeit unvergänglich sind und nicht altern (Mahābh. iii. 11234 ff.), wie in Iran die Wesen im Reiche des Jama; die Menschen der Endzeit aber

sind klein und kurzlebig, die Jungen haben die Art von Greisen, die Greise die von Jungen (Mahābh. ii. 12805–13122; vgl. R. Reitzenstein, S. 55). Auch nach dem Bahman-Jašt werden die Menschen der Endzeit kleiner. Ähnliches findet sich in Platons *Politikos*, xii–xvi; vgl. R. Reitzenstein, S. 67: 'Platon würde uns, wenn diese Analyse sich einigermaßen bewährte, zum Zeugen für das Alter der Grundvorstellungen des Bahman-Jašt'. Jedoch Reitzenstein nimmt auch schon auf Hesiodos und die Orphiker iranischen Einfluss an.

Es scheint mir wünschenswert, zu betonen, dass diese Schlüsse auf die Nawatara als Menschen einer schlechteren Zeit nicht bloss auf den 4 Füßen der Śrī, des Dharman-Stieres, des Kalki, oder des Leibrosses des Wištāspa, sondern dass sie auch auf den Zweigen des Metallbaumes der von Reitzenstein als unerwartet erwiesenen Vision des Bahman-Jašts stehen, aus der sich die Naotarja geradezu mit der Weltalterlehre verknüpft ergeben. Auch das hat sich noch feststellen lassen, ohne dass ich auf Dike bei Aratos Bezug zu nehmen brauchte.

Jedoch, zurück zu den, wie wir sehen, für unseren Gegenstand sehr lehrreichen indischen Fluchtsagen!

Wir kommen zu Agnis. Kennzeichnend scheint mir Mahābh. xiii. 85: Die Götter suchen den Agnis. Ein Frosch verrät seinen Aufenthalt in der Unterwelt, ein Elefant im Aśwattha, ein Papagei in der Śamī. So wird Agnis stellig gemacht. Er bestraft alle Verräter an der Zunge oder 'Sprache', aber die Götter mildern seinen Fluch.

Wieder belegt die Fassung Züge ganz ähnlicher Art, wie sie für Ṛtiś anzusetzen waren und bekräftigt dadurch diese Ansätze. Es sind Tiere der 3 Reiche (Wasser, Land, Luft); zwar betätigen sich die Tiere selbst als Verräter, aber die Verräter werden durch dauernde Eigenschaften bestraft, die Strafe wird allerdings noch gemildert. Auch für Ṛtiś nahm ich an, dass sie Unreife, Unfruchtbarkeit als Strafe, Fruchtbarkeit als Lohn verhängt haben könnte. Wichtiger als diese Einzelheiten ist aber, wie die Flucht des Agnis im Ganzen zu beurteilen ist. A. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.*, ii. 13 hat sich darüber so geäußert: 'Es bedarf keines Scharfsinns, um zu erkennen, dass die drei geschwundenen Brüder Agni's die drei Opferfeuer sind, welche erloschen sind. Der von den Göttern gesuchte Agni ist das Opferfeuer, das ihnen aufs Neue dienen soll. Es handelt sich, wie ich glaube, dabei nicht um die Veranstaltung eines einzelnen Opfers, sondern um den Beginn des rituellen Jahres'. Ganz Entsprechendes liegt, wie ich gezeigt zu haben hoffe, auch bei Ṛtiś zu Grunde: die rituelle Absonderung des mit der Regel behafteten Weibes, ihr sich Verbergen, ihr Entschwinden und ihr wieder Hervortreten, auch das ein regelmässiger, an den Lauf der Zeit gebundener Vorgang. So erklärt sich, wie ich schon S. 424 unter 3 andeutete, die auffallende Übereinstimmung dieser Fluchtsagen aus ihrer gemeinsamen Grundlage. Gegenseitige Beeinflussungen und Entlehnungen sind dabei immerhin möglich, aber gerade bei Ṛtiś haben wir es offenbar mit einer ganz einheitlich aus dem Wesen dieser Göttin heraus gestalteten Sage zu tun; Entlehntes würde sich durch Unstimmigkeiten zu erkennen geben.

Die stark systematische Veranlagung dieser Fluchtsagen bringt es übrigens

mit sich, dass sie schon aus diesem gemeinsam Systematischen heraus einander beleuchten: Agnis bestraft am Munde, R̥tiš vielleicht an den Geschlechtsteilen. Haben die Tiere sich an Agnis das Maul verbrannt; kann R̥tiš auch an den Geschlechtsteilen der Tiere Zuflucht gesucht haben? Eine Sage von Naxos, auf die ich Mitra, Sp. 110 verwiesen habe, berichtet, dass das Jesuskind sich in einem Stalle befand, als es die Henker suchten. Sie würden an dem Stalle vorbeigegangen sein, wenn nicht die Esel sie durch ihr Geschrei aufmerksam gemacht hätten. Aber das Jesuskind entschlüpfte noch rechtzeitig und verbarg sich unter dem Schwanz einer Ziege. Doch diese hob den Schwanz empor, so dass es unter den eines Schafes fliehen muss, das es nicht verrät; die Henker ziehen unverrichteter Dinge ab.

Genau auf der selben Stufe steht nun eine weitere Fluchtsage von Śrī (Mahābh. xiii. 82). Sie will bei den Kühen wohnen, aber die Kühe weisen sie als zu unbeständig ab. Endlich erhält sie Erlaubnis, in ihrem Harne und Kote zu wohnen, worüber sie entzückt ist. Ganz offenkundig ist sie hier als Schmeißfliege gedacht, die sich den Kühen aufdrängt, hin und her fliegt und in den Fladen nistet. Was ich als Vermutung aussprach: R̥tiš als Fliege (oder Biene) wird dadurch bestätigt.

Könnte aber R̥tiš Fliege sein, dann müssen wir ihr auch als dēwischem Wesen begegnen können. Solche Wendung zum Dämonischen und Bösen, im Awesta natürlich ausgeschlossen, ist durchaus denkbar, ja zu erwarten. Sind doch die mit der Regel behafteten Weiber unrein, auch die, die eben geboren haben. Man denke an Ĵahi oder die 'jungfräuliche' Noria, das Weib des Fluthelden (W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen 1907, S. 14, Anm. 2, S. 73 u. 103). In den Flutsagen verbirgt sich umgekehrt der Teufel im Leibe des Weibes, um der Flut zu entrinnen (O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen I*, Leipzig und Berlin 1907, S. 257 ff.). Ferner gehört das Weib des Tahmuraf herzu (Dähnhardt, ebd. S. 261). Bei den nahen Beziehungen der R̥tiš zu Jama (S. 015) kann das nicht überraschen; denn trotz J. Hertel, 'Die Himmeltore', Leipzig 1924, S. 35 ff. ist Widēwdāt ii unzweifelhaft Flutsage, freilich mit nahen Übergängen zur Gruppe der Fluchtsagen, die uns bei R̥tiš beschäftigt. R̥tiš bei den Nawatara erinnert an die Engel bei den Menschen vor der Flut; die Jungfrau Ištar, die ihren Verfolgern entflieht (J. M. bin Gorion, *Sagen der Juden*, Frankfurt 1913, I 314 ff.), an R̥tiš-Noria (Barbelo). Sogar als Zuflucht suchende Fliege kommt das Weib des Noah in den Flutsagen vor (Dähnhardt, ebd. S. 267 f.), und auch die fliegenartige Nasuš (Widēwdāt, viii) muss durch rituelle Reinigung vertrieben werden und birgt sich auffallender Weise zuletzt unter der Sohle des von ihr Angefallenen, wie R̥tiš unter dem Fusse des Stieres. Man erwäge endlich, dass R̥tiš als Göttin der vergeltenden Gerechtigkeit (S. 02) natürlich auch töten muss, was wieder Reinigung erfordert.

Eine Spur dieser umgekehrten Auffassung der lichten Göttin, die sie der Artemis und Hekate nähert, ist, meine ich, im Hellenismus zu finden. Nach den Scholien zu Theokritos ii. 11 f. stiehlt die Angelos (= Hekate; der Name Angelos deutet auf ihre vermittelnde Stellung zwischen Oberwelt und Unterwelt: Jessen in *RE.* i. 2189) ihrer Mutter Hera die Salbe und gibt sie der

Europa. Hera stürzt ihr nach, aber Angelos verbirgt sich bei der Frau, die eben geboren hat, und bei den leichtentragenden Männern; so muss Hera von der Verfolgung abstehen. Aber Vater Zeus entsendet die Kabiren, die die Angelos aufstöbern, im acherusischen See reinigen und den Toten zuteilen (Weiteres bei R. Herzog, 'Die Zauberinnen des Sophron', *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde*, Giessen, 1927, xxv. 217–29). Ein neuer Zug ist hier der Diebstahl für andere: man kann an Agnis und Prometheus, aber auch an Pandora erinnern; auch ist Europa eine Enttraffte wie Persephone, anlässlich derer sich Hekate als Botin (ἄγγελος) betätigt (homerischer Demeter-Hymnos, v. 438 ff.). Es ist mit verschiednen älteren und jüngeren Einschlügen zu rechnen. Aber für uns hier kommt nur der eine in Betracht: das sich am unreinen Orte Verbergen und die folgende Reinigung.

Handelt es sich bei Angelos um einen vereinzelt, im Gefolge des Zauberes verschleppten Ausläufer der zu Rtiš gehörigen Fluchtsage in den späteren Hellenismus und bei der ἀγαθή τύχη um die breite Beeinflussung des hellenistischen Denkens durch eine stark spekulative iranische Göttergestalt, so liegt eine z.T. noch viel weiter zurückreichende Reihe von Entsprechungen, in der sich ein steigender iranischer Einfluss nachweisen lässt, in der Weltalterlehre von Hesiodos, ihrem für uns ältesten Zeugen, an vor. Seit ich 1914 das Entschwinden der Dike in den Phainomena des Aratos —auf Hesiodos selbst zurückzugreifen hatte ich noch nicht gewagt— zur Flucht der Rtiš stellte und auf die Anklänge hinwies, ohne eine Annahme über Urverwandtschaft oder Entlehnung auszusprechen, hat sich die Lage stark geändert. Durch A. Goetze, W. Jäger, H. Junker, H. H. Schaefer u. a., vor allem aber durch R. Reitzenstein ist ein Wandel im Urteile über iranisch-griechische Beziehungen angebahnt worden. Hesiodos, die Orphiker, Platon, rücken ins Blickfeld des Iranisten; der Dāmdāð—Nask, der Bahman-Jašt und Verwandtes werden zu fassbaren Grössen für den Erforscher des klassischen Altertums. Reitzenstein mahnt, 'sorgsamer als bisher auf Spuren iranischer Anschauung im Griechentum zu achten'.

Nicht in allem möchte ich R. Reitzensteins Annahmen iranischer (?) Einflüsse auf Hesiodos zustimmen. Auch heimische Vorstellungen haben gewiss starken Anteil, wie ich z.B. in anderem Zusammenhang (W. Schultz, 'Die religiöse und geistige Kultur der germanischen Bronzezeit I: die Kultur der Felsritzer', Görlitz, 1929, *Jahreshefte der Gesellschaft für Anthrop. u. Urgesch. der preuss. Oberlausitz*, iii. 2, S. 115) kürzlich auszuführen hatte, dass die Vorstellung von den das Wachstum fordernden Ahnengeistern in den Weltaltern bei Hesiodos zum griechischen Heroen-Kulte stimmt und auf gemeinindogermanische, wenn nicht urindogermanische Wurzeln zurückgeht. Aber die z.B. noch von Seeliger (a.a.O. 1925) vertretene Auffassung, dass die Weltalterlehre ganz aus heimischen Ansätzen zu erklären sei, halte ich für jetzt nicht mehr möglich. Allerdings steht die Weltalterlehre des Hesiodos, wie sich zeigt, von ihren Quellen recht weit ab; die Beziehung auf den gegliederten göttlichen Leib des 'Menschen', der, ebenso wie der Baum im Bahman-Jašt, sich in den Weltaltern erfüllt, und in der Orphik noch fühlbar ist, fehlt bei dem nüchternen Hesiodos natürlich völlig. Aber die zuneh-

mende Verschlechterung der Weltalter, die überdies bei ihm durch Katastrophen von einander getrennt sind, ist klar ausgeprägt, damit in Zusammenhang auch, dass *Aidōs* und *Némeis* dem eisernen Geschlechte entweichen, gehüllt in weisse Gewänder. Die Zusammenstellung *aidōs-némeis* ist homerisch (N 121 f.). Bei Porph. de abstin. 3, 27 gehört *Δίκη* hinzu, und wir haben eine Dreiheit. Im Theognisliede v. 1135 ff. sind Pistis, Sophrosyne, die Charites zum Olympos verschwunden, bloss die Hoffnung ist geblieben (vgl. Werke und Tage v. 96). Vielleicht aber schwebte auch dem Hesiodos schon die Dreiheit Nemesis, Dike, Aidōs vor; man vergleiche: *δίκη δ' ἐν χερσὶ καὶ αἰδώς οὐκ ἔσται* und *Αἰδώς καὶ Νέμεσις*. Da Nemesis ihm, wohl ähnlich wie sonst Themis, das göttliche, Dike das menschliche Recht (vgl. jus und fas) verkörpert, mochte er zögern, beides der Welt entschwinden zu lassen. In seiner 'Stadt der Gerechten' (v. 112 f.), die dem goldnen Zeitalter entspricht, spendet *Δίκη* Wohlstand.

Wir haben von Śrī her gesehen, dass Begleiterinnen der Rtiš wahrscheinlich sind und wundern uns nicht, bei Hesiodos Nemesis in Begleitung zu finden. Eine eigentliche Fluchtsage fehlt hier, wie auch Śrī den Dānawa ohne Verfolgung entweicht. Von einem sich Verbergen und einer Verfolgung ist in der ganzen Weltalterlehre nicht die Rede, auch nicht in Indien, wenn Dharma ein Bein nach dem andern der Erde entzieht. Das ist also bei Rtiš Sonderentwicklung, und zwar eine bis ins Letzte aus ihrem Wesen heraus erfolgte. Zieht man sie ab, so ist die Übereinstimmung eines einfachen Entschwindens der Rtiš, wie es die Klagen ergeben, oder der Śrī, mit dem Entschwinden der Nemesis (und Aidōs, vielleicht auch Dike) zwingend. Auch Rtiš verkörpert die vergeltende Gerechtigkeit (S. 02), auch sie spendet Wohlstand (S. 05 f.), auch sie entflieht vor Schandtaten (xvii. 57-9). Über Sinn und Stellung der Nawatara kann daher ein Zweifel nicht mehr walten. Wie Hesiodos die Heroen einfach als *προτέρη γενεή* bezeichnet, ist eine **νεωτέρη γενεή*, deren Menschen dann die *νεώτεροι*—Nawatara sind, etwas ganz Natürliches.

In den Phainomena, die Aratos vielleicht noch in Athen nach 276 v. Chr. im Auftrage des Antigonos Gonatas verfasste, ist 101-34 die Weltalterlehre des Hesiodos noch mehr iranischen Vorstellungen genähert. Hier ist es bloss Dike, die unter den gerechten, sich mit dem Ackerbaue begnügenden Menschen des goldenen Zeitalters weilt und ihnen Rinder und Pflüge, Frieden und Reichtum verleiht. Mit dem silbernen Geschlechte aber verkehrte sie nur wenig und nicht mehr ganz gleich (*ὀλίγη τε καὶ οὐκέτι πάμπαν ὁμοίη*). Nur gegen Abend kommt sie als 'Mädchen aus der Fremde' aus den Bergen. Sie versammelt die Menschen auf den Hügeln, hält ihnen ihre Schlechtigkeit vor und entflieht wieder in die Berge, während das Volk vergeblich nach ihr die Hände ausstreckt. Dann folgt das eherne Geschlecht, das das erste Messer schmiedet und zuerst die für den Pflug bestimmten Rinder zur Mahlzeit schlachtet. Dadurch wurden sie der Dike so verhasst, dass sie zum Himmel emporflog.

• Dike ist dem Aratos *Ἀστράα* (vgl. die Astraea des Ovidius), das Sternbild der Jungfrau mit der Wage (vgl. Hesiodos, *Werke und Tage*, v. 256 f.). Auch

der awestische Stoff hat auf Rtiš als Himmelsgottheit und ihre himmlische Bahn geführt. Man wird diese Dike (und Nemesis) als eine Art interpretatio graeca der Rtiš oder einer entsprechenden kleinasiatischen Gottheit fassen müssen, dem Hesiodos vielleicht aus Persien (sein Bruder hiess Perses) oder über das kleinasiatische Kumae (sein Vater soll von dort stammen) vermittelt, also eher literarisch als durch unmittelbare Eindrücke von der fremden Religion. Das Wesen der Dike kam dem entgegen. Sie ist Tochter des Zeus und der Themis (Hesiodos, *Theogonie*, 901 f.; Weiteres in Roschers *Lexikon*, i. 1019), Rtiš wohwi Tochter des Ahura Mazdā und der Aramati (Jašt, xvii. 16). Dike setzt sich zu Zeus und meldet ihm, wenn sie die Menschen gekränkt haben (Werke und Tage 259 ff.), sie wird zu seiner Beisitzerin. Es steht nahe, dass Ahura Mazdā an Rtiš die Aufforderung richtet, sich in das Innere des Hauses, des schönen für den Herrscher erbauten, zu begeben (60). Der irdische Herrscher entspricht dem himmlischen. Sagt Hesiodos Werke und Tage 222: die Gerechtigkeit hat ihren schnellen Schwung (ρόθος), geht ihren Weg, wohin geschenkfressende Männer sie auch schleppen mögen, so kann man vergleichen Rtiš, deren Räder sausen. Wenn bei Aratos Dike dem silbernen Geschlechte nur mehr wenig und nicht völlig gleich erscheint, so darf man darin doch wohl mehr suchen, als dass sie bloss selten und nicht mehr lächelnd kommt. Hier ist Jašt xvii. 15 zu vergleichen: 'nach Wunsche bist du im Stande, deinem Leibe Glanz zu verleihen.' Geiger (S. 115) hat zwar bezweifelt, ob Bartholomae hier mit Recht gerade an den Leib der Rtiš denkt, und H. Lommel, a.a.O. S. 102 konstruiert überhaupt anders, knapp zuvor hat aber Geiger ausgeführt, dass Dharman jedem Weltalter 'anders' erscheint. Ein weiterer iranischer Einschlag bei Aratos ist der Frevel am Rinde. Man hat schon Ähnliches bei den Pythagoräern und Orphikern zu der iranischen Vorstellung vom Entarten der Menschen durch den Übergang zur Fleischkost gestellt (Seeliger a.a.O. S. 393); der Hinweis auf Jamas Fleischessen (vgl. S. 421) ist hinzuzufügen.

Es dürfte lohnen, Dike auch sonst im Auge zu behalten. Herakleitos fr. 94 redet davon, dass die Sonne nicht ihre Maasse überschreiten wird, denn sonst würden sie die Erinyen, der Dike Schergen, ausfindig machen. Hier haben wir Dike in der Begleitung von Rachegeistern, deren Name dem Rächer Wohumanō entspricht (vgl. W. Schultz, *WZKM*. xxxii. 210 f.), wie im Awesta Rtiš wohwi neben wohwi Ādā steht, zu der weiterhin, wieder in Zela, der Rachegeist *Anādātār gehört.

Ferner finden wir Dike in der Vision des Parmenides (fr. 1). Der Seher-Philosoph fährt mit seinem Rossegespann den vielgerühmten Weg der Göttin, der überall hin sich dehnend den wissenden Mann führt'. Die Räder sausen, Heliadenmädchen weisen ihm den Pfad. Da steht das mächtige Tor, Dike, die gewaltige Rächerin, verwahrt die Schlüssel. Sie öffnet, Parmenides kann einfahren und die Gottheit (Nemesis, Themis, Aletheia?) begrüsst ihn: kein böser Stern sondern Recht und Gerechtigkeit (θέμεις τε δίκη τε) haben ihn zu ihr geleitet, und sie eröffnet ihm der wohlgerundeten Wahrheit unerschütterliches Herz. An Stelle der Sonnenmädchen, die ihre Schleier zurückschlagen, finden wir die Sonne, die ihre Schleier zurückschlägt, an Stelle der

Dike, die mit ihren wechselnden Schlüsseln das Tor öffnet, den Mond, der seine Schlüssel umdreht, bei —al A'sā (Cod. Escorial fol. 30 b; vgl. Mitra, Sp. 115 und 262). Kann das aus einer ähnlichen, und dann wohl iranischen, Vision geschöpft sein?

Die Lage ist bei Parmenides vor seiner Göttin die umgekehrte wie bei Zarapuštra vor Rtiš. Er fährt zu ihr wie Henoch oder Elias, während Rtiš zu Zarapuštra kommt wie etwa Aphrodite zu Sappho, Selene zu Endymion, nur noch irdischer, denn Jašt xvii setzt nichts von einer himmlischen Rtiš voraus. Allerdings zeigte sich, dass das in jener Fassung, die die Vorlage für die entsprechende Stelle von Jašt v bot, anders gewesen sein muss. Der Himmelspfad der Göttin und sein Verhältnis zur Sonnenbahn war da erörtert. So ist damit zu rechnen, dass auch hinter der Wagenszene in Jašt xvii eine alte Formel der Visionsliteratur steht. Auch im Awesta knüpfen sich an den Götterwagen der Rtiš, des Mišra, des Wīšrayna, himmlische Geheimnisse. Seine Rosse, seine Insassen, seine Räder, seine übrige Ausstattung haben tiefere Bedeutung. Die Vision des Jəhezqi'el I mit der Gestalt des 'Menschen' auf dem göttlichen Wagen (Merkaba) ist geeignet, das Alter dieser Visionsform zu beleuchten. Man denke auch an die Wagenfahrt der Seelen in Platons Phaidros 35 ff. oder an den kosmischen Wagen bei Dion Chrysostomos (vgl. C. Clemen, *Die gr. u. lat. Nachr.*, S. 152 ff.).

Durch diese Ausblicke nach Indien und Hellas (S. 424–433) treten Lakšmī und Śrī, Tyche und Dike (ja selbst Fortuna, Frau Saelde, Frau Welt, Baba Jaga), neben Rtiš als wesensverwandte Gestalten. An Lakšmī-Śrī und Dike-Angelos, auch an Jama und Agnis, haften ähnliche Fluchtsagen, teils aus übereinstimmenden Grundanschauungen erwachsen, teils durch Entlehnung verpflanzt. Rtiš war nicht bloss die verklarte Verkörperung von Wahrheit, Vergeltung, Regel und Glück, sondern hatte auch ihre dunkle Kehrseite. Sie wurzelte tief in volkstümlichen Glaubensvorstellungen, von denen sie um so stärker bestimmt wurde, je entschiedener man sie ihnen entgegensetzte. Gedanklich aufs nächste herzugehörige Lehrinhalte wie der von den Weltaltern (S. 426–428, 430–432), ragen in die Flucht der Rtiš herein. Es erwies sich, dass Rtiš in nahem Verhältnisse zu Hōma (S. 409 f., 418 f., 420 f.) und zu Jama (S. 418 f., 421, 429) steht und dass der Jašt an Anāhitā teilweise als Zeugnis für eine frühere Stufe des Jaštes an Rtiš zu werten ist (S. 419–421, vgl. S. 411 f.). Ihr Opfer (S. 418–421), ihre Flucht (S. 421–423), ihre Klagen (S. 413 f.) sind der Kern des Jaštes an sie. Die Analyse des Jaštes (S. 411–423) und die Verwertung der übrigen zersträuten Stellen über sie (S. 408–411) ergab ein geschlossenes Bild von Rtiš, nach Anāhitā der wichtigsten Göttin des Awesta. Durch die Ausblicke auf verwandte Gestalten, auf die Weltalterlehre und auf die Schichtung des anschliessenden religionsgeschichtlichen und literarischen Stoffes erhielt Rtiš aus dem Rahmen des Awesta heraus erst volle Beziehung zu den geistigen und religiösen Strömungen, Voraussetzungen und Auswirkungen des iranischen Altertums, die, wie sich immer klarer zeigt, von höchster kulturgeschichtlicher Bedeutung waren.

BEMERKUNGEN ZU DEN ARABISCHEN NACHRICHTEN ÜBER BALKH

LANGE bevor muhammedanische Krieger den Boden von Khorasan betreten haben, muss Kunde vom alten Baktra zu den Arabern gedrungen sein. Das zeigen sprachliche Erinnerungen. Neben der in der Neuzeit üblichen Form des Namens, die in der arabischen Litteratur gewöhnlich gebraucht wird und mit der im späteren Mittelpersisch bezeugten Form *Balkh* zusammenfällt, haben die Araber noch Bildungen, die auf eine der *altpersischen* Form *Bākhtri* entsprechende Form zurückgehen. So heisst *tabakhtara* 'stolz einherschreiten', wahrscheinlich von dem selbstbewussten Gange *baktrischer* Handelsherren hergenommen. Sachlich wäre zu vergleichen, dass auch von dem Namen der Stadt Hamadan im Arabischen die Bezeichnung einer Schrittart abzuleiten ist, *hamadhān* oder *hamadhānī*, das als elegantes oder im Rhythmus wechselndes Schreiten erklärt wird.

Auch *bakhtari* gibt es im Arabischen, daneben eine Form *bukht*, deren u- Laut sich entweder aus dem anlautenden Labial, oder aus einer im älteren Iranisch auch sonst belegbaren dunklen Aussprache des a erklärt, während den Schwund des r auch die Avesta-Form *Bākhdhī* bietet. Es ist die im Gebiete von Balkh in besonderer Vortrefflichkeit gezüchtete Art des zweihöckrigen Kamels, die damit bezeichnet wird. Da für den Araber diese Tiere nicht Gegenstand des Spottes, sondern hoher Wertschätzung sind, so könnte die Bezeichnung des stolzen Schrittes auch von ihnen hergenommen sein, indessen spricht dagegen, dass auch von der jüngeren Namensform *Balkh* ein *taballakha* in der Bedeutung stolz sein abgeleitet ist, obwohl die jüngere Namensform für die Bezeichnung der Kamel-Art kaum verwendet wird.

Die Angaben der arabischen Schriftsteller über das Alter der Stadt *Balkh* sind mit Vorsicht aufzunehmen; je jünger die Quelle ist, um so weiter geht sie in der Königsliste zurück, um den Namen des Gründers zu bestimmen. *Qazwini* nennt als Gründer *Gayomarth*. Dagegen geht *Ibn al-Faqih* bis auf *Alexander d. Gr.* hinab und auch *Jaqut* kennt unter den von *Alexander* gegründeten und nach ihm benannten Städten: '*Iskandariya*, das *Kush* heisst, das ist *Balkh*'.

Nach *Tabari* ist *Balkh* von *Lohrasp* gegründet worden und verdankt seinen Ursprung einer Verteidigungsstellung gegen die *Türken*. Dass hier Angriffe schweifender Völkerschaften abzuwehren waren, zeigt noch die mittelalterliche Geschichte. Vorausgegangen ist aber dieser Verteidigungsanlage gewiss schon eine Niederlassung von Ackerbauern, voraus vielleicht auch ein Rastplatz von Handelskarawanen. Die hohe Blüte des Ackerbaus in der Gegend von *Balkh* war den Bewohnern nicht als reife Frucht in den Schoss gefallen, sie war durch mühevollen Anlagen zur Wasserversorgung erarbeitet worden. Den Umfang dieser Arbeiten zeigt nicht bloss das Ergebnis: 12 *Farsakh*, also etwa 68 km, rechnete man von einem Ende des *Culturlandes* zum andern. Auch ein Hinweis auf die grosse Zahl der Bewässerungsanlagen ist erhalten in dem

Namen eines Stadtttores, das zu 'sechszig Dämmen' führte und danach benannt war. Die Zählung wird ungenau sein, die Zahl wahrscheinlich nach oben abgerundet, aber sie setzt eine sehr ausgedehnte Anlage voraus. Für solche Blüte des Ackerbaues bedarf es einer langen Entwicklung. Die Notwendigkeit, den Ackerbau von Balkh zu schützen, zeigt im besonderen noch die zu Anfang der arabischen Herrschaft noch vorhandene äussere Umfassungsmauer, die das ganze Culturland gegen die Steppe abschloss; ähnlich war auch in Khwarizm das Weichbild dreier Städte durch *eine* Aussenmauer zusammengefasst und gesichert. Auch der spätere Verfall der äusseren Mauer von Balkh kann damit zusammenhängen, dass nach der Sicherung des Gebietes jenseit des Oxus ein Bedürfnis zum Schutze des Culturlandes gegen Angriffe von Nomaden nicht mehr zu bestehen schien.

Für das hohe Alter des Handels von Balkh scheinen zwei Angaben zu sprechen. Ibn Khordadbeh kennt eine Abzweigung der Handelsstrasse, auf der zu seiner Zeit jüdische Händler von Europa nach China zogen, über Balkh. Solche Handelswege haben meist ein sehr hohes Alter; es ist wohl möglich, dass der Weg über Balkh eine ältere, später nur in besonderen Fällen benutzte Strasse war. Eine wichtige natürliche Voraussetzung für die Entfaltung eines grossen Handelsverkehrs bot ja die weitere Umgebung der Stadt mit ihren vorzüglichen Kamelweiden; so waren die für das Heranschaffen und Verteilen der Waren erforderlichen Transportmittel gesichert.

Ein anderer Hinweis liegt in der Anlage der Stadt. Die Bazare befinden sich in arabischer Zeit in der Innenstadt rings um die Kultstätte, also nicht in der Vorstadt wie bei Raiy, wahrscheinlich auch nicht in einer Nebenstadt wie bei Ahwaz und schliesslich auch Ispahan; vielmehr entspricht die Anlage der von Ardebil. Von einer Veste oder Alten Burg schweigen die arabischen Berichte bei Balkh; sie kann zerstört worden sein, aber das Baumaterial der Gegend war in der älteren Zeit Lehm und dieser beansprucht starke Fundamente. Man wird also an eine Befestigungsanlage in der Art von Kerdeshir zu denken haben, eine Ringmauer, die in ihrem Innern den Kaufleuten und ihren Waren Schutz bot. Wollte man annehmen, es handle sich bei Balkh um eine Doppelstadt und nur die Handelsstadt sei erhalten geblieben, so spricht dagegen die centrale Lage der Innenstadt. Diese lag nach al-Ya'qubi in der Mitte des Culturlandes, bildete also den ursprünglichen Kern der ganzen Anlage. Der Handel sucht aber in der Regel seine Niederlassungsstätten zu behaupten, er verdrängt eher die Einwohner aus ihren Wohnstätten, als dass er wiche.

Auch auf einem anderen Wege lässt sich der angenommene Entwicklungsgang von Balkh wahrscheinlich machen. Die Stadt Balkh lag in einer Ebene. Der nächste Berg lag 4 Farsakh also nahezu 23 km entfernt, zum Ufer des Oxus rechnete man zwei Tagereisen und sogar zu dem kleinen Fluss, der die Oase mit Wasser versorgt, 1 Farsakh also mehr als 5 km von der (Innen-) Stadt. Es fehlte also, soweit die Nachrichten Schlüsse gestatten, an einem strategisch wichtigen Punkte, der zur Besetzung und Befestigung Anlass geben konnte.

Einen Hinweis auf das hohe Alter der Stadtanlage darf man vielleicht einer

Angabe des Ya'qubi entnehmen. Beliebt ist bei alten iranischen Stadtanlagen die Vierzahl der Tore, man denke etwa an Ispahan. Hier bei Balkh zeigt aber nach Ya'qubi schon die Vorstadt diese Eigentümlichkeit. Dürfte man also diese Vorstadt den Innenstädten anderer alter Siedlungen als gleichzeitig ansetzen, wie viel höher müsste das Alter der Innenstadt von Balkh hinaufzurücken sein?

Einen Einwand wird man gegen die Verwendung arabischer Stadtbeschreibungen für die Erschliessung der älteren Geschichte der Stadt geltend machen: aus dem Jahre 725 unserer Zeitrechnung wird berichtet, der arabische Statthalter Asad habe Balkh erbaut, und zur Bestätigung dient die Angabe aus der Zeit um 705, Balkh habe in Trümmern gelegen. Damit verhält es sich so: Die Araber haben auch bei Balkh dasselbe versucht, wie bei anderen grossen Städten, ausserhalb der geschlossenen Masse der feindlich gesinnten Bevölkerung sich einen zuverlässigen Stützpunkt für die Besatzungstruppen zu sichern. Hier wählten sie Barūqān, zwei Farsakh von Balkh; dort wohnte der Statthalter, dort befanden sich die Standtruppen. Balkh hatte bei Aufständen, die der Eroberung gefolgt waren, gelitten, aber ein Teil der einheimischen Bevölkerung muss dort geblieben sein. Als im Jahre 710 u. Z. der arabische Feldherr Qotaiba nach Balkh zieht, kommt ihm der Ispahpat mit den Einwohnern entgegen. Qotaiba zieht ein, bleibt aber nur einen Tag dort. Das wird man kaum auf die Landschaft Balkh beziehen dürfen, sondern auf die Stadt. Auch das Weiterbestehen des Handelsplatzes Balkh wird man nicht bezweifeln dürfen. Im Jahre 704 u. Z. schenkt ein vornehmer Araber in Tirmidh einem anderen 500 Dirhem und vertröstet ihn für weitergehende Wünsche auf die Ankunft der Handelsherren von Balkh, bei denen er offenbar entweder ein Guthaben hat, oder was wahrscheinlicher ist, Geld zu entleihen beabsichtigt.

Bei der sogenannten Erbauung von Balkh im Jahre 725 handelt es sich vor allem um eine Verlegung der Standtruppen von Baruqan nach dem natürlichen Mittelpunkt des Gebietes, der Stadt Balkh, nachdem die Siedlung in Baruqan sich als Fehlschlag erwiesen hatte. Kämpfe zwischen einzelnen arabischen Stammgruppen hatten dort im Jahre 724 sogar zu einer Schlacht geführt. Die Erinnerungen daran sollten wohl abgeschwächt und die Wiederkehr ähnlicher Vorkommnisse verhindert werden. Darauf weist die Nachricht, dass bei der Zuweisung der Wohnplätze auf die Stammeszugehörigkeit nicht geachtet werden sollte.

Das zweite war die Wiedererrichtung der Befestigungsanlagen. Ein Gedicht zum Preise des Asad, der die Stadt Balkh 'erbaute', ist erhalten. Vergebens sucht man nach einem Hinweis auf hervorragende Bauwerke, die auf seine Veranlassung entstanden. Nur die Sicherheit der Stadtbewohner wird hervorgehoben: die beschädigte oder zerstörte Stadtmauer wird in verteidigungsfähigen Stand gebracht worden sein. Dass es sich nur um grobe Arbeit handelt, scheint auch daraus hervorzugehen, dass jeder Bezirk des Gebietes nach Massgabe seines Grundsteuerbetrages die Werkleute für den Bau zu stellen hatte. Ebenso war ja in Ispahan die Erhaltung der einzelnen Teile der Befestigung auf bestimmte Dörfer des umliegenden Gebietes verteilt.

Eine eingreifende Veränderung des Stadtbildes wird durch diese 'Erbauung' in Balkh ebensowenig veranlasst worden sein wie in Raiy.

Über die Stätten der Gottesverehrung in Balkh geben die Araber einiges, freilich wird die Überlieferung dadurch getrübt, dass nach Abstammung und Geistesart fremde oder von Abtrünnigen stammende Schriftsteller zum Reden oder Schweigen sich getrieben fühlen. Besonders störend wirkt die Neigung der Muhammedaner, in Mekka den Ausgangspunkt religiöser Entwicklung zu sehen. Immerhin lässt sich aus den Überlieferungen entnehmen, dass die Gottesverehrung der Bewohner von Balkh Einflüssen von Westen und Osten ausgesetzt wurde.

Unter den zehn ältesten der Verehrung des Feuers gewidmeten Tempeln, die Mas'udi nennt, fehlt der Name von Balkh, dagegen gibt er ihn unter den alten Tempeln der Sabier. Die Angabe scheint wenig Glauben zu verdienen und doch finden sich auch bei anderen Schriftstellern Einzelzüge, die dazu passen. Bei der Besprechung der alten Sabier-Stadt Harran im Zweistromland erwähnt Ibn Hauqal den dortigen Tell als Cultstätte. Der im ganzen sehr wohl unterrichtete und zuverlässige Bearbeiter des Ibn Hauqal, dessen Werk in Paris erhalten ist, nennt diesen Tell einen Tirbal und vergleicht ihn mit dem Tirbal von Balkh. Vergebens sucht man diese Benennung in den Beschreibungen von Balkh. Sollte der Vergleich etwa auf einem Irrtum beruhen? Indessen, schon bei Ibn Hauqal selbst ist von diesem Tirbal von Balkh die Rede bei der Schilderung des allgemein bekannten Tirbal von Djur in Persien. Diesem kann nach dem Schriftsteller nur verglichen werden das Bauwerk in Balkh, westlich davon, ausserhalb des Tores, die Friedhöfe überragend, aus gebrannten und aus lufttrockenen Ziegeln erbaut, ausserordentlich hoch und in seinem obersten Teile noch in der Ausdehnung eines djarib. Den Tirbal von Djur hat man als Zikkurra erklärt. Man wird Bedenken tragen, eine für das Zweistromland bezeichnende Bauweise in ältester Zeit schon so weit im Osten zu finden. Vielleicht handelt es sich nur um einen ungenauen Vergleich, um eine uneigentliche Benennung des anderweit als Nubahar bekannten Bauwerkes. Wollte man aber auch eine Zikkurra in Balkh annehmen, muss deshalb eine im Zweistromland bezeugte Cultform für Balkh erwiesen sein? Das Minaret der Moschee des Ibn Tulun in Alt-Cairo war nach dem Vorbilde des Pharos von Alexandrien erbaut und diente doch anderem Zwecke und ebenso ist die dem 'Turm von Babel' vergleichbare Form des Minarets bei der grossen Moschee von Samarra kein Beweis dafür, dass es dem Cult babylonischer Gottheiten gedient hätte. Doch spricht auch al-Ya'qubi von Sabiern in Balkh: nach ihm war dort die Residenz der Arsaciden und von diesen sagt er weiter: 'sie hatten die Religion der Sabier', 'sie waren nicht Zoroastrier'. Dazu kommt noch eins. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass bei Stadtanlagen in alter Zeit die Vertreter der Wissenschaft, die Priester, mitwirkten. Beziehungen zwischen Stadtanlage und Cult sind darum wohl möglich. Die Siebenzahl der Ringmauern von Ekbatana (Hamadan) wird kaum ausschliesslich durch die Rücksicht auf das Gelände zu erklären sein. Nun gibt al-Ya'qubi die Zahl der Tore an der äusseren Mauer von Balkh auf 12 an und Muqaddasi die Zahl der (Vor-) Stadttore

auf 7. Es ist ja möglich, dass das aus den einfachen Forderungen des Verkehrs erwachsene Zahlen von Ausgängen sind. Das Nebeneinander der beiden Zahlen lässt jedoch eine andere Deutung zu. Die Zwölfzahl der äusseren Tore kann der Zwölfzahl der 'Mondhäuser' entsprechen und die Siebenzahl der Stadttore der Siebenzahl der Himmelskörper, nach denen auch die Wochentage benannt sind. Gegen diese Deutung können Einwände erhoben werden. In den Benennungen der Stadttore ist kein Hinweis auf die Himmelskörper erhalten, drei tragen den Namen nach Örtlichkeiten, zwei nach Teilen der Bevölkerung, je eins ist nach dem Herstellungsmaterial und dem Namen einer Person genannt. Ein anderer Einwand fliesst aus der Vergleichung der Nachrichten. Istakhri und nach ihm Ibn Hauqal sagen, dass die Stadt (mehrere) Tore hat und von diesen nennen sie die auch von Muqaddasi genannten. Gewiss kann Muqaddasi eine Flüchtigkeit untergelaufen sein, insofern er der Vorstadt zuschreibt, was nach den anderen der (Innen-) Stadt zukommt. Daran aber wird man nicht zweifeln dürfen, dass die von den dreien genannten Tore die wichtigsten waren, vielleicht auch die ältesten, zu denen dann Nebenauslässe aus Gründen des Verkehrs hinzugekommen sein können, die als unbedeutend von den Schriftstellern nicht genannt wurden.

Eine Erinnerung an den Ort des Tirbal, der ja ausserhalb der Stadt, wahrscheinlich auch der Vorstadt lag, kann Yaqut bewahrt haben: er kennt Tell Balkh als Name eines Dorfes von Balkh; er wird also innerhalb der äusseren Umfassungsmauer gelegen haben.

Für das Wandern eines Cultes vom Zweistromland nach Osten in alter Zeit geben arabische Quellen keine grundlegenden Nachrichten. Aus den Schilderungen der späteren Verhältnisse darf man aber auf langen Bestand näherer Beziehungen schliessen. Aramaeer werden auch hier den Juden vorangegangen sein, die später für Balkh bezeugt werden. So kennt Istakhri in der Stadt Balkh ein Judentor und bei Yaqut begegnen Djahudan und Djahudanek als Namen von Dörfern des Gebietes von Balkh. Dem erst von Ibn Battuta erwähnten Grabe des Propheten Hesekiel in Balkh mag man noch so kritisch gegenüberstehen, dass es in die Zeit vor dem Kommen der Araber reicht und eine dem Zoroastriertum fremde Cultstätte bezeichnet, wird man als wahrscheinlich annehmen dürfen. Die muhammedanische Überlieferung weiss ja auch von Religionsgesprächen, die in Balkh zur Zeit des Königs Bishtasb stattfanden zwischen Zarathushtra, Djamashb und einem jüdischen Propheten, der SMY, also vielleicht Shammai, genannt wird.

Eine alte Cultstätte wird auch im Innern der Stadt gelegen haben. Istakhri versichert, dass die Hauptmoschee in der eigentlichen Stadt und zwar in deren Mitte gelegen habe. Es war also ein bevorzugter Platz, der vor dem Kommen der Araber anderen Zwecken gedient haben wird. Wahrscheinlich standen nicht Wohnhäuser dort, sondern entweder eine Burg oder ein Heiligtum. Muqaddasi berichtet, dass man zur Hauptmoschee auf Stufen hinabstieg. Es war also innerhalb der Cultstätte ein älteres Niveau erhalten worden, während die Umgebung durch Verwitterung von Bautrümmern und Anschwemmung von Geschiebe sich gehoben hatte. Die letztere Ursache

wird bei der Entfernung der Stadt vom Gebirge und dem Fehlen tief eingeschnittener Täler nur wenig zur Hebung der Bodenfläche beigetragen haben, eher der Verfall von Häusern, da man in alter Zeit mit Lehm baute und erst in späterer Zeit eine Art Kalkstein verwendete. Demnach wird man die Festlegung der Bodenfläche innerhalb der Hauptmoschee der Zeit vor dem Kommen der Araber zuweisen müssen und daran denken dürfen, dass die Muhammedaner ihre Moscheen gern an die Stelle älterer Cultstätten setzten. Eine Burg hätten sie wahrscheinlich der eigenen Besatzung als Stützpunkt überwiesen und wäre sie zerstört worden, so hätte die Trümmerstätte wahrscheinlich die Umgebung überragt.

Welcher Cult dem der Muhammedaner hier voranging, lässt sich nicht mit Bestimmtheit sagen; es kann ein alter Feuertempel hier gestanden haben, aber auch dieser könnte einen Vorgänger haben. Ibn Battutah behauptet, etwa der dritte Teil der Hauptmoschee sei von Tchingiz Khan niedergerissen worden, weil er nach Schätzen, die unter dem Boden verborgen sein sollten, suchen liess. Nach Ibn Battuta soll die Niederlegung dieses Schatzes erst in der Abbasidenzeit erfolgt sein. Nun ist zwar die Verwahrung von Geldern im Bereiche der Moscheen öfter bezeugt, aber soviel die Berichte geben, in besonderen freistehenden Gebäuden. Auch bei zoroastrischen Cultbauten scheint die Errichtung besonderer Schatzhäuser üblich gewesen zu sein. Unterirdisch verwahrte Schätze sind jedoch bei den Ausgrabungen in Susa aufgedeckt worden. Da die Nachforschungen unter Tchingiz-Khan in Balkh erfolglos waren, lässt sich über den Wert der Überlieferung nicht urteilen.

Weiter kennen die arabischen Nachrichten über Balkh einen Einfluss von Südosten. Der Nachkomme einer alten Priesterfamilie soll bei einem feindlichen Angriffe auf Balkh von seiner Mutter nach Kashmir gerettet worden sein, dort Kenntnisse in der Astronomie, der Medicin und anderen Wissenschaften erworben haben und nach Ausbruch einer grossen Seuche in Balkh von seinen Landsleuten zurückgerufen worden sein. Als Wirkungsstätte der Priesterfamilie wird der berühmte Nubahar bezeichnet. Die Araber nennen diesen einen Feuertempel und das wird er zur Zeit ihres Kommens und gewiss schon Jahrhunderte vorher gewesen sein.

Die Rettung eines Kindes nach Indien setzt Beziehungen zwischen Balkh und Indien voraus, wie sie das Stadtbild des Mittelalters in dem Inder-Tor der Stadt Balkh bezeugt. Da es sich um ein Priesterkind handelt, möchte man auch an kultische Beziehungen denken. Soll aber in geschichtlicher Zeit noch eine Verbindung zwischen den Feuertempeln Irans und etwa dem Agni-Cult Indiens bestanden haben? Kashmir hat jedoch eine besondere Bedeutung in der Geschichte des Buddhismus, es wird sogar ein besonderer Vinaya von Kashmir erwähnt. Störend erscheint vielleicht die Angabe, dass der Flüchtling in der Lage war, sich Kenntnisse in der Heilkunde zu erwerben. Indessen aus den Turfan-Funden weiss man, dass die Buddhisten auch mit Medicin sich beschäftigten. Darf man nun wirklich Verehrer des Buddha in Balkh annehmen?

Der Nubahar wird von arabischen Geographen mit grosser Ausführlichkeit geschildert. Um einen Kuppelbau, der im Grundriss 100 Ellen im Quadrat

einnahm und über 100 Ellen Höhe hatte, lag eine grosse Anzahl von Zimmern oder Zellen; 360 sollen es gewesen sein, ebenso wie der Palast des Adhud addaula 360 Räume umschlossen haben soll. In den Zellen um den Nubahar sollen 360 Diener des Heiligtums gewohnt haben, von denen jeder nur einen Tag im Jahre Dienst leistete. Das weist auf eine dauernde Lebensgemeinschaft von Dienern eines Cults. Auch das verraten die arabischen Berichte, dass im Nubahar Götterbilder waren: 'die Könige von China und der König von Kabul warfen sich, so oft sie die Wallfahrt machten, vor dem grössten Gottesbild nieder'. Das weist auf eine Verehrung Buddhas im Nubahar. Dass Iran an der Übermittlung des Buddhismus an China nicht unbeteiligt war, weiss man ja auch daraus, dass aus Persien stammende Leute als Übersetzer buddhistischen Schrifttums ins Chinesische genannt werden. So lehnt man die von den Arabern gegebene Deutung des Namens der Cultstätte von neupersisch bahar 'Frühling', weil die Einweihung des Baues im Frühling erfolgte und Frühlingsblumen dabei zu seinem Schmucke verwendet wurden, in neuerer Zeit meist ab und erklärt ihn durch indisch vihara, das Kloster. Freilich kann das Wort im Indischen auch die Aufstellung der heiligen Feuer an einem anderen Orte bezeichnen. Wie sollten aber iranische Verehrer des Feuers darauf verfallen, ihre Cultstätte mit einem indischen Ausdruck zu bezeichnen? Es wird also wohl bei einem buddhistischen Kloster bleiben müssen und dieses wahrscheinlich nicht das einzige in Balkh gewesen sein. Nubahar müsste ja das Neue Kloster sein und der Gegensatz, das Alte Kloster, ist kaum irgend ein Mutterkloster im fernen Indien; es gab ja viele Hunderte buddhistischer Klöster und deren Gründung erfolgte wahrscheinlich in überraschend schneller Folge. So wird das Neue Kloster einem älteren gegenüberstehen, das in Balkh selbst lag. Die wachsende Zahl der Anhänger wird seine Verlegung und Vergrösserung notwendig gemacht, Fürstengunst den Bau gefördert haben: als Erbauer wird Manoshchih genannt.

Im Stadtbild erscheint der Nubahar als spätere Zufügung: er lag ausserhalb der eigentlichen Stadt in der Vorstadt. Es ist möglich, dass erst der Wunsch, ihn zu schützen, den Bau der Mauer um die Vorstadt veranlasste.

Zerstört wurde der Nubahar nach Baladhori unter Ibn 'Amir; das wäre nach Tabari um das Jahr 652 unserer Zeitrechnung. Die Arbeit leitete ein sonst als Brückenerbauer bekannter Freigelassener; die Zerstörung wird also sachgemäss und weitgehend ausgeführt worden sein. Nach Tabari besuchte aber noch im Jahre 708 u.Z. Nizak die alte schon seinen Vorfahren teure Cultstätte um zu beten und göttliche Hilfe für seine Erhebung gegen die Araber sich zu sichern. Dieser Besuch galt wohl nur den Trümmern des Heiligtums und war gewissermassen symbolisch, eine Verpflichtung auf die Zukunft: bei einem Siege der Aufständischen sollte der Tempel von neuem entstehen.

Von den eigentlichen Cultstätten der Zoroastrier in Balkh wird in arabischen Berichten nicht gesprochen, die dem Islam unmittelbar vorhergehende Zeit suchte man wohl, wenigstens äusserlich, mit Schweigen zu bedecken. Sie schweigen aber nicht über die hohe Bedeutung von Balkh für

die Entwicklung der Religion Zoroasters: sein Empfang durch den König, die Prüfung und Billigung seiner Lehre durch die Weisen und den König geschah nach ihnen in Balkh, so wurde Zoroasters Lehre in Balkh zur Staatsreligion.

Von der grossen Zahl hervorragender Persönlichkeiten, die Balkh auch nach der arabischen Eroberung hervorgebracht hat, berücksichtigen die arabischen Geographen näher nur eine Familie, die Barmak. Geschichte wollen sie damit bieten, aber dem aufmerksamen Leser bleiben schwere Bedenken nicht erspart. Gewiss verläuft die Entwicklung der Menschheit, wie die des einzelnen Menschen nicht immer in einfacher gerader Linie und so können auch in der Geschichte einer Familie unerwartete Wendungen eintreten. Ausserdem ist die Gestalt selbst dieser muhammedanischen Überlieferung nicht einwandfrei: die ältere Quelle, Ibn al-Faqih, ist nur in einem Auszuge erhalten und die jüngere Quelle, die zunächst durch die gewissenhafte Angabe des Gewährsmannes Vertrauen erweckt, Yaqut, zeigt weiterhin Neigung zur Abrundung und Ungenauigkeit. So ist mit Lücken der Überlieferung zu rechnen und die Beurteilung dieser Familiengeschichte bedarf besonderer Vorsicht und Zurückhaltung.

Der Nachweis äusserer Unwahrscheinlichkeiten ist nicht besonders leicht. So versichert der Bericht, dass die Umgestaltung des Heiligtumes von Balkh nach dem Vorbilde des Heiligtumes von Mekka, wie es in der Zeit vor Muhammed war, erfolgt ist. Sie kann von einer phantastischen Deutung des Namens der Familie ausgehen, sie kann erfunden sein, um den Bewohnern von Balkh nahezulegen, dem Vorbilde ihrer Vorfahren zu folgen und wiederum von Mekka die durch Muhammed nunmehr geläuterte Form der Gottesverehrung anzunehmen. Indessen ganz unwahrscheinlich wäre die Erfindung nicht. Mekka lag an der alten Weihrauchstrasse, der Spezereihandel von Südarabien ging auf dem Landwege nach dem Zweistromlande und wird von dort weiter nach dem Osten vorgedrungen sein. Es könnten also nach der Handelsstadt Balkh recht wohl Nachrichten über Mekka gelangt sein; ob sie zur Nachahmung reizen konnten, ist freilich eine andere Frage.

Weiter berichtet die Überlieferung, die ganze Familie sei in Balkh vernichtet worden mit Ausnahme eines nach Indien geretteten Kindes. Wie wird dessen Rückkehr begründet? Eine Seuche bricht in Balkh aus, sie wird als göttliche Heimsuchung empfunden und führt zur Rückberufung des Vertriebenen. Ist nicht eine Lösung wie der *deus ex machina*? Auch hier knüpft die Überlieferung an tatsächlich gegebene Verhältnisse an. Noch der späte Da'ud al-Antaki erwähnt in der Vorrede zu seiner Arzneimittellehre neben dem Medina-Wurm die Geschwüre von Balkh als Beispiele dafür, dass Krankheiten nach Örtlichkeiten, an denen sie besonders häufig waren, benannt wurden. Vielleicht ist auch die Krankheit, an der nach Tabari der um Balkh hochverdiente omayyadische Statthalter Asad dort stirbt, eine besondere Form dieser Endemie.

Ebensowenig wird man daran zweifeln dürfen, dass ein Mitglied der Familie Kenntnisse in der Heilkunde hatte. Das bekannte Barmakiden-Räucherwerk ist schwerlich nur zu Ehren der Familie benannt; es ist wahr-

scheinlich eine von einem Mitgliede der Familie vorgeschriebene Zusammensetzung von Duftstoffen. Die Vorstellung, dass durch Räuchern Seuchen bekämpft werden könnten, ist im Mittelalter weit verbreitet.

Eher lassen sich innere Unwahrscheinlichkeiten aufweisen. Die Darstellung scheint der Familie von der Zeit vor der Herrschaft der Arsaciden bis zum Eindringen der Araber die leitende Stellung in der Gottesverehrung von Balkh zuzuschreiben. Die Familie hätte dann mindestens drei Herrschergeschlechter überdauert. Das ist möglich: weltliche Herrscher sind meist stärker gefährdet als geistliche Würdenträger. Aber die den ältesten Barmak zugeschriebene Form der Gottesverehrung soll der Sterndienst gewesen sein. Weiterhin wird nur die Anpassung an Mekkas alten und neuen Glauben erwähnt; vom Zoroastriertum ist hier überhaupt nicht die Rede. Selbst bei dieser Darstellung müsste mindestens zweimal ein tiefgreifender Glaubenswechsel erfolgt sein. Auch das ist bei einer Familie in Jahrhunderte langer Entwicklung durchaus möglich. Unwahrscheinlich ist jedoch, dass die an der Spitze des Cultus stehende Familie dabei ihre Stellung behaupten konnte. In der Regel stellen sich die höchsten Vertreter des Bestehenden zu Glaubensneuerungen in schroffen Gegensatz und diese werden durch neu aufstrebende Kräfte zum Siege geführt. Auch wenn man die grosse Schmiegsamkeit der Barmakiden bei der Anpassung an die arabische Herrschaft ins Auge fasst, bleibt hier ein ungeklärter Rest.

Freilich bietet der Text noch eine andere Möglichkeit: der Verfasser könnte von der ungestörten Fortdauer der geistlichen Würde des obersten Priesters am Nubahar in Balkh reden, das soll die eigentliche Bedeutung des Namens Barmak sein, ohne sich auf deren Bewahrung in einer Familie festzulegen. Dafür könnte angeführt werden, dass er es für notwendig hält festzustellen, dass Vater und Grossvater des etwa zur Zeit der arabischen Eroberung geborenen Khalid die hohe Würde bekleidet haben. Das würde die Glaubwürdigkeit des Berichtes etwas heben.

Unglaublich bleibt aber der Versuch, den zoroastrischen Cult in Balkh völlig totzuschweigen. Zeitgenössische Dichter sahen in den Barmakiden der Abbasidenzeit verkappte Zoroastrier. Mag man in den syrischen Märtyrer-Acten über die Verfolgung der Christen im Sasanidenreich noch so viel Tendenz annehmen, die Möglichkeit, dass das wichtigste Heiligtum von Balkh in der Zeit, als die Araber ins Land kamen, einer anderen als der Staatsreligion diene, ist ausgeschlossen.

Ebenso bietet die Darstellung der Einführung des Islams in Balkh manches wunderliche. Ein Barmak soll schon unter dem Khalifen 'Othman als Geisel nach Arabien gebracht worden sein und dort den Islam angenommen haben. Die Familie ist damit nicht einverstanden, er wird abgesetzt. Man sollte meinen, damit sei der Fall erledigt; der Tempeldienst bliebe ja in der alten Weise erhalten und die Bevölkerung hätte keinen Anlass zum Glaubenswechsel: Jedoch der Tarkhan will den abgesetzten Barmak zwingen, zum alten Glauben zurückzukehren und die Bewohner sind später Muhammedaner. Die Söhne des abgesetzten Barmak bleiben dem alten Glauben treu, einer von ihnen übernimmt die Würde des obersten Priesters am Heiligtum und sogar

der jüngste ins Ausland gerettete Sohn wird im alten Glauben erzogen. Dennoch vernichtet der für den alten Glauben kämpfende Tarkhan nicht nur den zum Islam übergetretenen Barmak, sondern auch seine Söhne bis auf den einen, der in Sicherheit gebracht wird. Unerklärt bleibt schliesslich auch, wie der im alten Glauben erzogene letzte Barmak, der von seinen zum alten Glauben sich zurücksehnenden Landsleuten zurückberufen wird, sich und seine Anhänger dem Islam zuführt. Es ist offenbar eine sagenhafte Gestaltung, die an alte vielleicht sogar geschichtliche Überlieferungen anknüpft, sie aber ohne besondere Geschicklichkeit verbindet. Sichtlich verfolgt sie den Zweck, die Verbindung zwischen Mekka und Balkh als sehr alt zu erweisen und die Entscheidung der Barmakiden für den Islam in sehr frühe Zeit hinaufzurücken. Deutlich ist auch die Absicht, die Erinnerung an die Zoroastrische Zeit von Balkh als eine für die Beteiligten unbequeme und darum zu vertuschende Angelegenheit völlig mit Stillschweigen zu übergehen. Geschichtlich kann der Überfall von Balkh durch einen fremden Fürsten, auch die Vernichtung einer Priesterfamilie sein. Auch Tabari erwähnt ja ein ähnliches Ereignis, aber nicht in der Zeit nach dem Eindringen der Araber, sondern bedeutend früher, als Bishtasp nach Einführung des Zoroastrischen Cultes sich von Balkh einige Zeit entfernt und am Kirmanischen Damawand religiösen Übungen widmet. Bei jenem Angriffe wird es sich aber um einen Versuch, den Zoroastrischen Cult wieder zu beseitigen, gehandelt haben. Tabari erwähnt ausser der Vernichtung der Oberpriester ausdrücklich die Zerstörung der Feuertempel.

Die Rettung eines Priestersohnes nach Kashmir kann ebenfalls geschichtlich sein, aber sie lag wohl ebenfalls weit zurück in der Vergangenheit und erfolgte wahrscheinlich als Buddha's Verehrung in Balkh einem anderen Culte weichen sollte und die Priester hartnäckig dem sich widersetzen. Damit fällt auch die wunderliche Annahme, dass die Heilkunde in Balkh erst nach dem Eindringen der Araber heimisch geworden wäre. Heilkunde und Awesta waren schon früher miteinander verbunden.

Es waren, wenn nicht die Barmakiden selbst, so doch ihnen nahestehende Kreise, die diese Überarbeitung alter Überlieferungen vorgenommen haben. Eine lange Folge von Priestergeschlechtern wurde ihnen als Vorfahren gegeben, so dass der ausgedehnte Besitz des Nubahar an Landgütern, Wasserrechten und Leibeigenen ihnen als uraltes Familienerbgut zukam. So konnten sie als ein altes Geschlecht von Priester-Fürsten am Abbasidenhofe auftreten. Dass man in Balkh selbst in der Zeit des Harun ar-Rashid mit dem Islam noch nicht ganz ausgesöhnt war, zeigt die Nachricht des Ya'qubi, dass beim Aufstande des Rafi', der nicht nur zum Sturz der Abbasidenherrschaft, sondern auch zur Ermordung der in Khorasan lebenden Muhammedaner aufforderte, ihm Helfer auch zuströmten aus den Provinzen von Balkh.

P. SCHWARZ

ZWEI AWESTAWÖRTER

1. *upaštābairyāi*.

DIE Wortform *upaštābairyāi* steht in der letzten Strophe des ersten Kapitels des Hōm-Yašt in den Ausgaben (Y. 9. 32); eine andere Stelle für das Wort gibt es nicht. Sicher ist, dass ein dat. sing. fem. gemeint ist; die Stelle lautet: *paiti jahikayāi yātumaityāi maodanō.kairyāi upaštā.bairyāi . . . kahrpəm . . . vaðarə jaīdi*, in der neuesten deutschen Übersetzung—abgesehen von dem fraglichen Wort—: ‘Gegen den Leib der hexenhaften Buhlerin, die Lust bereitet [—] . . . schlage die Waffe’ (Lommel, *Die Yāsts des Awesta*, Göttingen, 1927, 191). Sicher scheint weiter, dass *-bairyāi* zu *bar-* ‘tragen’ gehört. Unsicher ist der erste Teil der Zusammensetzung. Die einheimische Übersetzung (nach Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 397 und J. M. Unvala, *Neryosangh’s Sanskrit Version of the Hōm Yašt* (Yasn. ix–xi) *with the original Avesta and its Pahlavi Version translated with copious Notes and a glossarial Index*, Vienna, 1924) versteht *upaštābairyāi* als ‘der hilfebringenden’ (pehl. *apar-pānāhih* (i) *burtār* ‘carrying great protection; doing great favour’; für Neryosanghs *pratipakṣatvam bibhrāṇāyām* ‘carrying enmity’ vermutet Unvala, *a.a.O.* 50 *adhikapakṣatvam* ‘great protection’, weil Neryosangh pehl.*apar* gewöhnlich mit *adhika-* übersetzt). Dabei macht es keine Schwierigkeit, dass das Wort für ‘Beistand, Hilfe’ nicht *upašta*, sondern *upastā* heisst; denn gegenüber *upaštā-* von K 5.4, J 3. 6. 7, Mf 1.2, H 1, L 13 haben die Handschriften L 1, O 2 und Bb 1 wirklich *upastā-*; darauf deuten auch J 5 und J 2 (an der Stelle defekt) mit *upastāi-* (vgl. *upaštāi-* in K 11 und C 1). Dass man *upastām bar-* ‘Hilfe bringen’ sagte, wird durch die altpersischen Inschriften und durch das Awesta bestätigt (Bartholomae, *WB.* 934 f.). Aber die einheimische Übersetzung muss sich hinzudenken, wem die *jahika* Hilfe bringt: pehl. *ku panāhih i vināskārān kunēt*, Nery. *kila rakṣām pāpakarminām kurute* ‘she gives (lit. makes) protection to evil doers’. Diese Ergänzung ergibt sich nicht ungezwungen aus dem Zusammenhang, und sie passt schlecht zu den andern Beiwörtern. Auch Spiegels Ausweg (im *Commentar*), den Dativ im folgenden Relativsatz *yešhe* (statt fem.) *frafravāiti manō* ‘deren Sinn fortschweift’ zu suchen (‘welche Hilfe bringt dem, dessen Sinn’ u.s.w.), befriedigt nicht, obschon de Harlez und Darmesteter (‘qui abrutit et protège celui dont l’âme oscille’) Spiegel gefolgt sind.¹

Lommel übersetzt das oben ausgelassene Wort: ‘(und ihren) Schoss (?) darbietet (?)’, nur im Ausdruck etwas anders als Justis ‘die Geschlechtsteile darbietend’ (im *Handbuch*), Spiegels ‘zur Wollust aufreizend’ (in der *Übersetzung*) und Geigers ‘sich preisgebend’ (*Ostiran. Kultur*, 338). Diesen Deutungen liegt ebenfalls die Lesart *upastā.bairyāi* zu grunde. Der zweite Teil des Wortes ist dabei gleich verstanden wie von der überlieferten Erklärung, im ersten Teil vermutet man dann ein im Awesta nicht vorkommendes Wort

¹ Darmesteter gibt dazu die Erklärung: ‘Il s’agit des secours de la magie que la Jahi met au service de ceux qu’elle séduit’.

upasta- 'Schoss' (im Sinne von 'Mutterschoss'). Das Indische kennt ein solches Wort: *upāstha-* (1) m. Schoss (Engl. 'lap'); (2) m.n. Geschlechtsteile, besonders des Weibes (PW.), und ai. *upāstha-* mag wirklich eine iranische Entsprechung gehabt haben. Wenigstens eine kürzere Form des Wortes besitzt das Iranische sicher: *upas-* 'Schoss' in *upaspudrīm* n. 'Schwangerschaft' V. 5, 45 (Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, 396), zu einem Stamme **upah-*, ai. nur *upāsi* 'im Schoss'. Wie bei der einheimischen Übersetzung kann auch bei der von Lommel als Notbehelf angenommenen europäischen ein Dativ hinzugedacht werden: wem die *jahika* den Schoss darbringt (dem jeweiligen cohabitor); man mag dann, indem man *u.* mit dem vorhergehenden Beiwort in engere Verbindung bringt, übersetzen 'der als den Schoss anbietende Lustbereitenden' oder 'die Lust bereitet, indem sie (dem Liebhaber) den Schoss darbringt'. Für die *jahika* ist dieser Sinn nicht sehr bezeichnend; das Beiwort *u.* könnte so auch von einer rechtläubigen Ehefrau gesagt werden. Man könnte aber *m.u.* auch verstehen 'der Lust bereitenden, der (jedem beliebigen) ihren Schoss anbietenden' bzw. 'der ihren Schoss ausbietenden'. Gegen beide Auffassungen spricht die Bedeutung, die dabei für *bar-* angenommen wird, die Darmesteter 'plus qu'étrange' nennt.

Bartholomae im *Wörterbuch* (und ebenso Reichelt im *Elementarbuch*) betrachtet das Wort im ersten Teil als unerklärt: j. *upastā- bara-* Adj. (fem. *°bairi*) '—? — bringend'. Bartholomae hat damit seinen frühern Standpunkt (*Handbuch der altiranischen Dialekte*, 182, und Glossar, 221) aufgegeben, nämlich *bairyāi* sei zu streichen; *upasta* wird er dabei wie Geldner gefasst haben, an den er teilweise sich anlehnte. Geldner, *Über die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta*, Tübingen, 1877, S. 136 f., 141 hatte nämlich, um Achtsilbler statt der Zehnsilbler zu gewinnen, auch noch *paiti* im Anfang der Strophe gestrichen und übersetzt 'Wider den Leib . . . der behexenden, mit ihrem Leibe Wollust bereitenden'; er fasst also *upastā* als Instrumental zum vorhergehenden *maoḍanō.kairyāi*.

Da keine der bisherigen Erklärungen noch Änderungen des Beiwortes *u.* befriedigt, weder die älteste noch die neueren, darf wohl ein neuer Versuch unternommen werden. Er geht von der Lesung *upastā.bairyāi* aus, rechnet jedoch damit, dass sich hinter dieser Lesung etwas anderes verbirgt. Die Vermutung, die sich mir zuerst aufdrängte, war die, dass hinter *upastā-bairyāi* ein *upaz.dawrayāi* stecke. Dabei wäre *upaz* das Gleiche wie *upas* in *upas.pudrīm* und *dawrayāi* dat. sing. fem. zu einem Adjektiv *dawra-* 'betrügend' zu *dab-* 'betrügen'; vgl. aus dem Indischen *dabhrá-* 'wenig, gering, dürftig', eigentlich wohl 'betrügend, trügerisch', zu *dabh-* 'betrügen; schädigen, verletzen'.¹ Man kann dann *maoḍanō-kairyāi upaz.dawrayāi* auffassen als '(der *jahika*) die Lust bereitet, die [aber] ihren Schoss betrügt' (oder: 'wobei sie aber ihren Schoss betrügt'), nämlich um die Leibesfrucht. Das ginge auf Verhinderung der Konzeption oder auf Abtreibung. Die letztere wird V. 15, 9

¹ Ist die zweite Bedeutung auch iranisch? Awest. *daiwiš*, 'Name eines bestimmten Gebrechens (oder Siechtums)' Bartholomae, *WB.* 680, würde so etymologisch verständlich; vgl. d. 'Schaden, Leibesschaden,' in der Schweiz für jede Verletzung, Wunde, Geschwür, besonders auch Leib-, Netzbruch (Schweiz. Idiotikon, viii. 165 f.).

bei einem unbescholtenen Weibe anzuwenden untersagt, war also auch in diesem Falle nicht selten (vgl. W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, 337 f.; M.N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilisation*, New York, 1922, 112. 330). Um so weniger dürften beide Praktiken bei der *jahika* gefehlt haben. Auf beide kann sich die Klage der Aši beziehen über die *jahika*, die keine Kinder gebiert (*hača apuθrō.zanyāi jahikayāi* Yt. 17. 57). Dafür dass hier nicht die *jahika paradaxšta* von Str. 54 wiederkehrt, sondern dass es sich um gewollte Kinderlosigkeit handelt, spricht die Variante *puθrōjanyāi* J 10, *-jainyā* K 12, 'die das Kind tötet' (womit nicht nur Kindertötung oder -aussetzung, sondern auch die beiden oben genannten Prozeduren gemeint sein können).

Diese dem Sinne nach, wie mir scheint, passende Deutung macht freilich nach der sprachlichen Seite einige Voraussetzungen. Ein *upaz-* neben *upas-* anzunehmen, bereitet allerdings keine Schwierigkeit; ein *upaz.dawra-* stellt sich zu *ravaz-dā-* 'Befreiung schaffend', *vanhazdā*, altpers. *Vahyazdāta* bei Bartholomae, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I 1, 108. 149. Aber für *upaz.dawrayāi* kommt man, soweit ich sehe, nach der Methode, mit der Andreas für die Praxis Ernst gemacht hat, auf eine ältere Schreibung *wp(')zd(')br(')y'y*, während die Überlieferung auf *wp(')st(')br(')y'y* führt. Man müsste also annehmen, dass aus irgend einem Grunde statt *zd* (oder vielleicht *zt*) eingetreten sei *st*. Dass neben *upast-* auch *upašt-* gelesen wurde, erklärt sich wohl daraus, dass in jüngerer Sprachentwicklung *st* für älteres *št* erscheinen kann (Horn, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I 2, 86); so mochte man wohl auch altes *st* durch *št* ersetzen, um das Wort als echt erscheinen zu lassen. Jedenfalls aber gibt es noch mehr Beispiele für *št* statt *st* (so Y. 57. 2 *frastærtāt*: in J 6. Jm 1. S 2 -*št-*), aber auch für *st* statt *št* (Y. 57. 2 *θwōrəštāra*: in J 6. Jm 1. Pt 1 *θwarəstarō*; in J 15. L 13.2 *θwarəstō*, in J 7 *θwōrəsto*; Y 57. 8; *vačastastivaṭ*, in H 1, J 2 *vača.stastivaṭ*, in J 6. Jm 1. Lb 2 *vačastastivaṭ*; Y 57.10 *tāšti*: in J 6, Jm.1 *tāsti*).

Die alte Schreibung lässt aber noch andern Möglichkeiten Raum, und man wird einer zweiten den Vorrang geben vor der Vermutung *upaz.dawrayāi*, da sie bei ungefähr gleichem Sinne graphisch einwandfrei ist. Die hinter *upastābairyāi* stehende Schreibung *wp(')st(')br(')y'y* kann auch als *wp(')sst(')br(')y'y* = *upas.stawrayāi* verstanden werden. Das heisst dann 'der ihren Schoss (bzw. dessen Tätigkeit) hemmenden'; *stawra-* gehört dann zu **stab-* (ai. *stabh-* 'feststellen, stützen; anhalten, hemmen; festbannen durch Zauber'); belegt ist nur etymologisch identisches *stawra-* 'fest' (Bartholomae, *WB*. 1592). Hier ist also Schreibung von zwei gleichen, auf einander folgenden Konsonanten durch einfachen Konsonanten vorausgesetzt. Gar keine besondere graphische Voraussetzung würde die Lesung *upas.tafrayāi* machen; aber mit einer Bedeutung 'den Schoss (ver)brennend' (vgl. awest. *tafnu-*, ai. *tap-*) kommt man nicht zurecht. Ich möchte daher die zweitgenannte Möglichkeit vorziehen.

Die Herkunft von indoiranisch *upās-* 'Schoss' ist bisher, so scheint es, nicht ermittelt. Zur Bedeutung würde Anknüpfung an vedisch *vāpati* 'streut hin, sät', *uptā-* 'hingestreut, gesät' passen; *upās-* wäre dann zunächst 'das Säen' oder 'der Ort des Säens' gewesen (vgl. zur Anschauung ai. *kṣétra* -n. (1) Grund-

besitz, Grundstück; Grund und Boden . . . (5) der fruchtbare Mutterleib; das als Feld gedachte Eheweib, welches der Ehemann selbst bestellt oder durch Andere bestellen lässt. PW., griech. σπείρειν τέκνων ἄλοκα, ἀρώσιμοι γύναι). Das ai. *upásthā-* würde dann, in Wackernagels Auffassung als *upás-ssthā-* (*Altindische Grammatik*, i. 114), lediglich das Moment des Ortes unterstreichen. Man setzt ai. *upás-* allgemein als n. an. Aber ein normales Neutrum zu *vap-* würde ai. **vápas-* lauten (Macdonell, *Vedic grammar*, § 343). Ausserhalb des Griechischen scheint es überhaupt keine beweiskräftigen Beispiele für schwache Gestalt der Wurzelsilbe der Neutra auf -os: -es zu geben (griech. ὕδος ὕφος u.a. stehen daher sekundär für **Fēdos* **Fēfos*), und es wäre damit nur die Gestalt der ersten Silbe, nicht die Endbetonung erklärt. Also setzen *upási*, *upásthā-* (für **upás-ssthā-*) ein *upás-* m. oder f. voraus; vgl. *apás-* m.f. 'wirkend', *uśás-* f. 'Morgenröte' (eig. 'die aufleuchtet'; zu *vas-*). Die älteste Bedeutung von *upás-* war dann 'säend' bzw. 'Säer, Säerin'. Ein Bedenken könnte man aus der Chronologie der beiden Hauptbedeutungen im Indischen schöpfen. Bei *upásthā-* ist die Bedeutung 'Schoss' im Sinne von sskr. *utsāṅga-*, engl. *lap* die ältere gegenüber der Bedeutung 'Geschlechtsteile'; *upás-* (nur *upási* loc.) ist überhaupt nur in der Bedeutung von engl. *lap* belegt (RV. v. 43. 7; x. 27. 13). Nimmt man aber diese als die ursprüngliche, so sagt die Zusammensetzung *upá(s)ssthā-* nicht mehr als das erste Glied (*upás-* 'lap', *upá(s)ssthā-* 'spot of the lap'); ist 'Mutterschoss' (oder 'der Säer' bzw. 'die Säerin') die ältere Bedeutung, versteht man, dass *upá(s)ssthā-* gebildet werden konnte als 'Ort, Gegend des Mutterschosses'; dann ist 'lap' die Bedeutung, die man für *upásthā-* in erster Linie erwarten muss. Man muss dann annehmen, dass bei *upás-* die Bedeutung 'lap' aus der älteren 'Mutterschoss' hervorgegangen ist; dazu stimmt das awest. *upah-* (in *upas.puθrīm* und—nach der vorangehenden Ausführung—in *upas.stawrayāi*), das nur 'Mutterschoss' bedeutet.

2. *vakamsaoš*.

In Yt. 14. 11 erscheint nach Geldners Text *Vərəθrayna*

uštrahe kəhrpa vadaryaoš
dadəsaos aiwitačīnahe
urvātō frasparanahe.

Lommel in seiner neuen deutschen Übersetzung bietet dafür: 'in der Gestalt eines brünstigen Kamelhengstes, der bissig (?) ist und angreift, der schnell ist und ausschlägt'. Die beiden 'und' fehlen im Urtext (wie ich glaube, mit gutem Grund); sie lassen zusammen mit den Adjektiven 'bissig' und 'schnell' und dem Präsens der Verba den Inhalt der Relativsätze als dauernde Eigenschaft des Kamelhengstes erscheinen. Auch Bartholomae, *WB.* 1535 denkt für das vorletzte Beiwort an etwas Bleibendes, nämlich an 'eine gute Eigenschaft des Kamels'; er setzt das Wort als *urvata-* an und lässt *urvato* statt **urvatahe* stehen, während Lommel offenbar mit Früheren *aurvatō* liest. Dies würde allerdings eine bleibende Eigenschaft bezeichnen, während *vadaryaoš* und *aiwitačīnahe* (nach Bartholomae, *WB.* 90, 'heranlaufend, anspringend,' zur Begattung, vom Kamelhengst) sicher auf einen vorüber-

gehenden Zustand weist, *frasparanahe* ('mit den Füßen ausschlagend' Bartholomae, *WB.* 1002) sehr wahrscheinlich.

Das Fragezeichen in Lommels Übersetzung bedeutet nicht, dass die Übersetzung des Wortes *dadqsaoš* unsicher ist—dieses könnte man kaum anders verstehen¹—sondern das Wort selbst. Überliefert ist (1) *dadqn.šōiš*, K 38, M 4, M 12, K 16 (zweite Hand), *dadqn.šōiš* K 36; (2) *vadqn.šōiš*, J 10; (3) *vakqsaoš* F 1 (-qm- zweite Hand), K 16 (erste Hand), E 1, L 11, *vakqm.saoš* Pt 1, L 18, P 13, O 3, Jm 4, K 40. Was unter (2) steht, ist Kombination von (1) und (3), wobei (1) überwiegt. Kombination von (1) und (3) ist auch *dadqsaoš* der Neuausgabe; das damit angenommene Wort hätte an *čičiθwā* instr. sing. (Bartholomae, *WB.* 585) eine Bildungsanalogie und an ai. *dāšuka-* 'beissend' eine Stütze. Aber *dadqsōiš* lässt sich auch als Gen. eines *i-* Stammes verstehen; *dādarayo* nom. pl. und ap. *Dādaršiš* (ai. *dādhṛṣi-* 'kühn') bei Bartholomae, *WB.* 731 beweisen die Möglichkeit einer reduplizierten Bildung auf -i-. Da neben dem Wortanfang *dad-* nie der Wortausgang -aoš erscheint, sondern nur -ōiš, verdient ein *dadqsi-* 'beissend' den Vorzug.²

Bartholomae, der im *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I 1, 103 noch *dadqsu-* 'bissig' anerkannte, hat das Wort nicht in sein Wörterbuch aufgenommen. Er hält hier Sp. 1336 *vakqmsaoš* für die allein richtige Lesart, ohne eine Deutung des Wortes zu geben: 'dass *vak°* zu lesen, geht aus F. [= Frahang i oim] 8 hervor, wo auf *vadairayoš* (richtig *vadairyaoš*) *vakquvarōiš* folgt.' Dass *dadqnsōiš* (so ist überliefert!) lediglich eine Entstellung von *vakqmsaoš* sei, wie Bartholomae annimmt, ist aber kaum wahrscheinlich; *dad-* ist auch kaum ein so geläufiges Wort gewesen, dass es sich unwillkürlich an Stelle des unverständlich gewordenen *vakqmsaoš* hätte eindringen können.³ Man wird *dadqsōiš* als alte Variante neben den Formen mit *vak-* anerkennen müssen.

Bartholomae bemerkt zu *vakqm*, es sei acc. sing. zu einem **vakā-* f. oder Adv. Ein **vakā* liesse sich anknüpfen an das altindogermanische Wort für 'Pflanzensaft, Harz', dessen vollste Gestalt in lett. *svakas* pl. 'Harz. Gummi' vorliegt (vgl. Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen*, ii. 515 f.). Neben dem Anlaut *sw-* erscheint bei diesem Wort auch nur *s-*; in andern Fällen wechseln *sw-* und *w-*; vgl. **swei-*: **wei* ibd. I. 241 und Brugmann, *Grundriss*² I. 726 f.; Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, I. 332. Neben Stämmen auf idg. -o- gibt es Kollektiva auf -ā-: so ist ein iran. *vakā-* f. 'Pflanzensaft' denkbar. Wie im Slavischen das Wort für 'Pflanzensaft' auch von 'Tierblut' und 'Bluteiter' gebraucht wird, im Albanesischen ausschliesslich für 'Blut', kann iran. **vakā* vom 'Bruntsaft' der Tiere gebraucht gewesen sein. Der acc. *vakqm* hängt ab von -saoš. Eine Deutung ist möglich, wenn man dafür -šaoš liest. Man kann dabei auf die Lesart unter (2) hinweisen (*vadqn.šōiš*), die etwas Altes bewahrt haben könnte; Verwechslung von *s* und *š*

¹ 'aux dents longues' (Darmesteter) kann es nicht heissen.

² *dadqsōiš* kann seine Endung nicht etwa vom vorhergehenden *vadairyōiš* (häufige Variante zu richtigem *vadaryaoš*) bekommen haben, sondern es ist eher umgekehrt *vadairyōiš* nach *dadqsōiš* entstanden (durch äusserliche Angleichung).

³ Unklar ist, was die Überlieferung mit der Trennung *dadqn.šōiš* meint. Etwa *da[n]dān* 'Zahn' und -sōiš zu *saēni-* 'spitz', ai. *š-* 'schärfen'? Die neupers. Übersetzung, die Bartholomae, *WB.* 1336 anführt, versteht *dad-* als *sūd dihandā* 'Nutzen machend'.

aus irgendwelchen Gründen begegnet aber auch sonst: *paitišata*, Y. 57, 13 (in J 6.15, Jm. 1, S 2 -*sata*), *aša*, Yt 19.95 (in D *as*).¹ -*šaōš* lässt sich beziehen auf awest. *š(y)av-* 'sich in Bewegung setzen', aktiv 'in Bewegung setzen' in *vātōšūta-* 'vom Winde bewegt' u.ä. (Bartholomae, *WB.* 1714, 1917-8), ai. *cyu-* (auch 'herausfliessen lassen, herausträufeln lassen', besonders auch in den Formen *cyut-*, *šcut-*). So kommt man für *vakṃšaoš* auf die in den Zusammenhang passende Bedeutung 'des Brunsstaft ausströmen lassenden.'

Das vorletzte Wort der oben angeführten Stelle setze ich gleich mit *urvant-* 'fassend, packend' bei Bartholomae, *WB.* 1541, und übersetze, indem ich je das erste Wort von Zeile 2 und 3 dem zweiten unterordne: 'in der Gestalt eines brünstigen Kamelhengstes, der (zubeissend oder) Brunsstaft ausströmen lassend ansprang, der anfassend mit den Füßen ausschlug.'

In *vakṃvarōiš* des Fr. i oīm könnte allenfalls ein *vaka.varōiš* 'des mit Brunsstaft bedeckten' (eig. 'umhüllten') stecken. Das wäre eine dritte Lesart für die gleiche Stelle.

Für die vorgetragenen Deutungen von *vakṃšaoš* und *vakavarōiš* kann auch geltend gemacht werden, dass sie sich sachlich gut einfügen in die naturwahre Schilderung des brünstigen Kamelhengstes in Yt. 14. 11-13; sie würden dem mit liebevoller Ausführlichkeit gezeichneten Bilde noch einen kleinen Einzugszug beifügen. In Brehms Tierleben (4. Auflage), Säugetiere Band iv. 49 steht zu lesen: 'Am Hinterhaupte [des Dromedars] befinden sich eigentümliche Absonderungsdrüsen, die . . . beständig, vornehmlich aber während der Paarungszeit, eine widerwärtig riechende schwarze Flüssigkeit absondern.' Die sachliche Begründung für *dadṃsōiš* gibt eine andere Stelle des Werkes (*a.a.O.*, S. 55): 'Geradezu abschreckend wird das Dromedar zur Paarungszeit. . . Um diese Zeit lärmt, brüllt, beisst, stösst und schlägt der Kamelhengst nach seinen Gefährten und seinem Herrn'.

E. SCHWYZER

University of Bonn.

¹ Steckt dieses *šaōš* etwa in dem *šaps* von Frah. i oīm 25 (Bartholomae, *WB.*, 1714 und Note 6)? Ein besonderer Fall ist *st:št* (s. oben S. 93) und *šm:sm* (Y. 57, 10 *aššmēm*, in J 7, L 13 *aesmēm*); zu *st:št* vgl. auch Gauthiot, *MSL.* 17; 137; 19, 125; Meillet, ebd. 17; 272 (bei Nyberg, *Monde oriental* 17. 186, 3).

MARTIN HAUG IN POONA

(aus Briefen an Heinrich Ewald)

NACHFOLGENDE Blätter stellen Auszüge aus Briefen Martin Haugs an den Göttinger Orientalisten Heinrich Ewald dar. Sie sind einer grösseren Sammlung von Briefen an Ewald entnommen, die sich im Besitz der Göttinger Universitäts-Bibliothek befindet, und in der von Haug allein über 50 Briefe enthalten sind.¹ Von besonderem Interesse sind naturgemäss Haugs Mitteilungen aus Indien, wohin er in Jahre 1859 auf Veranlassung von Mr. E. I. Howard auf mehrere Jahre ging. Gerade die Briefe an Ewald zeigen mit welchem Interesse man besonders im Kreise der Parsen seinen Aufenthalt in Poona begrüsst, mit welcher grosser Liebenswürdigkeit man ihm dort entgegenkam. Beide Teile haben reichen Gewinn aus den fruchtbar sich entwickelnden Beziehungen gezogen. E. W. West hat ein beredtes Zeugnis dafür abgelegt.² Darüber hinaus aber verdankt man diesem wissenschaftlichen Gedankenaustausch Werke, die noch heute in der Hand eines jeden zu finden sind, der sich mit den Problemen der iranischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte beschäftigt. Es ist vielleicht nicht zuviel gesagt, wenn die Zeiten der Zusammenarbeit Haugs mit dem Dastur Hošangji einen wohl vermerkbareren Einschnitt in der Entwicklung der iranischen Philologie bedeuten. Jedenfalls aber ist dieses Zusammenwirken orientalischen und abendländischen Wissenschaftsgeistes von nachhaltiger Wirkung geworden, und aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Bombay und dem Abendland ist ein Mann wie Haug nicht fortzudenken. Deshalb mag er, selbst gewiss historisch geworden, hier zu Worte kommen. Denn diese Mitteilungen wollen einen symbolischen Sinn tragen. Indem sie in einem Bande Platz finden, der den Namen eines Mannes trägt, zu dessen Ehren sich orientalische und occidentalische Gelehrte vereinen, sollen sie der dankbaren Verbundenheit, die das Abendland der zoroastrischen Welt entgegenbringt, einen Ausdruck verleihen.

HAUG AN EWALD

(aus dem Brief vom 20. II. 1860, Poona)

Die interessanteste Bekanntschaft, die ich hier gemacht, ist die des *Oberpriesters* des heiligen Feuers, des Dastur Nushirwanji Jâmaspi.³ Er liess mich durch seinen neveu, der mein College besucht, zu einem Besuch im *Feuertempel*, wo er wohnt, einladen. Er stellte mir seine grosse u. schöne Sammlung von Zend-Pehlewi-Pârsi- u. pers. u. Gujarati-Manuscripten u.

¹ Eine grössere Publikation aus diesem Material steht für das nächste Jahr zu erwarten; als deren Herausgeber werden zeichnen Professor Dr. Fick und der Unterzeichnete.

² In der Überarbeitung von Haugs Essay: 'History of the researches into the sacred writings and religion of the Parsis' in *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsis*, by M. Haug, 2nd ed., by E. W. West, London, 1878, besonders S. 44 ff.

³ Auch in einem Brief an Brockhaus erzählt Haug hiervon, cf. *Zeitschrift der Deutsch-Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. 14, S. 557.

Büchern zu Gebot u. bat mich ihm alle in Zend u. Pehlewi in Europa gedruckten Bücher kommen zu lassen. Ich besuche ihn öfter u. erhalte von ihm bereitwillig über alles Auskunft, namentlich über den Cultus. Er weiss den ganzen Zendawesta auswendig u. recitirte mir auf mein Verlangen die Gâthâs; er sang sie. Er hat unter den Pârsen grosses Ansehen u. gilt für einen der gelehrtesten u. aussergewöhnlichsten Dasturs in Indien. Er ist gewöhnlich von Mobeds, den dienstthuenden Priestern, die ihm aber alle untergeordnet sind, umgeben. (Spiegel¹ hat kürzlich einen *Grossen* Irrthum in die Welt hineingeschrieben, behauptend, Dastur u. Mobed seien gleichbedeutend,² ich theilte es dem Dastur mit, der herzlich über Spiegels grosse Unwissenheit lachte.) Er hat ungefähr die Stellung eines Bischofs.

Unter seiner Jurisdiction stehen ausser der hiesigen Gemeinde die zu Cholapur, Ellitschpur, Ahmednagar, Mhow. Die Dasturwürde ist *erblich*, das Einkommen sehr gut, ungefähr wie das der katholischen Bischöfe, die Mobeds sind dagegen wie die Landpfarrer zum Theil kärglich bezahlt. Die Mobeds müssen ebenfalls den Zendawesta auswendig wissen, aber sie brauchen ihn nicht zu verstehen; vom Dastur wird dagegen verlangt oder sicher erwartet, dass er sowohl den *wörtlichen* als den geheimen *geistigen* Sinn verstehe. Der hiesige Dastur versteht weit mehr vom Zendawesta, als ich mir dachte. Er weiss die Bedeutung von fast allen gewöhnlichen Wörtern recht gut; nur Kenntnis der Grammatik geht ihm ab. Er fragte mich nach dem Unterschied zwischen mazdâo, mazdâi, Mazdâm, dâitjâo, dâitîm usw.; ich sagte ihm, es seien Casus, wovon er nur an das Neupersische gewöhnt (das er geläufig spricht u. schreibt) keine Idee hatte. Er bat mich, ihm einige Stellen des Zendawesta ins Neupersische zu übersetzen, welchem Wunsche ich gern willfahrte, er gibt mir stets seine eigene Auffassung (neupers.). Wir führen pers. Korrespondenz u. sprechen persisch; wenn ein Anstand sich erhebt, so fungirt sein neuu als Interpreter. Er liest mit mir Pehlewitexte, in welcher Beziehung ich manches von ihm lernen kann.³ Kürzlich schenkte er mir einige Zweige der heil. Homapflanze u. zeigte mir die zur Bereitung desselben gebrauchten Gefässe u. theilte mir die dabei gesprochenen Gebete mit. Ueber alle liturgischen Fragen, in denen er ungemein bewandert ist, theilt er mir alles mit, was ich zu wissen wünsche. Ich gedenke später meine Unterredungen mit ihm, die von viel Interesse sind, u. einen Theil unserer Correspondenz zu veröffentlichen. Vor kurzem besuchte mich eines der gefeiertsten u. berühmtesten Mitglieder der Pârsengemeinde von Bombay, der Richter Manokje Carsetjee, welcher England, Frankreich u. Italien bereist hat, u. Burnouf⁴ sehr gut kannte; Westergaard⁵ verdankt ihm seine Empfehlungen nach

¹ Fr. Spiegel (1820–1905) war Prof. für oriental. Sprachen in Erlangen. Über Haugs Gegensatz zu Spiegel, cf. Haug, *Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Zend-Philologie*, besonders S. 14, wo über die Wirkung der Spiegelschen Awesta-Übersetzung gehandelt wird.

² Die Stelle findet sich in Spiegels *Awesta-Übersetzung*, Bd. II, p. xv, Anm. 2.

³ Haug hatte schon 1857 im Dienste Bunsens im India House Original Pehlewi-Handschriften gelesen, cf. Bleek an Haug aus Kapstadt vom 27. xii, 1857, in Fr. Veit, *Festschrift zur Haug-Feyer*, 1909, S. 82.

⁴ Dessen *Commentaire sur le Yasna*, 1883 erschien.

⁵ Der grosse dänische Gelehrte, der den ersten kritischen Text des Awesta herausgab. (1852–4).

Bombay. Dieser Mann spielt eine grosse Rolle, er ist sehr intelligent u. vollkommen *europäisch* gebildet. Er war Director der Native Education Society u. hat als solcher mehrere Broschüren geschrieben; er wünschte mein Gutachten darüber zu haben.

Er ist ein ungeheuer reicher Mann und besitzt eine prächtige Villa wo ich jeder Zeit Zutritt habe.

HAUG AN EWALD 2.

(aus dem Brief vom 8. XI. 1860, Poona)

Persisch spreche ich mit dem Dastur der Pärsen; er u. seine Brüder sprechen es sehr fliessend. Ich kann bereits ziemlich ordentlich im Sanskrit-Mahratti- u. Persisch-sprechen fortkommen; aber das ist nicht genügend, ich muss diese Sprachen ebenso *geläufig* u. *richtig* sprechen u. schreiben lernen, als ich deutsch oder englisch spreche u. schreibe, das allein macht unter den Engländern grossen Eindruck u. ist hier wirklich auch von grossem *praktischen Nutzen*. Da ich im Englischen nun über alle Schwierigkeiten hinweg bin, so kann ich alle meine Kraft nun diesen andern Sprachen widmen u. werde sehr bald die gewünschte Fertigkeit erlangt haben. Mein Wirken im College ist mit guten Erfolgen gekrönt. Ich habe bereits Anklang u. Eingang gefunden. Verflorenen Sommer hatte ich *ausser* der Sanskrit-professur noch *provisorisch* die der Geschichte (mit bedeutend vermehrten Gehalte; ich bezog 360 Thaler *monatlich*) zu versehen (jetzt ist sie wieder besetzt). Das Versehen der Stelle wurde mir indess von dem Minister leicht gemacht. Ich hatte nur wöchentlich *eine* förmliche Vorlesung 'on Arian antiquities with special reference to the origin of Brahmanism and its successive developments' zu halten u. in den übrigen Stunden dieselbe den Studenten zu erklären. Die Brähmanen besuchten diese Vorlesungen mit grossem Interesse u. waren nicht wenig erstaunt, den historischen Ursprung ihrer Kaste zum erstenmal auseinander gesetzt zu finden. Im bevorstehenden Winter habe ich dieselben Vorlesungen in Bombay zu halten. Ich werde jeden Monat auf 4-5 Tage dorthin gehen u. dann wieder zu meinen Pflichten hier zurückkehren. Unter den Pärsen in Bombay ist gegenwärtig eine Subscription im Gange; wenn eine den Unternehmern hinreichend scheinende Summe gezeichnet ist, so wollen sie mich (ich kenne sie persönlich noch gar nicht) auffordern einige Vorlesungen über die Parsee religion in der town hall (dem Rathhaus) in Bombay zu halten. So habe ich Hals über Kopf zu thun. Im nächsten Jahr hoffe ich eine Reise nach Gujerat zu machen,¹ wo ich den

¹ Diese Reise ist erst 1863-4 unternommen. Haug beschreibt sie in 'Account of a tour in Gujerat, undertaken in the cold season of 1863-4, in a search for Zend, Pehlvi, and Sanscrit Manuscripts', auch als Separat-Druck aus der *Times of India* erschienen, cf. Brief Haugs an Brockhaus in *Zeitschrift der Deutsch-Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. 18, S. 833. Haugs Handschriften-Sammlung von alt- u. mitteliranischen Handschriften findet man in 'Verzeichniss der orientalischen Handschriften aus dem Nachlass des Prof. M. Haug, München, 1876'. Diese Handschriften sind später in den Besitz der Münchener Staatsbibliothek übergegangen, sie sind in dem grossen Catalog Prof. Bartholomäes eingehend beschrieben. Haugs Begleiter auf der Reise war der Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa, Bruder des Oberpriesters am Feuertempel zu Poona, (cf. 1. Brief) mit dem Haug später das Pahlavi-Pazand-Glossar und das Buch Arda-Viräf herausgab. Ein Teil der Briefe Hoshangjis an Haug findet sich bei Veit, *a.a.O.* abgedruckt.

Pärsismus vollends recht gründlich studieren (zu dem Zweck muss ich fertig *Gujarati sprechen* lernen) u. Manuscripte (zunächst nur für mich, *ohne Noth werde* ich nie mit Manuscripten handeln) aufkaufen. Wenn ich mir, wie es allen Anschein hat, noch weit grössere pecuniäre Mittel (eine Beförderung zu einer höheren u. sehr einträglichen Stelle habe ich bald zu hoffen,—ich habe bereits die bestimmte Zusage des Ministers—tüchtige Leute sind hier sehr rar, der Stellenwechsel ungemein rasch) erwerben sollte, so habe ich im Sinne, *später* noch weit grössere u. fernere Reisen zu unternehmen.

HAUG AN EWALD 3.

(aus dem Brief vom 25. V. 1861, Poona)

Meine Studien über die Brahmanischen Opfer werden Sie in meiner Uebersetzung u. Erklärung der Aitareya Brâhmanam niedergelegt finden, welches Buch eine Reihe Aufklärungen über Vedisches bringen wird.¹ Der Druck des Textes geht jetzt rasch voran. Neben dieser Arbeit muss ich noch meine 'Essays on the sacred language, writings and religion of the Parsees as introduction into the study of the Zendawesta and the Zoroastrian religion' fertig machen, was indess binnen kurzem der Fall sein wird.² Die Pärsen warten auf das Buch mit grosser Spannung. Alles in dem Buch ist neu.

Sie finden im zweiten Capitel eine zwar kurze, aber ziemlich vollständige Zendgrammatik mit Leseproben (alles für die Pärsen eingerichtet), im dritten eine vollständige Angabe des Inhalts des ganzen Zendawesta mit Uebersetzungen wichtiger Stücke, das 4te Capitel bringt ganz neue Untersuchungen über die Zoroastrische Religion u. den Stifter. Ich habe viel von den Pärsenpriestern gelernt. Gegenwärtig ist der gelehrteste u. gebildetste von allen, der Dastur Hoschengdschi³ von Mhow (in Malva) hier, mit dem ich fast jeden Tag verkehre. Er hat eine ausgezeichnete Kenntnis des Neupersischen u. des Pehlewi, vom Zend nur eine traditionelle, er weiss die Bedeutung aller Worte nach der Tradition, aber gleich seinem Amtsbruder keine Grammatik! Er will letztere von mir lernen. Er hat mir den Vorschlag gemacht, mit ihm eine Gujaraten- u. englische Uebersetzung des ganzen Zendawesta herauszugeben, wir würden viele Subscribenten bekommen (ungefähr 3000). Ich werde die Sache ernstlich überlegen u. wenn sich an adequate english pay herauschlagen lässt, mich jetzt schon daran betheiligen. Der Dastur hier (sein Bruder), hat eine vortreffliche Zendbibliothek, kürzlich erhielt ich von ihm eine persische Uebersetzung des Bundehesch, was mir das Verständnis des Buchs nun ganz leicht macht. Er hat seltene Bücher; so ist in seiner Bibliothek ein Fragment eines der verlorenen Nosks (des Bagha), unbekannt jedermann bis jetzt, wir werden es zusammen herausgeben u. übersetzen. Es handelt über die Behandlung eines Todten, aber ausführlicher als wir es im Vendidad finden; es kommen einige neue Wörter darin vor. Auch hat der Dastur *viele* u. zum

¹ In zwei Bänden in Bombay, 1862 erschienen.

² Erschienen Bombay, 1862. Noch 1909 schrieb Prof. W. Jackson an Fr. Veit: 'I shall never forget the inspiration I received from his Essays when I began to study Avestan in 1884-5', cf. Veit, *a.a.O.*, S. 25.

³ Cf. Brief 2, Anm.

Theil rare Pehlewibücher. Ich werde so nach u. nach in alles Persische eingeweiht. Spiegel hat den grössten Unsinn als Tradition veröffentlicht!

Den ersten März dieses Jahres hielt ich vor einem sehr zahlreichen englischen Auditorium eine lecture on the origin of the Parsee religion, die grosse Sensation erregte; alle Gujaratenblätter (14) nahmen Notiz davon, auch die englischen Blätter, namentlich das Hauptblatt, die *Times of India* (zu Bombay) brachten Artikel u. die Magazines u. Reviews bringen sie noch. Die Parsen sind ganz aufgestöbert, die Priester in einiger Verlegenheit, da ihre Unwissenheit in vielen Dingen an den Tag kommt. Die Lecture ist gedruckt; es ist darin zwar einiges neue; aber Sie werden alles vollständiger in meinen Essays finden, die ich Ihnen zusenden werde.¹

HAUG AN EWALD 4.

(aus dem Brief vom 8. XII. 1861, Poona)

Meine Forschungen über den Zendawesta haben eine grosse Sensation unter den Pârsen hervorgerufen u. mir ein ganz ungewöhnlich grosses Ansehen unter ihnen verschafft. Als ich im verflossenen September als Sanskrit- u. Gujaratiexaminator (in Gemeinschaft mit Dr. John Wilson²) in Bombay war, veranstalteten die Pârsen eine grosse Versammlung, um mich zu empfangen, u. machten mir eine Menge Bücher (alle in Gujarati) zum Geschenk. Alle Dasturs waren anwesend! Meine Essays on the sacred language, writings and religion of the Parsees, die in ungefähr 2 Monaten ausgegeben werden können (ungefähr 250 Seiten octav) werden von ihnen mit der grössten Spannung erwartet. Die Pârsengemeinde hat mir sogar kürzlich einen Antrag gestellt in ihre Dienste als *Vorsteher* ihres Priesterseminars zu treten, um die jungen Priester Zend zu lehren, u. in öffentlichen Vorlesungen ihnen den Inhalt des Zendawesta zu erklären.

Obschon ich einen beträchtlich höheren Gehalt (gegen 7,000 Thaler) als ich hier beziehe, erhalten haben würde, lehnte ich für jetzt den Antrag ab, da ich den Regierungsdienst, der mir viele Vortheile u. gute Aussichten bietet, nicht gern verlasse. Mr. Howard,³ der Direktor des öffentlichen Unterrichts, war ungemein erfreut, über meinen Entschluss u. wird alles thun, um meinen Gehalt hier beträchtlich zu erhöhen. Die Pârsen, die um jeden Preis von mir Unterricht im Zend u. Pehlewi haben wollen, wollen nun eine Zendschule hier errichten, die mit dem Sanskrit-Departement des hiesigen Colleges vereinigt werden soll. Einer der gelehrtesten Priester wird mein Assistent, ausserdem wird mir ein junger Pârse als eine Art Repetent beigegeben. So habe ich den Unterricht im Sanskrit u. Zend zu gleicher Zeit zu beaufsichtigen u. theilweise selbst zu geben. In allem werde ich dann 7 Assistenten haben.

Das Zendstudium, das bis jetzt für mich ein sehr undankbares war, fängt an Früchte zu tragen. Schon mein englisches Buch, dessen erste Auflage (750 Cop.) schon *vor* dem Erscheinen fast ganz vergriffen ist (durch Subscrip-

¹ Diese lecture ist auch selbständig erschienen in Poona (ohne Jahr).

² Der Verfasser des bekannten Buches, *The Parsi Religion*, Bombay, 1843.

³ Auf Veranlassung Howards war Haug nach Indien gegangen, cf. seinen Brief an Haug bei Veit, a.a.O., S. 85, cf. auch Veits Darstellung auf S. 21 ff.

tionen) bringt mir eine beträchtliche Summe ein, namentlich da sofort eine Gujarati-Übersetzung gemacht wird u. eine 2te Auflage wahrscheinlich in England erscheinen wird. Mr. Howard, dem das Buch gewidmet wird, berechnet den Gewinn für mich auf ungefähr 5,000 Thaler (jede Copie kostet 5 Thaler). Die Pârsen wünschen, dass ich für sie Schulbücher (Zend, Pehlewi) schreiben u. eine vollständige Uebersetzung ihrer Bücher verfassen solle. Ich habe aber jetzt keine Zeit; die nächsten 2-3 Jahre werden fast ganz dem Sanskrit, namentlich dem Vedastudium, gewidmet werden. Ich bereite ein grosses umfassendes Werk über die vedischen u. iranischen Alterthümer vor. Einige Theile des Veda werde ich herausgeben u. erklären.

HAUG AN EWALD 5.

(aus dem Brief vom 10. V. 1862, Poona)

Sie werden unterdessen eine Copie meiner 'Essays on the sacred language, writings and religion of the Parsees' erhalten haben. Das Buch hat hier im Herzen des Parsismus ein grosses Aufsehen gemacht, u. eine Masse Aufsätze sind bereits darüber geschrieben worden u. werden noch *tagtäglich* geschrieben. Es wurde überall sehr günstig aufgenommen, von den Engländern, wie von den Pârsen. Mr. Howard, unser Direktor, of Public Instruction, der Ende März auf einige Monate Urlaub nach England ging, hat eine ziemliche Anzahl Copien mitgenommen (hier ist es bereits vergriffen), um das Buch in England zu verbreiten, u. will es in den englischen Hauptblättern reviewed bekommen. Die Pârsen wünschen dringend, dass ich ihnen so bald als möglich eine vollständige Uebersetzung des ganzen Zendawesta geben möchte, was mir eine sehr bedeutende Summe einbringen würde. Ich bin der Sache im Ganzen nicht abgeneigt, aber ich kann auf der anderen Seite die ausgezeichneten Gelegenheiten mir eine viel grössere, tiefere u. umfassendere Kenntniss des ganzen indischen Lebens u. Treibens, als sie bis jetzt irgend jemand besitzt, zu erwerben, nicht so unbenutzt hingehen lassen. Nach einigen Jahren nehme ich wahrscheinlich die Arbeit auf. Um diese Uebersetzung zu einer mustergültigen zu machen, werde ich mich mit einem der gelehrtesten Dasturs verbinden, der mir auch bereits seine Hilfe zugesagt hat, u. der nächstens nach Poona kommen wird, um meine 'Essays' ins Gujarati zu übersetzen.

HAUG AN EWALD 6.

(aus dem Brief vom 31. III. 1867, Stuttgart)

Ich hatte schon längere Zeit im Sinne, unsere ins Stocken gerathene Correspondenz wieder aufzunehmen, konnte aber aus mancherlei Gründen immer nicht dazu kommen. Doch will ich, obschon ich über meine nächste Zukunft noch nichts Bestimmtes mittheilen kann, nicht länger warten. Wie Sie wohl sonst erfahren haben werden, habe ich Indien schon vor mehr als einem Jahre verlassen, u. bin ins Vaterland nach einer Abwesenheit von nahezu sieben Jahren zurückgekehrt. Meine Frau hatte die Rückreise mit unserem einzigen Kinde, Rudolf (jetzt 7 Jahre alt) schon im April 1864 angetreten,

weil ihre Gesundheit zu sehr angegriffen war, als dass sie hätte nur noch ein Jahr die indische Hitze aushalten können. So mussten wir gegen 2 Jahre getrennt leben, was für uns beide etwas höchst peinliches war. Nach meiner Frau Rückkehr fing auch meine Gesundheit zu leiden an, ich wurde von Tag zu Tag elender u. kraftloser, u. hielt es für das gerathenste, so schnell als möglich Indien, so lieb mir auch das Land in mehrerer Hinsicht geworden war, zu verlassen. Dazu kamen noch widerwärtige Verhältnisse, in die ich, namentlich durch die Taktlosigkeit, Unerfahrenheit u. Kriecherei Dr. Bühlers,¹ (der wenig Gutes in Indien stiftet u. auch bei den Eingeborenen nicht sonderlich beliebt noch geachtet ist) gerathen war, die mich zum völligen Aufgeben meiner Stelle in Poona bestimmten (ich hätte sie freilich auch aus anderen Gründen nicht mehr lange behalten mögen). Ich veröffentlichte in der *Times of India* mehrere Artikel über meinen Weggang, u. über das verkehrte Treiben der dortigen 'Educational authorities', die ich Ihnen zusenden liess. Sie werden sie wohl erhalten haben. Das Bedauern über meinen Weggang seitens der Eingeborenen war sehr gross, u. gab sich in einer Reihe von Adressen in englischer, wie in Sanskrit, Mahrathischer u. Gujaratisprache kund,² alle waren von Geschenken, die in Bombay sogar von einer sehr bedeutenden Geldsumme begleitet. Die Parsen machten mir mehrere Anträge, ganz in ihre Dienste zu treten, wodurch ich in meinem Wirken viel freier u. ungebundener gewesen wäre, als im Regierungsdienst, u. auch einen viel höheren Gehalt bekommen hätte; aber ich musste die ehrenvollen Anerbietungen aus mehreren Gründen ablehnen.³

GÖTZ VON SELLE

Universitäts-Bibliothek, Göttingen.

¹ Bühler (1837–1898) war seit 1863 am Elphinstone College in Bombay beschäftigt, später war er Professor in Wien, bekannt besonders durch seine Arbeiten zur indischen Paläographie.

² Cf. *Dśhnāna-prakascha*, vol. xviii, No. 5 (29. i, 1866), eine in Marathi-Sprache erscheinende Zeitung in Poona (Veit, *a.a.O.*, p. 89).

³ 1864 schrieb Haug an Brockhaus: 'Es ist wirklich merkwürdig, aber buchstäblich wahr, dass ich, wenn auch nicht dem Namen nach, doch de facto die Stelle eines geistigen Oberhaupts der indischen Parsengemeinde einnehme' cf. *Z.D.M.G.* 19, 305.

THE BEGINNINGS OF PERSIAN PRINTING IN INDIA

IN the preface to Nathaniel Brassey Halhed's *Grammar of the Bengal Language*, a work printed at Hoogly in 1778, we are told that

'The advice and even solicitation of the Governor General' [i.e. Warren Hastings] 'prevailed upon Mr. Wilkins, a gentleman who has been some time in the India Company's civil service in Bengal, to undertake a set of Bengal types. He did, and his success has exceeded every expectation. In a country so remote from all connexion with European artists, he has been obliged to charge himself with all the various occupations of the Metallurgist, the Engraver, the Founder and the Printer.'

Not long afterwards the same Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Wilkins, one of the pioneers of Sanskrit scholarship among Europeans, rendered a similar service to Persian printing. Francis Balfour in the preface to his edition of the *Inshā i Harkaran* speaks as follows:

'It is now my duty to call his' [i.e. the reader's] 'attention to the labours of Mr. Wilkins; without whose assistance the *Insha-i Herkern* could never have appeared in its present form. The only printed Persian character that has hitherto been in use, except in exhibiting fair copies of Dictionaries and Grammars, has been subservient to no public purpose; and is but ill calculated for becoming the Channel of authority, or the Medium of business, over an extensive empire, where it is almost unknown, and scarcely understood; whereas the Types which Mr. Wilkins has invented, being a perfect imitation of the *Taleek*, the character in which all Persian books are written and consequently familiar and universally read, are not only well calculated for promulgating the Edicts of Government; but for every Transaction in business, where the Persian character is required. By this invention (which is perfectly new and peculiar to Mr. Wilkins; and at the same time the labor of his own hand, from the metal in its crudest state, through all the different stages of engraving and founding) the Persian language may now receive all the assistance of the Press. The most valuable books may be brought into print; the language may be more easily and perfectly acquired; and the improvements of the learned and industrious conveniently communicated to the Public, and preserved to Posterity.'

Thus, through the help of Charles Wilkins, appeared in 1781 the first Persian literary work ever printed in India. Its title-page is as follows:

انشاي هرکرن *The Forms of Herkern corrected from a variety of manuscripts, supplied with the distinguishing marks of construction, and translated into English: with an index of Arabic words explained, and arranged under their proper Roots. By Francis Balfour M.D. Printed at Calcutta. MDCCLXXXI.*

It must be admitted that Wilkins was less successful in his Persian than in his Bengali type. Neither the shapes of the individual letters nor the ligatures

are always satisfactory, and the beauty of the Persian script is very imperfectly represented.

It was not only for literary works that the new type was used. The East India Company employed it for official announcements in the *Calcutta Gazette* and for volumes of Regulations issued from time to time. Thus in 1782 appeared *A Persian translation of the Regulations for the administration of justice in the Courts of Suddur and Mofussil Dewanee Adauluts. Calcutta, By Order of the Honorable Governor General and Council, Translated by William Chambers, Printed by Charles Wilkins, MDCCLXXXII*. In the same year was printed W. Kirkpatrick's translation of the *Abstract of the Articles of War*.

In 1785 were printed by Daniel Stuart (1) *The History of the first ten years of the reign of Alemgeer. Written in the Persian language by Mohammed Sakee, Translated by Henry Vansittart*, and (2) the *Institutes, political and military, of the Emperor Timour. In Persian and English* [on opposite pages, the English translation being that of Major Davy. First *maqālah* only].

Among the more interesting publications of the succeeding years are the following:

(1788) *Laili Majnūn, a Persian poem of Hâtifi* [edited by Sir William Jones]. *Calcutta: Printed and sold by Manuel Cantopher. M.DCC.LXXXVIII*.

(1788) *پند نامه تصنیف شیخ سعدی شیرازی. A compendium of ethics, translated from the Persian of Sheikh Sady of Shiraz* [by Francis Gladwin. Text and translation on opposite pages]. *Calcutta: From the Press of Stuart and Cooper. M.DCC.LXXXVIII*.

(1791) *دیوان خواجه حافظ معہ دیباجہ و قصاید. The Works of Hafez: with an account of his life and writings. Calcutta: Printed by A. Upjohn. 1791*.

This edition was prepared by Abū Tālib Khān Iṣfahānī at the request of Richard Johnson.

(1791 and 1795) *The Persian and Arabick Works of Sādee. In two volumes . . . Printed in Calcutta: at the Honorable Company's Press. A.D. M.DCC.LXXXXI (M.DCC.XCV)*.

The editor was John Herbert Harington, who, however, merely supervised the preparation of the edition, the collation and correction being done by Maulawī Muḥammad Rāshid.

All of these works were printed with Wilkins's types or with types obviously based on them.

In the nineteenth century the works published become more numerous, and it will be sufficient to mention that the *Anwār i Suhailī* was published in 1804-5, Gladwin's edition of the *Gulistān* in 1806, the Persian translation of the *Hidāyah* in 1807-8, the *Muntakhab al-lughāt* in 1808, the *Dabistān i madhāhib* in 1809, the *Akhlāq i Jalālī* in 1810, Lumsden's *Shāh-nāmah* (of which only the first of the eight projected volumes ever appeared), the *Subḥat al-abrār*, the *Lailā Majnūn* of Khusrāu and the *Ruqa'āt* of Jāmī in 1811, the *Sikandar-nāmah i barri* in 1812 and the *Burhān i qāṭi'* in 1818.

At this point we may leave Calcutta, looking forward only so far as to note that in 1829 Turner Macan published his edition of the *Shāh-nāmāh* and that among the works issued by the Asiatic Lithographic Company was the *Nal-Daman* of Faiḍī, which appeared in 1831.

I have met with no definite statement concerning the date at which Persian was first printed at Bombay, but official proclamations in Wilkins's type appear in the *Bombay Courier* as early as 1801. The oldest surviving book in Persian, or at any rate partly in Persian, from a Bombay press seems to be *The Desatir or sacred writings of the ancient Persian Prophets; in the original tongue; together with the ancient Persian version and commentary of the Fifth Sasan; carefully published by Mulla Firuz bin Kaus, who has subjoined a copious glossary of the obsolete and technical Persian terms: to which is added an English translation of the Desatir and commentary. In two volumes.* This work was printed in a rather inelegant *naskh* at the Courier Press by J. F. de Jesus in the year 1818.

In the governorship of Mountstuart Elphinstone lithography was introduced into Bombay and resulted in the production of books more attractive in appearance than those printed at Calcutta. Among the earliest must be a work mentioned by Zenker (*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, i. 108), viz. کتاب فی بیان اثبات الکیسے. *Selections from the Mohammedan history. Forming a perfect illustration of the present Theological discussion of the Parsees. Compiled by Hajee Mahomed Hashem Ispahanee. Printed by Furdunjee Derabjee Dustoor at the office of Akhbar Kubbeesa at Bombay. . . . In the year 1827.* In answer to this was lithographed, at the 'Bombay Sammachar' Press in 1828, رسالة موسومة بادلّة . . . Or a work exhibiting the strongest evidences of the non-existence of the Kubbeesa in the doctrines of Zoroaster . . . compiled as a reply to a work published by one Hajee Mahomed Hossam Isphanee . . . entitled 'Shava-hedul Nuffeesae fee Usbatool Kubbeesae' . . . Published by Moolla Ferooze bin Moolla Kauoos.

January 1828 is given in the colophon as the date of the *Anwari Sohili, a paraphrase, in Persian, of the Fables of Pilpay; by Hussein Vaiz Kashify. Lithographed for the Bombay Native Education Society.* The lithographer was Mirzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī who, in his colophon, claims that this was the first large work to be lithographed [sc. in Bombay]. He worked under the supervision of Captain George Jervis, who was Superintendent of the Lithographic Establishment at Bombay. In the same year and at the same press was lithographed an edition of the *Diwān* of Ḥāfiẓ, which was likewise in the handwriting of Mirzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī. In 1829 came the *Yūsuf u Zalkhā* of Jāmī (in the handwriting of al-Ḥājj Ḥamzah) and the *Nigāristān* of Aḥmad al-Ghaffārī (in the handwriting of Saiyid Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥamzawī al-Mūsawī al-Shīrāzī), in 1831 the *Mir'āt i Sikandarī* (in the handwriting of Mirzā Aḥmad Shīrāzī) and in 1832 the *Tārīkh i Firishtah* edited by Major-General John Briggs and Mir Khairāt 'Alī Mushtāq in two folio volumes, of which the first is in the handwriting of Mirzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī and the second in that of Mirzā Ḥamzah Māzandarānī. The work was lithographed mainly at Bombay but partly at

Poona, to which town part of the lithographic establishment had been moved so as to remain under the superintendence of Captain Jervis. The colophon contains the false equation: End of December 1832 = 27 Rajab 1247, whereas the 27th of Rajab 1247 corresponded to the 1st of January 1832.

Some information concerning the beginnings of printing at Lucknow is given by Sprenger in the preface to his *Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustāny manuscripts of the Libraries of the King of Oudh*.

'Ghāziy aldyn Haydar', he says, 'founded a typography at great expense, and one of the works—the *Haft Qulzum*—which issued from it [in 1822] has attained a greater celebrity in Europe than it enjoys in India. Besides this Dictionary, the following books have been printed in types at Lucnow:

المناقب الحميدية, The praise of Ghāziy aldyn Haydar, in Arabic, by Aḥmad Shirwāny, 1235 [= A.D. 1819-20], small folio, 200 pp.

محمد حيدري, a similar work in Persian prose and verse, by Akhtar . . ., 1238 (= A.D. 1822-3), small folio, 288 pp.

گلدسته محبت [sic]. An account in Persian prose and verse of the meeting of Lord Hastings and Ghāziy aldyn Haydar, by Akhtar, 1239 [= A.D. 1823-4], 8vo. 131 pp.

Panjsúrah or the five Súrahs of the Qorān usually repeated in prayers, s.A. 4to printed in the form of a Toghrá.

Tāj alloghát, an Arabic Dictionary explained in Persian, in seven volumes, large folio, only four volumes have been printed in types, s.A. the remaining three have been lithographed . . .

About the year 1830, Mr. Archer who had established a lithographic printing office at Cawnpore came at the request of Naḥyr aldyn Haydar to Lucnow with his press and entered his service.

The first book lithographed at Lucnow is the *مراجعة مرضية* being a commentary on the Alfyyah, by Soyúty, 1247 [= A.D. 1831-2], 8vo. 247 pp. When I was at Lucnow there were twelve private lithographic presses in that city. Those of Hájy Moḥammad Ḥosayn and Moḥtafā Khán were by far the best. Some editions of the former are particularly correct. In 1849, Kamál aldyn Haydar, Munshiy to the observatory, wishing to ingratiate himself at court, wrote a history of the Royal family of Oudh. Two passages happened to displease His Majesty, and instantly the observatory was abolished and printing was forbidden at Lucnow, lest this objectionable production might be published. The proprietor of the Masyháy press went on the suggestion of the author of these pages to Cawnpore, and most other printers followed him. Some however, among them Moḥtafā Khán, managed to keep at the same time an establishment at Lucnow. As they usually put, on the title-page only, the name of the press and not of the place, it is not always possible to determine whether a book was printed at Lucnow or Cawnpore if it has been published after the Exodus.'

The majority of the early printed Persian books produced in India came thus from Calcutta, Bombay, and Lucknow. It will suffice to glance rapidly at

some of the early (if not necessarily earliest) products of other towns. To Benares the British Museum Catalogue ascribes (in the first case with a query) two small books, viz. (1) *Kunh i dhāt majma' al-ṣifāt*, on Hindu castes and creeds, abridged from Mathurā-Nāth Mālavi's *Riṣāḍ al-madhāhib*, printed in 1812(?); (2) *Ibrat i arbāb i baṣar*, a history of Bengal from A.H. 1151 to A.H. 1170, lithographed in 1824. Madras is represented by the 'Furaiz-i-Irtazeeh: a treatise on the Mohummedan law of inheritance. By Moulavee Mohummud Irtaza Alee Khan Bahadoor . . . Madras: Printed at the College Press.—1825' and by an *Anwār i Suhaili* of 1826, Agra by the *Maṭla' al-'ulūm wa-majma' al-funūn* of Ḥakīm Wājid 'Alī Khān lithographed in 1826, Cawnpore by a *Diwān* of Ḥāfiẓ lithographed in 1831 and an *Anwār i Suhaili* lithographed in 1834, Delhi by the *Gulshan i bē-khār* of Shēftah lithographed in 1837, and Lahore by Pfander's *Tarīq al-hayāt*, a Christian polemical work, lithographed likewise in 1837.

Such are the Persian incunabula of India. Some of them are now rare enough to please the most exacting collectors.

C. A. STOREY

India Office Library, London.

A DIFFICULT GĀΘĀ VERSE.—YASNA XXIX. 7

AMONG the translations of the Gāθās that of Bartholomae is regarded as about the most authentic. Moulton has, with slight changes, given an English version of the German rendering of Bartholomae as an appendix to his book, *Early Zoroastrianism*. Guthrie, too, in his book, depends largely on this same version. In the course of my studies I have thought it best to try and re-interpret the Gāθās from the original sources, of course taking into consideration all available translations so far as I could command them. One of these, usually least consulted, is that by Andreas and Wackernagel communicated to the Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften at Göttingen in March, 1912. This differs but little—though in certain very important respects it is different—from that of Bartholomae.¹

I will now give the text of the verse as given by Geldner, together with the versions both of Bartholomae and of Andreas.

*təm āzūtōiš Ahurō māθrəm
tašaŋ Asā hazaošō;
Mazdā gavōi xšvīdām-cā
hvō urušaēibyō spəntō sāsnaŋ.
kas-tē, Vohū Mananhā,
yθ-i dāyāt ādāvā marataēibyō?*

Bartholomae translates thus:

‘Das Wort vom Fett hat Mazdāh Ahura, der mit Aša gleichgewillte, für das Rind geschaffen und die Milch für die Nahrungbegehrenden durch sein Gebot der heilige—(Das Rinderpaar spricht:) “Wen hast Du, o Vohu-Manah, der für uns beide sorgen könnte bei den Menschen?”’

Moulton renders this thus:²

‘The ordinance about the fat hath Ahura Mazdāh, one in will with the Right, created for the cattle, and the milk for them that crave nourishment, by his command, the holy one. (*The Ox and the Cow*:) “Whom hast thou, O Good Thought, among men, who may care for us twain?”’

Andreas and Wackernagel translate thus:

‘Für die Kuh schuf der mit Wahrheit gleichgesinnte Weise Herr den Zauberspruch, kraft dessen die Butter und Milch liefert zu gunsten der Essenden, er der Segenspendende durch sein Gebot. (Die Seele des Stiers spricht:) “Wen hast Du, der mit Hilfe des Guten Sinnes uns beide (mich und die Mutterkuh) pflegen wird den Menschen zum Nutzen?”’

Both these translations ascribe the first four *pādas* to the Creator and the last two to the ‘Soul of the Ox’ or that of the Ox and his mate.

¹ It is printed in the *Nachrichten d. könig. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Göttingen*, 1913. The verse we are considering is translated at p. 374.

² *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 348.

I am not quite satisfied with these in spite of my deep respect for the translators. My chief reason is that these go against the three principal rules I have laid down for my guidance in Gāthā-interpretation.¹ These are:

- (1) In the Gāthā each *pāda* of the verse is a separate syntactical unit just as is the case with the Vedas.
- (2) The sentence construction is straightforward and simple.
- (3) The words are always to be taken in a *spiritual* sense, not *material*.

I will try to develop these three rules in the course of this essay. But we may briefly indicate the principles of scanning a verse of the Ahunavaiti. The verses of this Gāthā consist of three lines, each 16 syllables in length. It must be borne in mind that the peculiarities of Avestan script and spelling make it difficult to get the correct number of syllables. I have always found it a safe rule of thumb to transcribe the Avesta words into Sanskrit before counting the syllables. Each line further divides into two *pādas*, the caesura occurring at the 7th, 8th, or 9th syllable. So in the verse as given by Geldner, the lines divide: 7-9; 7-9;² 7-9.

Now we may go into the details regarding individual words and phrases.

tam. Here it is almost the definite article in sense, a bit more emphatic.

āzūtōiš. Gen. sing. fem. The word is identical with the Skt. *āhuti* (offering).

It occurs in conjunction with *χšvid* in other passages as well, e.g. Ven. xiii. 28. The word *āzūti* also occurs by itself in the Vendidad. Bartholomae translates the word by 'fat' and *χšvid* by 'milk'. In dealing with the former word Bartholomae adds a note³ that 'Mazdāh declares that the cattle are divinely appointed to give flesh and milk to men'. It seems, indeed, a strange sort of consolation to give to the poor 'Ox-Soul'—who has been complaining of the injustice and tyranny it has suffered (verse 1 of this Hā)—to tell it that it should continue to be the food of mankind! Andreas apparently sees this difficulty, for he speaks of 'butter' and 'milk' as food for human beings. The reason for Bartholomae's version is most probably the Pahlavi version which has almost the same view. This is doubtless due to the fact that at the time of the Pahlavi writers the word *āzūti* did mean 'fat' or 'flesh' as in the Vendidad.⁴ Bartholomae himself translates the word *āzūti* in another Gāthā passage (Yas. xlix. 5) by 'fullness' or 'plenty'. I see no reason, therefore, why it should mean 'fat' here, except perhaps its association with *χšvid*. I propose to take the word as the exact equivalent of Skt. *आहुति*, and to translate 'sacrifice'. The idea here is distinctly the spiritual one of self-sacrifice.

I am inclined to interchange the words *Ahurō* and *māθrəm*, but the metre does not quite fit in, the second *pāda* thereby becomes too long.

māθrəm. Bartholomae thinks that the hearers would know what this 'ordinance' was, the verse merely alludes to it.⁵ The *māθra* referred to is the

¹ These I have developed at some length in a paper read at the Fifth Oriental Conference (Lahore, 1928).

² I think the *hōō* in the fourth *pāda* is an interpolation; see below.

³ *Wb.*, 344, note 3.

⁴ I regard the Ven. as about the latest portions of the Avesta on linguistic and syntactic grounds. Most probably it was contemporary with the earlier Pah. writings. The Ven. tradition is doubtless earlier, but the present text is later.

⁵ Gāthā's, p. 11 f., note 6.

Ahuna-Vairya from which this Gāthā gets its name. It is the sacred word used at all times to ward off evil, for it teaches 'working for the Lord' and service of humanity.

gavōi. I think this is a dat. used in the sense of gen. This is paralleled in Vedic phrases like *strīyaih payah* (the woman's milk). I take the word here in the general sense of 'Creation' and translate 'Mother-Earth'. The close parallel between the Gāthā story of the *gəuš urvān* complaining to Ahura and the Hindu legend of Mother-Earth in the form of a cow complaining to Viṣṇu, leaves no doubt as to the correctness of this view.

χsvīdam. Bartholomae takes it in the material sense of 'milk'. The etymological sense of 'sweetness' seems better suited to the context. The word is apparently connected with *ḡdvs*, Skt. *svādu* and *sweet*. Cf. the well-known phrase 'a land flowing with milk and honey'. So here I would translate 'the milk (the sweetness) of Mother-Earth'.

hvō urušaēbyō. Bartholomae reads *hvo-uru°* and takes it as derived from *√χ^var* (to eat) and translates 'those that crave nourishment'. This he does on strength of the Pahlavi *χ^vartārān*.¹ This is the only instance he quotes of an initial *χ^va-* changing to *hvō-*. There are, however, other instances when the vowel of a syllable changes to *ō* in the middle of a word and the word is then sometimes written as if it were two.² Geldner notes a v.l. written in Pahlavi script, which he thinks ought to read *hvōuru°*. Though it is fairly common to have a word split into two, I am not quite convinced that the *hvō* here is such a case, nor do I agree with Bartholomae's rendering of it.³ The whole trouble it seems to me starts with the Pahlavi, which, if accepted, must inevitably lead to acceptance of Bartholomae's version as well. In the days of the Vendidad and of the Pahlavi writers offerings of flesh to deities were the rule, still the idea of animal sacrifice seems repugnant to the whole spirit of the Gāthā, especially in view of Yas. xxxii. 8. Nairiyosang in his Sanskrit version of the Pahlavi seems to have been in a fix in this verse. He first translates the Pahlavi literally: *mahājñānin gopaśūn vikāsayati bhoktrybhyah* and then adds as an explanation: *kila . . . kriyā japayajñavidheḥ*. Upon this the editor of Nairiyosang has the following illuminating note: 'K⁷ does not give the Sanskrit translation of this line and leaves a blank for it. Probably the Sanjānā Dastur Manekji, the writer of the manuscript, has some misgiving as to the propriety of animal sacrifice (*paśuyajña*) in Zoroastrian ritual. Though there must have been the custom of animal sacrifice among the Avestic people as we can gather from the Behrām Yašt⁶ . . . and other parts of the Avesta, *Zarathushtra Spitama himself nowhere seems to have sanctioned it*.'⁷ On the contrary he is reported to have performed his religious ceremonies with *havina*, *jvōm*,⁸ &c., i.e. ceremonies

¹ Quoted, *Wb*. 1857.

² *Grund. d. iran. Phil.*, i. ii. 268, 57 (p. 159).

³ Andreas proposes to read *hvoruś(o)ībyo*.

⁴ Bharucha, *Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis*, ii, note 127.

⁵ A manuscript written by Ervad Manek Sanjānā, a direct descendant of Nairiyosang about A.D. 1725.

⁶ *Yt*. xiv.

⁷ Italics mine (I. J. S. T.).

⁸ The *gām jvōm* (the living product of the cow, i.e. milk); see Barth., *Wb*. 610 for further details; also Modi, *The Religious Customs and Ceremonies of the Parsis*, pp. 295-6 and elsewhere.

without flesh. Nairyosang seems also to have aversion towards flesh-sacrifice, as far as we can gather from his translations. Either Nairyosang himself, or some one else, has written *japayajña* for *paśuyajña*, which appears very ingenious. I have adopted it in the text only on the strength of Nairyosang's usual disapproval of animal sacrifice. *japayajña* or *paśuyajña* cannot be the proper signification of the Pahlavi *sinak . . . masāē*, which phrase occurs in the *Dādistan-i Dinik* as a technical expression for "the share taken from the income of a property as his recompense by an appointed manager of a deceased person's property". Hence here in comment it must have the sense of "profit accruing from breeding the cattle", such as milk of the cows, oxen for tilling the earth, and so on.'

Among other commentators on this passage Ervad K. E. Kanga takes *urušaēibyō* as a variant of *ərašāēibyō* and therefore translates 'righteous'. He cites as a parallel case *muruyō* for *na|ərašbyō*.¹ I am inclined to take *hvō uru*^o as two separate words, *hvō* being an emphatic pronoun (as in the very next verse, Yas. xxix. 8). *urušaēibyō* is cognate with the Vedic word *uruṣyā* (RV. vi. 44. 7) which means 'readiness to help', and *uruṣyu* (RV. viii. 48. 5) which means 'one ready to help'. There are finite forms like *uruṣyati* also found in the sense of 'help' or 'save'. The meaning of the word is, therefore, nearly the same as *fsuyant* and *vāstrya* mentioned in the previous verse (Yas. xxix. 6). So this way of construing has three advantages: (1) it gives good sense without violating the spirit of the Gāthā, (2) it supplies a connexion with the verse immediately preceding and (3) it does not violate metre. *hvō* is really redundant and the sense is not at all affected even if it be omitted. Very likely the word crept in from some early gloss.

sāsnayā. Kanga reads *sāsnayā* which is not all necessary, if *hvō* were omitted. Of course this is the Ahura-Vairya *māθra*.

There is a good deal of difference of opinion as to the speaker of the last two *pādas*. Bartholomae puts them in the mouths of 'the Ox and the Cow' (*das Rinderpaar*). Andreas thinks that it is the 'Ox-soul' that speaks. Mills puts the words in the mouths of the Ameshaspentas, 'or a company of saints conceived to be present'.² And Kanga thinks these words are addressed to Ahura by a disciple of Zoroaster. The simplest way is to take the words as being those of the Creator. He has already asked Aša about the likely Saviour (verse 2), and Aša has declared his inability to do so (verse 3). Then Aša leaves everything to the will of Ahura (verse 4) and prays that whatever the decision of the Almighty, the righteous should be protected, and their Shepherd, too, from harm (verse 5). Then Ahura-Mazdā Himself speaks and expresses His astonishment at Aša's ignorance (verse 6) and so here he naturally turns to the next Holy-Immortal (Vohu-Mano) and asks him. This is the most natural way of linking up the verses.

Vohū Mananhā. I take these words as voc., the second word being transferred to the *a*-declension.³ Andreas takes them as instrumental.

1. Bartholomae and others take it as acc. du. of the demonstrative pronoun

¹ See Jack., *Av. Gram.*, § 332.

³ Jack., *Av. Gram.*, § 344.

² *SBE*. xxxi, p. 10, note 1.

ay- (weak grade, enclitic ī).¹ But this enclitic form is found chiefly as *acc. sing.*, *im* or *it*. Making this the object of *dāyāt* Bartholomae is constrained to translate *marətaēibyō* as a *loc.*, a most unusual sense for the *dat.* (or *abl.*) form. And Bartholomae himself mentions the enclitic particle *-ī*, a particle of asseveration,² and actually quotes two other Gāthā passages in support—Yas. xxxi. 22 and liii. 6. I think this is the better rendering and thus we avoid doing violence to the syntax of *marətaēibyō*.

əəāvā. This has puzzled both the copyists of manuscripts³ as well as the translators. The initial *əə-* in Gāthā often stands for *ā*.⁴ So this would be merely *āvā*. Andreas suggests that the original text had *ōvā*.⁵ So *āvā* is taken as the original word which Bartholomae (and Andreas also) translate as 'to us two'. Kanga takes it as equivalent to *yaēvā* and translates 'forever'.⁶ Mills confuses it with *əəānḥā* (Yas. xxviii. 11) and translates 'by word of mouth'. I propose to take the word as *avā* (*acc. plu. neut. of avəm*). This *avəm* is an *acc. inf.* form of *√av* (to help).⁷

Hence I would translate the verse thus:

That Holy-Word of Sacrifice Ahura
 of-one-will with Aša hath-decreed;⁸
 and the sweetness of Mother-Earth hath Mazdā (promised),
 (even-He) the Holy-One through- (His)-Law, unto (His) helpers.⁹
 Who (is that Saviour) of thine, O Vohu Mano,
 who shall, indeed, render help unto (these) mortals?

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¹ Barth., *Wb.*, 154 f.

² *Wb.*, 362.

³ Westergaard has actually *ə ə ā vā* (four words!).

⁴ *Grund. d. iran. Phil.*, i. ii. 268. 6.

⁵ His Urtext in Hebrew script reads *אווואו* (*auuaua*).

⁶ Evidently following Haug.

⁷ See Barth., *Wb.*, 162 and Jack., *Av. Gram.*, § 237.

⁸ Lit. 'hath created'.

⁹ Cf. the second line of the Ahuna Vairya verse.

RECENT THEORIES OF NON-IRANIAN ELEMENTS IN ANCIENT PERSIAN CULTURE

THE question of non-Aryan elements to be found in Iranian culture is not new, but it evidently extends over a very different sphere of investigation from what would have been involved even a few years ago. Every new discovery has added to the factors to be considered, or has made certain hypotheses obsolete. The purpose of these notes is to draw attention to some recent German investigations, especially those of Dr. Max Semper, who is professor of palaeontology and geology at Aachen.

Fifty years ago the question of non-Aryan influence had scarcely been formulated. This was partly due to the lack of archaeological evidence, but also to the fact that the investigators were chiefly philologists, who dealt with the Iranian question (as well as the wider Indo-European question) on a linguistic basis from the inside. In Spiegel's *Arische Periode* (1887) there is scarcely any reference to possible non-Iranian elements. Everything Iranian was explained by theories based upon Iranian or Aryan documents. Since then even the Aryan origin of some of Vedic gods has been denied, and attempts have been made to refer a Yazata with a purely Iranian name like Ardvīsūrā Anāhitā to non-Iranian sources.¹

One result of the gradual accumulation of evidence has been that hypotheses which were once tenable when facts were scanty still continue to be assumed, even when the new evidence points in quite a different direction. At the time when the Indo-Europeans were held to have originated in Asia, it was almost inevitable to conclude that the separation of Iranians and Vedic Indians had taken place somewhere in Iran. But now the home of the Indo-Europeans is usually sought in Europe. In that case it becomes a quite open question whether the separation of the two branches took place after they had reached Asia. It ought to be no longer possible to take Asia for granted, and to build up theories on that assumption. In fact the first discovery of traces of possibly Vedic peoples outside India, if we except the disputed Kassites, was not in an Iranian region at all, but, as we know from the Boghazkeui discoveries, it was in Asia Minor south of the Black Sea.

That the separation of Indians and Iranians took place in Asia is the view of both Dr. P. Giles and Professor A. B. Keith, but in other respects their conclusions differ so much that we may wonder what the evidence really proves. According to Dr. Giles² the discoveries at Boghazkeui show us a wave of the Aryans on the move to the east. According to Professor Keith³ they had moved westward from their home in the plateau of Central Asia. We have even, he holds, no proof of the existence of any actual Aryan tribe in Northern Mesopotamia and Syria—merely a number of 'restless adventurers and mer-

¹ Not only Varuṇa but even Mitra and other ādityas. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, pp. 193 ff. On Anāhitā see below.

² *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, ch. 3.

³ 'The Early History of the Indo-Iranians', in *Commemorative Essays presented to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, Poona, 1917.

cenaries'. For Dr. Giles the names of the gods on the tablets are identical with the forms which they show in the Rigveda, but Professor Keith finds that the language differs from both the Iranian and Vedic as known to us. The language, says Dr. Giles, was still one and undivided; while Professor Keith appears to hold Meyer's view that the Indians had already (before 1500 B.C.) invaded India. There is further the question of an Aryan admixture among the Kassites. The names of Kassite princes to Dr. Giles seem Aryan, but to Professor Keith the arguments for an Aryan character are without any cogency, illegitimate, and out of the question.

The view that the Indo-Europeans came from the plateau of Central Asia has not many partisans now. For those who accept the European home the question whether the separation of proto-Vedic peoples and Iranians took place in Europe or in Asia ought at least to be considered. That it was in Europe is the view of Dr. Hüsing, and his reshuffling of the theories is so comprehensive that it is worth while to see how the problems look from this fresh standpoint.¹ Two anthropological factors emphasized by Dr. Hüsing are the Sakas as an independent but hitherto unrecognized Aryan group, and the non-Aryan people implied by the existence of the Caucasian languages.

According to Dr. Hüsing we must recognize an additional Aryan language, that of the Sakas (Scythians), extending from south Russia over the Caucasus, and from Turkestan to Afghanistan. To it belong Ossetic and the Pamir dialects.² In the eighth century B.C. the Iranians appeared in the Assyrian region, and in the seventh the Sakas followed them. In the sixth the Sakas were in Turkestan and Khorassan, and soon after in Sakastan. After 530 they were under Achaemenid rule, and they persisted in the Saka regions of Turkestan and perhaps north of the Caspian. The most important development was under the Parthians, who (themselves Iranian) united with the Dahae and Parnian Sakas, subdued Iran, and under the Arsacids spread their semi-Saka language over Iran. The Parthians of history are thus admitted not to be true Iranians, and this conclusion fully agrees with the evidence brought forward by Dr. J. M. Unvala, who has pointed out important non-Iranian and non-Zoroastrian characteristics among the Parthians.³ On linguistic grounds Dr. Hüsing holds that the Sakas were first settled in the region north of the Caucasus, that they migrated round the north of the Caspian Sea into Turkestan, and that this was the latest of the Aryan invasions and the only one that went by this north Caspian route. The Iranians probably came over the Caucasus, as the proto-Indians had done before them. This puts the so-called Aryan period in Europe.

The other important factor is the question of the Caucasian group of

¹ G. Hüsing, 'Völkerschichten in Iran', in *Mitt. der anthrop. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xlv, 1916, pp. 199 ff.

² M. Vasmer holds that the Scythian of south Russia belonged to the Iranian group. 'Die Iranier in Südrussland', *Veröffentl. des balt. und slav. Inst. an der Univ. Leipzig*, 3, 1923.

³ 'Religion of the Parthians' in the *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Memorial Volume*, 1914. Dr. Unvala also appears to favour the view that the Parthians were Turanians, but at this time of day we may leave the Turanian fiction in the obscurity to which it has sunk.

languages. The whole group has recently been the subject of intensive study,¹ but while Braun sought to connect Caucasian with Etruscan and Basque, Hüsing is equally certain that its relationship is with several Asiatic languages. Among these are the Hittite,² Elamic, and Dravidian. For Hittite it is held to be fairly certain. Dravidian is said to be Caucasian with a strong mixture of Munda. The Elamites were Caucasian who became overlaid first by Indians, then by Persians, Medes, Parthians, and Sakas, and by the time of Darius the Persians had become a *Mischvolk*.³

The important fact here is the theory that Elamite is related to Caucasian, and it is the chief factor in Semper's article on non-Aryan elements in ancient Persia.⁴

As mentioned above, Dr. Unvala has pointed out non-Iranian features among the Parthians, and the question as to how far the early Achaemenid kings were truly Zoroastrian has also been considered. Dr. A. V. W. Jackson says, 'concerning the later Achaemenian rulers, everybody is agreed that Artaxerxes I, II, III, and Darius Codomannus were true adherents to the faith of the Prophet of Iran'.⁵ He admits, however, that he has left the question open concerning the earlier monarchs, so that any attempt to make the conclusions more precise is to be welcomed.

Dr. Semper takes for granted a strong Caucasian element at least in the higher social strata of Persia. This element came in through the Elamites. First he draws attention to the graves of the Achaemenid kings, which are not only isolated but do not correspond to any Iranian custom. That this element was in fact Elamite he admits can scarcely be proved, as Assurbanipal destroyed the Elamite royal graves, and the burial customs found there do not agree, but the higher classes appear to have had graves above ground. For the later Achaemenids beginning with Darius Hystaspis the facts are different. There is a palace architecture hewn in the side of a cliff and grave chambers within. Their model is found in the chamber graves in the Zagros and on the

¹ F. Braun, *Die Urbewölkerung Europas und die Herkunft der Germanen*, Leipzig, 1922; A. Dirr, 'Linguistische Probleme in ethnolog. anthrop. und geogr. Beziehung' (*Mitt. der anthrop. Gesellschaft in Wien*, 1909, 1910); A. Dirr, *Einführung in das Studium der Kaukasischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1927; G. Deeters, *Armenisch und Südkaukasisch*, Leipzig, 1927.

² Strictly speaking, proto-Hittite, a term which has to be used to distinguish the true Hittites from the people with Indo-European affinities, whom Winckler called Hittite. See A. Götz, *Das Hettiter-Reich*, 2nd edition, Leipzig, 1929. A. Ungnad, *Die ältesten Völkerwanderungen Vorderasiens*, Breslau, 1923.

³ We may leave the Dravidians out of the question. Dr. Hüsing claims to have found more than half a hundred words in the present Caucasian languages also in Dravidian, but we shall want more than half a hundred words to prove a relationship. The linguistic inferences are the weakest part of his article. He connects the Tamils with the Tapyroi or Tapurroi (in Tabaristan) mentioned by Strabo. Both names in fact contain a *t*. But the *t* in the word *Tamil* is equally a *d*, and is pronounced *t* by the modern Tamils in this word only because they harden the sound initially. *Tamila* is the Middle Indian *Damiḷa*, as we actually find it in Jain Prakrit and Pāli, and goes back to Sanskrit *Dramiḷa*, of which *Draviḍa* is another form.

⁴ 'Nicht-Arisches im alten Persertum', in Harrassowitz's *Oriental Book-List*, No. 37, Leipzig, Jan. 1929. It is a preliminary summary of conclusions soon to be published in an extensive work: *Anahita, Geistesarten und Religionen der Völker im alten Vorderasien*.

⁵ *Zoroastrian Studies*, p. 168, New York, 1928. An earlier summary of the conclusions of this chapter appeared in *Indo-Iranian Studies in Honour of Shams-ul-Ulema Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana*, 1925.

road from Babylon to Ecbatana. These are also a type foreign to the country, and their origin is to be found far away in Paphlagonia and Phrygia. He explains their occurrence in this region from a rapid, unrecorded migration to the east, which may have been caused by the Cimmerian invasion.

In the Caucasus, almost down to present times, there has been a mode of burial corresponding to this, in which the dead were placed without coffins in dead-houses, which were simplified imitations of dwelling houses. The custom was not native to Phrygia, but appears to have been due there to a Caucasian invasion after the fall of the Hittite kingdom of Boghazkeui. In the Zagros, however, there is a variant. The Phrygian sculptures show a grave guardian, but in the Zagros the dead person himself is represented as performing a religious action.

Other presumably non-Zoroastrian features are pointed out by Dr. Semper, but here attention must be confined to his discussion of Ardvīsūrā Anāhitā in Yasht v. This yazata, he holds, is not the personification of a natural phenomenon, she is not simply a river or water divinity, but the protector of works of civilization. She is represented as the helper of heroes of past times. Apart from this hymn she is not in the Avesta, and Semper appears to hold that the hymn of Yasht v was composed at the command of a certain king, and that the king is specially referred to in certain passages of the hymn, which he gives as follows:¹

130. Now I beg, O good, mighty Ardvīsūrā Anāhitā, for this help, that I may attain great lordship, snorting steeds, rattling wheels, and an increasing inheritance.

131. I beg for a charioteer, skilled in racing and in the battle, for a team that puts to flight both wings of the enemy's host.

132. Descend, O Ardvīsūrā Anāhitā, from the stars to the earth, to help the sacrificing worshipper, for thou givest aid to him who asks, that all the heroes may come home victoriously.

This is the prayer, and the answer to it may be contained in the following misplaced passage, which would be as follows:

85. To her Ahuramazda announced: descend, O Ardvīsūrā Anāhitā, from the stars to the earth. Thee shall the lords of the lands and their sons worship.

86. For speed of horses and supremacy of the glory of lordship (*hwareno*) shall they beg thee. Then came Ardvīsūrā Anāhitā from the stars to the earth (and she spoke to the king):

87. Thee did Ahuramazda create as director of earthly beings. Me did he make protectress of all existence. Through my power and greatness herds and draught animals go over the earth and men. I shield all god-given goods as the herdsman the herd.

The explanation for the above changes Dr. Semper intends to give elsewhere.

¹ The whole Yasht is given with notes and vocabulary in Reichelt's *Avesta Reader*, but the above is translated from Semper's German version, which is only intended to give the general sense.

His reasons for the late date of the hymn, which he admits is in complete contradiction to the prevailing view, are the following. In the hymn itself the dragon Azhi Dahāka is said to have his home in Babylon, the name of which is given as *Bawri*, a late Aramaic form. This could not have been in Achaemenid times, when Babylon was flourishing. The dragon was a conquered enemy, and his palace had to be in ruins, and this was not before the Christian era, at the time when Seleucia and Ctesiphon had surpassed it. It must be presupposed that a king who had a hymn composed for Anāhitā would have also otherwise contributed to her worship. This draws our attention to Kengawer (Konkobar), where Isidore of Charax saw a temple of Anaitis. There are ruins there now of a temple of Palmyrene proportions, and its characteristics indicate that it belongs to the period of the decay of Parthian hellenism, when Iranian characteristics were coming back. But the temple seen by Isidore must have been built at latest in the first century B.C., and would at that time have followed the hellenistic norm closely. Its gigantic successor must have been built in a period of peace and relatively high Parthian power, and the reign of Vologeses III (A.D. 148-91) appears to be the only one that fits these conditions. Hence the last half of the second century A.D. is the presumable date of the temple of Kengawer and of the Anāhitā hymn.

These are only a few of the theories brought forward by Dr. Semper. The view that the name Anāhitā is due to popular etymology and a corruption of an Elamite name cannot be entered upon here. Another branch of his investigations, which will probably be fruitful of results, is the comparison of the Caucasian legends with the Persian hero stories. The present observations have been made, not with the purpose of propagating a particular thesis, but in order to suggest that in the study of the languages and archaeology of the Caucasus there is a yet unexhausted source of material, which may contribute something to the still unsolved problems of Iranian antiquity.

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NOTE. Indo-Iranian research ought not to be mentioned without a reference to the series of *Indo-iranische Quellen und Forschungen*, Leipzig, edited, and so far written, by Johannes Hertel. There is no doubt of their importance, but the views expressed have roused so much contention that the author has written a special number *Die Methode der arischen Forschung* (1926) in order to defend himself against the misrepresentations of Prof. R. O. Franke, and to point out the defects of the methods of Clemen, Keith, and Charpentier as against his own.

NERYOSANGH'S SANSKRIT VERSION OF YASN XIX

1. 1. *Ārathuṣṭra* asked of *Ahuraṃajda*: 'O *Ahuraṃajda*, of invisible shape, very worthy of respect, creator of the bodies having bones,^a righteous One.'

[(The words) '*Ahuraṃajda*, righteous Creator' are everywhere the threefold appellations.^b The other (words) are further added by way of praise, where it is said that (He is) the righteous Creator. His 'being *Ahuraṃajda*' consists in lordship, in being worthy of respect, and in possessing great knowledge. His 'being the creator' consists in producing the creations. His 'greatness' is this that He is able to make a small thing great (lit. He is able to increase something more out of something (given)). The place of *Ahuraṃajda*, (His) religion (and) time was always and is always (existing).^c (This) becomes manifest from that place.^d His religion and speech and time are of eternity.^e *Ahuraṃajda* (is He), who makes the continuance of everything whatsoever.]

2. What was that word, O *Ahuraṃajda*, which thou hast proclaimed to me

2. 3. before the sky, before water, before earth, before cattle,^a before vegetations, before fire, the son of the great-knowing lord, before the righteous man, [*Gaisomarda*], before the *devas*, and men with blunt understanding,^b before the whole world full of creations, before all the prosperity created by *Majda* manifested by means of virtue?

3. 4. *Ahuraṃajda* said to him: 'It was the part^a from the *Ahunavara*, O *Spitamā Ārathuṣṭra*', [It (viz. the part) is the spiritual one, which makes the religion current; the religion is derived from (lit. is made of) *Ahunavara*], which I proclaimed to thee

4. 5. before the sky—[Just as it is written before].

5. 6. This my part, which is from the *Ahunavara*, O *Spitamā Ārathuṣṭra*, when it is recited without speaking anything more (in its midst), [i.e. he does not recite (lit. speak) in (its) midst from other *Avistā*],^a (and) without great negligence [i.e. he does not fall asleep],^a 7. (then) it is above other *Gāthās*, very worthy of respect^a by a hundred (i.e. it is worth hundred other *Gāthās*), which are recited without speaking anything more (in their midst), (and) without great negligence.^b 8. (But) even when it is recited with speaking something more (in its midst), (and) with great negligence, it is above other *Gāthās*, very worthy of respect, by some ten (i.e. it is worth about ten other *Gāthās*).

6. 9. And (he) who in this my world, which is full of creations, O *Spitamā Ārathuṣṭra*, studies the part, which is from the *Ahunavara*, [i.e. he reads it],^a often recites loudly that which he has studied, [i.e. he learns it by heart],^b chants loudly that which he has often recited, [i.e. he knows the routine of the *Nirangā*],^c and loudly praises that which he has chanted,^d 10. three times across the bridge *Chāndorapuhula*^a I, who am the great-knowing lord, lead his soul to the very excellent world [during this day, when he performs the *Ijñi* of *Nonāvārā*],^b 11. to that which is the very excellent world, to that which is the very excellent virtue, to those which are the very excellent lights.

7. 12. And (he) who in this my world, which is full of creations, O *Spitamā*

Ārathustra, omits^a (from recitation) the part, which is from the *Ahunavara*, after having learnt it, 13. as much as the half, or as much as the third part, or as much as the fourth part, or as much as the fifth part,^a 14. I strictly exclude,^a I who am the great-knowing lord his soul from the very excellent world, [i.e. I separate the heavenly world (from him)],^b 15. I exclude (him) (lit. I am the separator) by as much thickness^a (and) breadth as this earth, and his earth is in thickness as much as (it is) in breadth.

8. 16. ^aAnd that word^b is proclaimed (lit. is spoken aloud), which contains a (temporal) lord (and) which contains a (spiritual) lord, [it is clear from it, that a (temporal) lord (and) a (spiritual) lord should be accepted];^c 17. it was created before that sky, before water, before earth, before vegetations, 18. before the creation of cattle moving about on four legs, [the bull *Aiodātī*],^a 19. before the creation of the righteous man, moving about on two legs, [*Gaiomarda*], 20. before that created^a body of the Sun, and created when the immortal ones, worthy of respect were not to be seen.^b

9. 21. I proclaimed (lit. I spoke aloud) by means of the lordship^a (and) spirituality,^a [i.e. I was able to speak by means of the spiritual lordship] 22. to^a the whole creation of the righteous ones, to the present, past and future ones (viz. the creations): 23. ^a'in the continuance of works', [i.e. they perform that (work) which is clear from it (viz. *Ahunavara*)], 'of the works (performed) in this world for *Hormijda*' [(i.e.) he performs that (work) which pleases *Hormijda*; thus that (work) should be performed by him, which (lit. as) is (made) manifest from this chapter.]^b

10. 24. And this is the most efficacious sentence^a of these sentences, [i.e. the most essential], which he has ever proclaimed, (or) proclaims, (or) will proclaim^b (lit. speak aloud), 25. because this sentence is so great, [i.e. it is so efficacious (lit. is in the work)], that when the entire world full of creations 26. had learnt (better learns)^a what it has learnt [i.e. it is learning by heart], and it is retaining (it), [i.e. it is abiding by it], it appropriates^b the condition (which is) free from death [i.e. it becomes immortal].

11. 27. And this word was proclaimed (lit. spoken aloud) to us,^a [it is upheld in the religion (and) spoken in this chapter],^b and it is to be learnt, [i.e. it is to be learned by heart], and it is to be chanted,^c [i.e. it is to be upheld in the *Ijismi*]; thus (the soul) of any one of the existing (men), who is very excellent by means of virtue, [(he) who proclaims this (word) in the *Ijismi*, his soul becomes immortal].

12. 28. *Yathā* 'just as', it has been (already) proclaimed here,^a viz. (that) a (temporal) lord (and) a (spiritual) lord should be accepted;^b 29. (*atha* 'so') [(he) who (better when he) appoints] him (*Ārathustra*) [as the (temporal) lord and (spiritual) lord (i.e. he offers (his) body to a (religious) preceptor^a)], thus (better then) he assigns^b (it, viz. the body) to them, who are the first creations in the mind of *Hormijda*, [i.e. he has made the creations^c progressing; he is causing joy to the mind of *Hormijda*]. 30. He who (better when he) assigns (lit. lets enjoy) this body to the greatest of all (men), [i.e. he places (his) body in the service of the king of kings],^a thus (better then) he assigns it to His creations, [i.e. he has made the creations progressing.]^b

13. 31. That^a the good existence is for *Hormijda*, [i.e. he (indef.) places its origin in the relationship of *Hormijda*]. With 'good' (is meant) here (the sentence) containing the third maxim,^b [i.e. through 'the best' *Ahunavara* the beginning of the third maxim has originated]. He recites^c (lit. gives recitation) it through *Gvahmana* [i.e. he speaks the righteous word, and acts according to it (lit. thus). He assigns it (i.e. the word) here excellently through *Gvahmana*, [i.e. the reward and gift, which they give through *Gvahmana*, that also he gives]. 32. He who is the teacher^a (lit. he points out) excellently through *Gvahmana*, [i.e. he makes that which is righteous with the sign], and thus in the mind it was summed up^b [i.e. it became complete], 33. and 'by means of actions' it was summed up here in this world [i.e. it became complete].

14. 34. He who assigns the creation to (lit. of) *Hormijda*, [i.e. (who) teaches among men], thus in him as his (own) creation, [i.e. he comes back to the relationship of *Hormijda* through purity just as *Hormijda* had created him with purity], 35. assigns sovereignty to *Hormijda*, in that, O great-knowing one, is thy sovereignty,^a [i.e. by him *Hormijda* has been made king over (his) own body];^a he who has assigned to the weak ones food,^c [i.e. who has made good to them], 36. Just as 'a friend for *Spitamā*.'^a (The religion) contained five maxims,^b [i.e. it was in the five maxims]. 37. The whole speech was an excellent speech, the entire speech which was of *Hormijda*.^a

15. 38. For the increase^a (lit. increaser) *Hormijda* proclaimed *Ahunavar*, [for the protection of the creation]. It was summed up^b by increase [i.e. it was completed]. 39. Immediately^a (when) the smiter appeared (lit. became), [i.e. the adversary crept in] (and red.) it was proclaimed among the wicked ones 40. (viz.) these words of separation: 41.^a neither our mind, [i.e. I do not think of a thing which thou thinkest, because I think of that which is very righteous, and thou thinkest of that which is very wicked], nor (our) teaching, [I have not taught that which thou hast taught, because I have taught that, which is very righteous, and thou that which is very wicked], nor (our) wisdom, [because I keep my wisdom with righteousness, and thou keepest (it) with wickedness], 42. nor (our) desire, [because (something) very righteous pleases me, and thee (something) wicked], nor (our) speech, [because I speak that which is very righteous, and thou that which is very wicked], nor our action, [because my action is very righteous, and thine very wicked], 43. nor (our) religion, [because my religion has arisen out of the *Gāthās* and thine is pertaining to the demons], nor our souls are united, [those who abide by my religion and those who abide by thine, their souls are not in union].

16. 44. And this word, spoken by *Majda* has three measures,^a four arts,^b and five lords; it is summed up by means of gift,^c [i.e. complete; they are able to do so for appropriation, when they offer their body as a gift to the (spiritual) lord]. 45. What are its measures? (They are) good thought, good word, (and) good deed, [viz. anything that is righteous is in the measure of the religion].

17. 46. What are the arts? (They are) the (religious) preceptor, the warrior, the husbandman, (and) the artisan. 47. All this^a is to be combined in the

righteous man having the truthful mind, having the truthful word, (and) having the truthful deed, 48. instructed by the (religious) preceptor,^a [i.e. connected with the religious preceptor], (and) instructed in the religion, [i.e. by whom the *Iasti* has been performed],^b 49. who is the giver of increase to the world of virtue by means of the deed.^a

18. 50. Who are the lords? (They are) the lord of the house, the lord of the village, the lord of the district, the lord of the land,^a (and) the fifth *Jarathustra*.^b [A house consists of seven^c pairs of men and women, a village of fifteen pairs of men and women, a district of thirty pairs of men and women, and a land of fifty pairs of men and women] 51. in those lands, which are other than the *Raga Jarathustriya*. There are four lords in the *Raga Jarathustriya*. 52. Which are the lords in it? (They are) the lord of the house, the lord of the village, the lord of the district, (and) the fourth *Jarathustra*. [In that land, which was his own he was the fourth lord].^a

19. 53. How in good thought? [i.e. how did religion stand on the standpoint of good thought?] By means of the first righteous thinker, [i.e. it was by means of *Gaiomarda*] 54. How in good word? From the word of *Mānthra-spinta* [i.e. from the word of *Avistā*]. 55. How in good deed? By means of the praise and virtue of the first creation [i.e. *Ijismi* and other good deed, which is performed by means of the creation].

20. 56. The great knowing one proclaimed. To whom did he proclaim? To the righteous one pertaining to this world (and) pertaining to the other world, [viz. for good pertaining to this world (and) pertaining to the other world]. 57. For what purpose did he proclaim? [For what desire did he proclaim?]^a For the sovereignty of the increaser, who proclaims,^a [i.e. so that the proclaimer, (who is) the increaser may become a sovereign]. 58. How many for the righteous one? [viz. is it desirable to say]? Until the undesirable king^a becomes the increaser, [i.e. until even he who is an undesirable king become the increaser].^b

21. I revere the part, which is from the *Ahunavara*, [i.e. good, which (accrues) from this chapter]. I revere the *Ahunavara* with loud recitation [viz. among those *Avistā* which occur in the recitation], with loud study [viz. among those (*Avistā*) which are specially mentioned], aloud by means of the *Gāthās* [i.e. by means of those *Avistā*, which occur only in their own *Gāthā*] and aloud by means of the *Ijismi*. The formula of reverence.

NOTES

Heading. Bod. has the heading *bay-ahunvar būn* 'the beginning of the *Bay-ahunvar*'. This chapter forms with the chapters xx and xxi the *Bayān Yašt*. The latter forms a part of the *Bay Nask*, the fourth of the *Gāthic series* (*SBE*. xxxvii. 6, 7), which is analysed in Dk. viii, chaps. xlvii-lxv (translated by West in *SBE*. xxxvii. 303-84). The chaps. xix-xxi of the *Yasn* are also commented on, though not in detail in the first three *frakarts* of the *Sūtka Nask*, and in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th *frakarts* of the *Varštman Nask* (translated by West in *SBE*. xxxvii. 172-7, and 231-4). The title *Bayān Yašt* given to these three chapters is incorrect, because there is a separate *nask* of the same name, the seventh of the *legal series*. But it has

arisen most probably from the final formulae *bayam ahunahe vairyeha yazamaide* and *bayam ašahe vahištahe yazamaide*, where *bayā-* 'part, portion' has been perhaps taken for the name of the collection of these three chapters.

1. 1. 1 Bod. and M. omit. 2 Bod. has further *ē ōhrmazd dātār ahrav apārīk pa stāyīšn hast kē dātār ahrav gōwēt*. This corresponds to (*asti*) *ahuramajdah dātā punyamaya . . . aparam stutyāyātām yat dātā punyamaya (iti) uktaṁ* of the Skr. gloss. In the parallel passage Vd. ii. 1 the Pahl. gloss is very short; it runs as follows: *ē ōhrmazd dātār ahrav pa x^oānišn apārīk pa stāyīšn*. The Pahl. gloss is omitted in Sp. and M.

1. 1. ^a Thus literally; or 'of the corporeal world' according to Pahl. vers. ^b The words . . . 'are to be made threefold', i.e. they are to be taken as three distinct appellations of God. ^c Bd. i. 3. ^d I follow the correction of Bharucha, because *sthānāt* corresponds to *gyāk* of Pahl. vers. Sp.'s explanation of *asthānāt* 'no-place' is far-fetched (see Sp. Ner. 91, note). ^e The reference is perhaps again to Bd. i. 3; the speech of Ōhrmazd is undoubtedly the Ahunvar, which existed before all his creations (Bd. i. 21-3).

1. 2. 1 Bod. and M. *čē*, interr. pron. neu. 2 Bod. has *plene an n*, which M. reads *an*. 3 Thus according to Bharucha; Sp. *kimcit*.

2. 3. 1 Bod. and M. omit.

2. 3. ^a This is the primeval ox, *gāuš aēvōdāta*, from whose body all the species of animals were derived, and who is the prototype of the all animal life (Dst. ZA. i. 164, no. 13). Thus Dst. has read Pahl. vers. *hudāk* 'of good gifts', *ēvdāk*. ^b Pahl. and Skr. versions differ here from each other, the former takes *xrafstrāiš* as an adj. to *daēvāiš*, whereas the latter to *mašyāiš*. But both of them differ from the original Av., which means 'before the *xrafstras* (plundering bands)—the *daēvas* as well as men'. Thus *daēvāišča* and *mašyāišča* are in apposition to *xrafstrāiš* (Bthl. *AirWb.* 538). Av., *xrafstra-* is mostly transcribed in Pahl. vers. except in the Gāthās, where it is rendered, as here, by *pa xrat start* 'confounded of intellect', and in Skr. vers. by *buddhinaṣṭaḥ*, and *buddhijaḍaḥ*. Dst. thinks that these translations have a tradition of a correct etymology of Av. *xrafstra-* behind them (Dst. ZA. i. 208, no. 19). MP. vers. is *sost 'aqal* 'of slow intelligence'. The order of creation given here differs from that mentioned in Bd. i. 28 (*SBE.* v. 10).

3. 4. 1 Bod. and M. *kē-š*.

3. 4. ^a Bthl. takes Av. *bayā-* f. in the sense of 'part, portion (of the holy word)' with the definitive gen. (Bthl. *AirWb.* 922). Dst. renders it by 'the divine prayer', thereby applying it to the whole prayer. But on the whole Bthl. agrees with him in this translation, when he says, 'the piece' (called *Ahuna Vairya*). ^b Cf. Dk. viii. 1, 7, 18, 19; Dk. ix. 2, 2; *SBE.* xxxvii. 6, 9, 173).

4. 5. 1 Bod. according to the modern pronunciation *paḍtāyīh* (MP. *paedāyī*).

5. 6 1 MSS. a-bē-sūtākīh. 2 Bod. and M. *ku*.

5. 6. ^a About the importance and efficacy of the Ahunvar prayer see Dk. ix. 2 (*SBE.* xxxvii. 172-4) where the recitation of one or more Ahunvar is recommended for attaining certain desires, or before commencing certain good works. This prayer is still considered as the most important prayer. The sense of this para. is this that the Ahunvar should be recited without any commentary and without improper haste, whereby the syllables of one word may not be mixed up with those of the other; cf. also Bthl. *AirWb.* 116.

5. 7. 1 Sp. has as one word; Bod. *d* for *ad*. 2 Thus also M., Bod. *gāsānān*. 3 Bod. and M. *pa*. 4 Bod. and M. omit. 5 MSS. *sūtākīh*.

5. 7. ^a Ner. has rendered Pahl. vers. *ratīh* 'spiritual hardship' by an adj. as very

often. Av. *raθwam* is in apposition to *gāḍānām* ('one hundred) of the Gāḍās, who are the (spiritual) lords'. ^b The Pahl. gloss. 'thus the *Yazišn* is celebrated (lit. becomes)' remains obscure. The gloss seems to refer to the frequent recitation of the Ahunvar during the Yazišn ceremony.

5. 8. 1 MSS. *sūtakiḥ*. 2 Sp. and Bod. write them as one word; Bod. *b* for *ad*; M. read *ānām* (plur.) with MP. vers. *ḍigar*.

6. 9. 1 M. reads the ideogr. *gaṇrānīd*. It is *safarūnīt*, as Dst. reads it (ZA. i. 165, no. 21), from Aram. *safar* 'to read'.

6. 9. ^a Thus according to Dst.'s suggestion *pustakayati* (ZA. i. 165, no. 21), which is of course based on Pahl. vers. *χ'ānēt*. It is not to be found in Skr. lexica, and is a coinage of Dst. Bharucha suggests *ghoṣayati* 'he announces, he proclaims', which does not suit the context. ^b Cf. Y. ix. 1. 3. ^c It is used here in the sense of 'ritual'. ^d The stages through which a Parsi novice for the priestly profession has to pass are even to-day the same as described here.

6. 10. 1 Thus also Bod. written *plene*; M. has MP. vers. *rāh*. 2 Thus Bod., Sp. *ōē i*; M. reads it *ān*. 3 Sp. *m ab*; Bod. and M. omit. 4 Thus also M.; Sp. *kē*. 5 Bod. and M. have *aś* after it. 6 Thus Bod.; M. reads it *an*; Sp. *ōē*.

6. 10. ^a This word is composed of two words, which are both of them the result of an attempted transcription of Pahl. vers. *čayān vitark* and *puhl*. Skr. vers. *cāndora* has possibly arisen from an orthogr. of the Pahl. word like *č an n t n r (k)*, whereas *u* in the second syllable of *puhula* is inserted perhaps for facilitating the pronunciation of the group *hl*, or perhaps the group *-uhu-* represents *ū* in Guj. *pūl* 'bridge'. The whole word is considered as the name of the bridge, hence the redundant *setunā*. ^b Cf. Y. ix. 14, 44, no. 2.

6. 11. 1 Bod. *pahlom pahlom*.

7. 12. ^a Pahl. vers. 'he keeps apart', i.e. he suppresses in the recitation. *Apārō-kēnītan* is derived from adv. *apārōk* 'apart, away from', which is a lengthened form of *apār*, like *nēkōk* from *nēk* (Bthl. *AirWb*. 1494-5). The Pahl. gloss. *bē dandēt* has been rendered in MP. vers. by *farāmōš kunad* 'he forgets' (Dst. ZA. i. 166, no. 26; iii. 86, no. 7). Mills reads *apārōdenēt bē gōyēt* 'he undertones it ... speaks it apart' (SDMG. lvii. 577; JRAS., 1904, p. 296). West reads *barā yangéd* 'cuts off' and compares it with MP. *yangad*?

7. 13. 1 Thus also M.; Bod. has *plene*. 2 Sp. and M. *hamā*.

7. 13. ^a For the translation of the Pahl. gloss, see SBE. xxxvii. 455. Av. *tanu-parəθva-* 'who is condemned by law' is rendered in Pahl. vers. by *tanāpuhr* with the gloss *mark aržān* 'worthy of death' (Bthl. *AirWb*. 636, 637).

7. 14. 1 Bod. *plene*. 2 Bod. *-am*; M. *hom*. 3 Bod. and M. *kuš*.

7. 14. ^a Av. *pairi-tanava* is 1st sing. subj. act., whereas *pairi-tanuya* in § 15 is 1st sing. opt. med., from *tan-* with *pairi* 'to keep away from', 'to exclude' (Bthl. *AirWb*. 633). This is rendered into Pahl. vers. by *tanavom* with the gloss *bē kunom* 'I make apart' and by *tanavišnih*. Although these Pahl. words are finally derived from Av. *tan-* 'to stretch', they are not translations of the Av. words, but merely their imperfect transcriptions as very often. The base of the Pahl. inf. is not Av. *tan-*, but *tanav-* in *pairi. tanava*, as is clearly shown by the orthogr. *t n n-*.

^b Cf. Saddar, xxviii.

7. 15. 1 Bod. and M. *ētōn-ič*.

7. 15. ^a Av. *baśah-* 'height, depth' (Bthl. *AirWb*. 962) is translated into Pahl. by *zahāk*, adj., 'bulky, thick'. The latter is connected with MP. *zahidan* 'to swell' (GIRPh. i. 1. 278). That Skr. vers. has an abstr. noun for an adj. in Pahl. vers. is not rare.

8. 16. 1 Thus also M.; Bod. *ahuōmandih*. 2 Thus also M.; Bod. *ratōmandih*.
 8. 16. ^a The commentary begins from here. ^b Pahl. vers. understands by the word not only the Ahunvar, which contains in the first line the words *ahu* and *ratu*, but the religion itself, comp. Y. xix. 3. 4. ^c Cf. Saddar, xxvi.
8. 18. 1 Thus also M.; Bod. *padaštān*.
 8. 18. ^a Cf. Y. xix. 2. 3, where Pahl. gloss is *hudāk*, and to it no. a.
8. 20. ^a Pahl. vers. *brin* is from inf. *brītan* 'to create by cutting', cf. Y. xi. 7. 20. ^b Bthl. (*AirWb*. 82) and Dst. (*ZA*. i. 166) translate this Av. passage as follows: 'This word (i.e. the *Ahunavar*) . . . was created before that sky . . . and after the creation of the *Aməša Spəntas*.' Sp. follows the Pahl. vers.: 'before the creation of the Sun according to the desire of the *Amahrspands* to create a body (for it)' (Sp. comm. ii. 156). But according to Bd. i. 21 seq. the Ahunvar was already there, with which Ōhrmazd confuses Aharman and during the confusion of the latter created the Amahrspands. I take Skr. vers. *anāloke* in the sense of 'in the not seeing' with the objective gen. *amarānām gurūnām*. It seems possible that Ner. took Pahl. vers. *pa bē ayāvākīh* in the sense of 'without the obtaining', i.e. before their creation, hence his *anāloke*.
9. 21. ^a Pahl. and Skr. vers. have abstr. for concrete of Av. The latter means 'the more holy one of the two invisible spirits'.
 9. 22. 1 Bod. om.
9. 22. ^a But Pahl. vers. means '(what was) said to Zartōšt, concerning the whole material (existence) of the righteous, who are, who have been, and who will arise' (West, *SBE*. xxxvii. 456).
 9. 23. 1 Bod. and M. *ku ān*. 2 Bod. *ētōn*.
9. 23. ^a I follow Bthl. here and in other passages of the commentaries as far as the Skr. construction allows me. The Skr. vers. of the Av. quotations are in inverted commas. ^b For meaning cf. Y. ix. 1. 3.
10. 24. ^a Notice the superl. of noun, formed after Pahl. vers. ^b The Pahl. language has no proper future. It is expressed mostly by the present with or without some suitable expressions, here e.g. *hač-či nūn frāč* 'even hence forth'.
10. 25. 1 Bod. and M. ideogr.; Sp. omits.
10. 26. 1 Written *db*; M. omits. 2 Sp. has the ideogr. for *mart*. 3 MSS. write *-and* with *ab*, which is certainly a cursive form of the ligature for *-and*, in which the horizontal stroke or the horizontal stroke and *d* is left out.
10. 26. ^a Is according to Pahl. vers. *āmōxtand* (3rd plur.). But pres. in the gloss shows clearly that pres. is meant. *āmōzand* (pres. 3rd plur.) can become *āmōxtand* by careless writing. ^b A peculiar denom. characteristic of Ner. Pahl. vers. is of course a free rendering of Av., which means 'it (mankind) can extricate itself from death'.
11. 27. 1 Sp. has ideogr. for *mūrēt* 'he dies'. 2 M. *ka*. 3 M. omits. 4 Bod. *bavēt*; M. omits. 5 Bod. *ka*. 6 Sp. *a d da*.
11. 27. ^a Av. and Pahl. vers. have gen. ^b But Pahl. gloss says: '(This our word) is religion (cf. Y. xix. 3. 4). *Mayānih-dāt* has said, (it is) this chapter'. Dst. reads this name *Miyān-dāt* (*ZA*. i. 167), whereas Mills *Māhvindāt* (*ZDMG*. lvii. 578). Mills' reading is impossible and far-fetched. My reading is according to the MSS. West follows Ner. and translates 'preserved among the revelation mentioned in this *fargard*' (*SBE*. xxxvii. 457). ^c Thus according to Av.
12. 28. 1 M. has *plene*.
12. 28. ^a Cf. Y. xix. 8. 16. ^b Skr. vers. omits Pahl. gloss: 'Just as',—this thing is thus said; 'Just as'—this law is thus (as it is said above) (proclaimed). Of

course it contains nothing new, but an attempted explanation of the Av. quotation 'Yaða' = Pahl. *čyōn*.

12. 29. 1 Thus Geldner for *aðā*.

12. 29. ^a Pahl. gloss means: 'i.e. he gives body to religious studies—*ēhrpatastān*', i.e. he buries himself body and soul in religious studies. West translates 'religious assembly' (*SBE*. xxxvii. 457). ^b Lit. 'lets enjoy'. This is the invariable translation of Pahl. vers. *čāšt*, *čāšet* 'he teaches'. But Av. *čīnasti* (pres. 3rd sing.) means in the exegetical literature, lit. 'it contains the teaching of'—it refers to as regards its contents' (Bthl. *AirWb*. 430). I translate the Skr. vers. everywhere in the present tense as in Av., 'he or it assigns'. This suits the context nearly everywhere although in one or two passages the translation 'he or it teaches' would be better. ^c For Pahl. vers. *gāsānikih* 'the Gāthic lore'. 'The first line of the Ahunvar indicates the Gāthic lore' (Dk. viii. 1. 7). Ner. has perhaps read *gēhānikih*.

12. 30. 1 Bod. and M. has *hač* after it. 2 Bod. and M. *mahēst*. 3 Bod. and M. *dārēt*. 4. Bod. and M. *ētōn*. 5 Bod. plene; M. reads it *an* or *ān*.

12. 30. ^a Cf. Dk. ix. 47. 12, 13. ^b Cf. Y. xix. 12. 29, no. b. ^c Pahl. and Skr. vers. differ from Av.; *Yaða* and *aða*, quoted from the Ahunvar, are taken by them as belonging to the text.

13. 31. 1 Sp. and M. *huzāyīšnīh*; Bod. *huzāišnīh*. M. explains it by MP. *afzāyīšnī*. 2 Bod. *ān*. 3 MSS. *drenjīšn*. 4 Bod. *i*; M. omit.

13. 31. ^a Thus according to Av. ^b The first line of the *Ahunvar* contains two maxims, according to Pahl. vers. (1) to accept a temporal lord, (2) to accept a spiritual lord. The second line beginning with *vanhēuš* has the third maxim: good existence is for *Mazda*. Sp. understands by *ikaēša*- 'paragraph' (Sp. Comm. 160). ^c Pahl. and Skr. vers. begin a new sentence with *ādranjayeiti* 'fastens, solidifies', which belongs of course to the preceding one. They take it in the sense of 'he recites'.

13. 32. 1 Bod. and M. have after it *bē kunēt*. 2 Bod. and M. have *ēton* after it.

13. 32. ^a Viz. of the perfect abstinence from sin (Dk. ix. 47. 15). ^b I.e. the righteous action was thought of and planned in the mind, its instigator being *Vohuman* (Dk. ix. 47. 16). For Av. *kāraya*- caus. of *kar*- 'to refer to, to allude to' especially in the exegetical literature. (Bthl. *AirWb*. 448.)

14. 34. 1 Sp. repeats through mistakes. 2 Bod. *kē ō*; M. *u kē*. 3 Bod. and M. ideogr. 4 Sp. and Bod. *db*; M. omits. 5 Bod. and M. have *ētōn* after it.

14. 35. 1 Bod. *χ^oatāyih-aš*. 2 M. omit. 3 Sp. and Bod. *db*; M. omits.

14. 35. ^a From Y. liii. 9 d. ^b Cf. Y. xix. 12. 30. ^c For Pahl. vers. *nīyāyīšn* 'obeisance', but Av. *vāstar*- means 'a shepherd'; Ner. has seen in it Av. *vāstra*- 'pasture-ground, pasture'.

14. 36. 1 Bod. plene *panē*.

14. 36. ^a From Y. li. 11. ^b Dst. enumerates the five maxims as follows: (1) *Ahura* is the temporal lord (§ 12); (2) he is the spiritual lord (§ 12); (3) he is the source of all worldly good (§ 13); (4) he is the object of the actions of the creatures (§ 14); (5) he rules when the king protects the poor (§ 14).

14. 37. 1 Bod. *hamē*; M. *hamā*. 2 Sp. omits.

14. 37. ^a Cf. Y. xix. 20. 56. The Ahunvar and Asəm Vohū (Y. xx. 3. 7, 4. 8) prayers are the revealed words of Ahura Mazda, whereas *yānhē hātām* emanates from Zaradūštra.

• 15. 38. ^a Thus according to Pahl. vers. (which derives *vahišta* from *vaxš* 'to increase'. ^b Cf. Y. xix. 13. 32, no. b.

15. 39. 1 Bod. omits.
15. 39. ^a Sp. and Dst. follow Pahl. vers. in the translation of Av. *hiḍwaṭ*, which they render by 'at once, quickly'. But Bthl. translates it by 'hard-pressed' with *bav-*, and derives it from *hā(y)-* 'to bind, to close' (Bthl. *AirWb.* 1813). He compares Bd. i. 21 seq., where it is said that Aharman became confused by the recitation of Ahunvar.
15. 41. 1 Bod. *darēm*. 2 Bod. omits.
15. 41. ^a A quotation from Y. xlv. 2. c. e.
15. 42. 1 Bod. *ap ak ddt*.
15. 43. 1 Bod. and M. *ašān*. 2 Sp. *hač*; Bod. omits. 3 Bod. and M. *ēstēt*.
- 4 Bod. and M. omit. 5 Sp. omits.
16. 44. 1 Bod. and M. *an a* (= *ē*). 2 Sp. and Bod. *zartōštom*; M. *zartōštrōtom*.
16. 44. ^a Av. *afsmān-* 'line of a (Gāthic) verse' (Bthl. *AirWb.* 103); Dst. according to Pahl. 'measure'. ^b Lit. 'knowledge, science'; but Av. *pištra-*, and Pahl. vers. *pēšāk* mean 'profession, professional class'. ^c Sp. quotes a passage from the *Rivāyat* (Cod. xii. Suppl. d'Anq., p. 70), which says that the Yaḍa Ahū Vairyō (Ahunvar) prayer deals with liberality and charity (Sp. Comm. 163). The Pahl. gloss sees in it once again an allusion to the bodily submission to a spiritual lord or *dastūr*, which seems to be the essential teaching of the prayer.
16. 45. 1 Sp. *ēn ānōd*; Bod. *an mī n čē*; these two readings are the result of careless orthography.
17. 47. 1 Sp. *hamā*.
17. 47. ^a Av. *višpaya irina* has been left unexplained by Bthl. in *AirWb.* (1529). Sp. renders it by 'All time through' (Comm. ii. 164). Dst. follows here also Pahl. vers. and translates 'day and night'. Ner. seems to have meant that all these four classes are combined in a pious man, who strictly follows the religion. His *idam* is due to *ēn* for *rōč* in Pahl.-vers.
17. 48. ^a But Av. means 'who follows the words of the *Ratu*'. ^b Pahl. and Skr. version lay stress on the liturgy of the Yazišn (Yašt).
17. 49. 1 Bod. ideogr. for *ō* (*γn*).
17. 49. ^a Cf. Y. xliii. 6. c.
18. 50. 1 Bod. and M. *zartōšt*.
18. 50. ^a For meaning cf. Y. ix. 27. 83. ^b But Pahl. vers. understands by it the Zaratuštrōtama, the high priest, who is supposed to be the representative of Zartōšt (Bd. xxiv. 1; Sl. xiii. 11). ^c Cf. Y. xix. 1. 2, where 'one pair of man and woman' make a house; see Sp. Ner. 98 note.
18. 52. ^a This shows that in the Avestan times the power of the high priest was greater than in the later Sassanian period. The high priest had the supreme power in the land, and even the king had to submit to his ecclesiastical authority, which he had to lose under the Sassanides, as the king, who was himself of priestly descent, declared himself the temporal as well as the spiritual head of the land. Pahl. gloss is a little different; 'i.e. when he was in his own country, he made a . . . that he should be the fourth'.
19. 53. 1 Bod. and M. *plene*.
20. 56. 1 Bod. *čič*.
20. 57. 1 Bod. *k amk n da da?*; M. *kāmih*. 2 MSS., *pātiḡšāhīh*; Bod. with ideogr.
20. 57. ^a Pahl. vers. omits.
20. 58. 1 Bod. omits. 2 Bod. *ōē*. 3 Sp. omits the first *n*. 4 Sp. omits

the last two *n*'s. 5 M. omits. 6 Sp. *čē*. 7 Bod. *ab*; M. ideogr. for *ku*.
8 Bod. *ab*; M. *an a*. 9 Bod. and M. omit.

20. 58. ^a This seems to be here the meaning of the word. Av. *avasō-χšaθra-* as it can be deduced from the Pahl. gloss, although it means 'a dependent king, one not ruling according to his will'. ^b Pahl. vers. has a long gloss, for which see West, *SBE*. xxxvii. 461.

21. 1. M. omits. 2 Bod. *plene*. 3 Bod. and M. omit.

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PURĀṆA STUDIES

THE principal difficulties connected with the study of ancient Indian literature result from the fact that there is a complete lack of all positive chronology. In the second place, something like our modern idea that an author has to be considered as the owner of his writings, and has to be respected as such, seems to have been equally lacking. Many writers made no difference between matters which they borrowed from others and those of their own invention. Thus plagiarism was frequent, and neither seem the authors to have had any scruple nor the public any objection against this procedure. Readers or hearers of a more rudimentary degree of literary education generally are not so much interested in questions of authorship and authenticity as in the subject itself. And the writers of this period may have thought borrowing and compiling more convenient than composing themselves entirely new works. Anyhow, originality as a literary merit must have been unknown in those days.

Thus it came about that in the works which have been left to us parallel passages are numerous, most of all among different texts belonging to one and the same class of writings. No better illustration of this fact could be given than the conclusion to which a comparative study of several Gr̥hya-Sūtras has led Professor Oldenberg: 'It often happens that single Sūtras or whole rows of Sūtras agree so exactly in different texts that this agreement cannot be ascribed to chance; but this does not—so far at least—enable us to tell which text is to be looked upon as the source of the other, or whether they have a common source which has been lost.' (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxx, p. xxxvii.)

It is interesting to note that the same can be said of the different Purāṇa texts, and that indeed Wilson, as early as 1840, had made a similar statement regarding this class of works. From the introduction to his translation of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa I quote: 'The identity in the legends in many of them, and, still more, the identity of the words—for, in several of them, long passages are literally the same—is a sufficient proof that, in all such cases, they must be copied either from some other similar work, or from a common and prior original.' Since then Prof. Macdonell has said: 'In that part of their contents which is peculiar to them, the Purāṇas agree so closely, being often verbally identical for pages, that they must be derived from some older collection as a common source' (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1905, p. 299)—the fact that a close relationship exists among a good deal of the Purāṇic matter has become generally known among students of Indian literature.

According to an old definition occurring in one of the Purāṇas themselves, a Purāṇa should treat of the following subjects: sarga, pratisarga, vaṃśa, Manvantarāṇi, and the vaṃśānucarita. Therefore, it cannot be surprising that these works often should agree as to the contents of their subject-matter. These five points which a Purāṇa should have to treat of originally consti-

tuted the 'five characteristics' (*pañcalakṣaṇam*) of this class of works. As a matter of fact, the existent Purāṇa texts contain a common nucleus treating of these five subjects in such a way that not only in many cases the legends are the same, but that also a most striking identity in their wordings can be observed.

In his book *Das Purāṇapañcalakṣaṇam* (Bonn, 1928), Prof. Dr. W. Kirfel has taken great pains to reconstruct as far as possible the texts that must have been at the basis of those portions of our Purāṇas which treat of these five characteristics. The work of Prof. Kirfel deserves the attention of all Indologists for the new method of Purāṇic treatment adopted by this scholar. By a systematic comparison of all the extant Purāṇas, the verses and parts of verses which in two or more of the works are identical, and therefore must have had a place in the common and prior original, are separated from the apparently younger parts; by typographical means the older parts are distinguished from the younger. Thus the 'identity of the words' observed for the first time in the Purāṇic texts by Wilson, has been acknowledged by Prof. Kirfel as a principle of textual criticism for this class of works. Those portions which obviously must derive from a common source are treated here as different manuscripts of one and the same text, so as to correct and to complete each other. This method of treating the Purāṇas has the double advantage of giving insight into their way of coming into existence and their development and of making the texts more intelligible, one of them correcting the other. In this way the book of Prof. Kirfel is fundamental within the hitherto much neglected domain of Purāṇa studies. Owing to the large bulk of their contents, as well as to the frequent occurrence of corrupt passages, these works could not as far as yet attract the attention of scholars in a proportion adequate to their importance as the principal source for our knowledge of Hinduism.

On a more modest scale the present author has applied this new method to the portions in the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, the Harivaṃśa, the Matsya-Purāṇa, the Padma-Purāṇa (in two editions), the Śiva-Purāṇa, and the Vāyu-Purāṇa which contain the Śrāddha ritual and the legends connected therewith. An introduction to this work has appeared at Bonn (*Der Śrāddhakalpa im Harivaṃśa und in fünf anderen Purāṇen*, 1928; cf. *Orientalische Literatur-Zeitung*, March 1929, col. 204 seq.). I have not yet been able to publish the texts themselves, and therefore I accept with pleasure the invitation of Dr. Jal Dastur C. Pavry to send a small part of my manuscript as a contribution to the present volume of studies in honour of his most reverend father.

The Purāṇa portions treating of the Śrāddha rites, of which I have attempted to reconstruct the original, can, for reasons more fully explained in the above-mentioned 'Introduction', be divided into two groups, the first of which (A) contains the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, the Harivaṃśa, the Śiva- and the Vāyu-Purāṇa, and the second (B) the Matsya-Purāṇa and two recensions of the Padma-Purāṇa. By way of a specimen of the new method of critical treatment of the Purāṇa texts I have selected from group A the verses 49-59 of chapter iii, which correspond with ii. 24-41 of group B. As the texts of

group A on the one hand and those of group B on the other seem to be related to each other, I have considered those verses or parts of verses that are common to both groups as deriving from their common and prior original. These places have been made easily recognizable in group B, where they have been distinguished from the rest by printing in bold characters. For instance, the line A. iii. 57^b = B. ii. 39^b (*pitṛṇ prīṇāti yo bhaktyā pītarāḥ prīṇayanti tam*) must have been borrowed by the authors of our texts from an earlier work containing this half-śloka, if we will not admit the idea that in this particular case one of our texts has been the example for the others.

It seems to me as if the half-śloka under discussion has been originally a yajñagāthā, such as can often be found in the Gṛhya-sūtras (cf. Oldenberg, *S.B.E.* xxx, General introduction to the Gṛhya-sūtras, *passim*, and Ovid: *Cura pii Dis sunt et qui coluere coluntur*, *Metam.* viii. 724), and possibly yajñagāthās of this kind have been multiplied and developed so as to result in the Śrāddha treatises we are studying.

GROUP A (CHAPTER III)

Sukālā nāma pitaro Vasiṣṭhasya Prajāpateḥ/¹

[traya ete gaṇās proktās
catuḥ śeṣān nibodhata.]

traya ete gaṇāḥ proktās
caturthaṃ tu nibodha me//49/

utpannā ye svadhāyāṃ tu Somapā vai Kaveḥ sutāḥ/

Hirāṇyagarbhasya sutāḥ śudrās tān bhāvayanty uta. //50/

Mānasā nāma te lokā

Mānasā nāma te lokā

varṭante yatra te divi./

yatra tiṣṭhanti te divi/

eteṣāṃ¹ mānasī kanyā Narmadā saritāṃ varā.//51/

sā bhāvayati bhūtāni dakṣiṇāpathagāmini/

jananī Trasadasyor hi¹

Purukutsasya yā patnī

Purukutsaparigrahaḥ.//52/

Trasadasyor janany api.//52/

eteṣāṃ abhyupagamān

teṣāṃ athābhyupagamān

Manur Manvantareśvaraḥ/

Manus tāta yuge yuge/

Manvantarādaḥ śrāddhāni

pravartayati śrāddhāni

pravartayati sarvaśaḥ.//53/

naṣṭe dharme Prajāpatiḥ.//53/

pitṛṇām ānupūrvyeṇa

pitṛṇām ādisarge tu

sarveṣāṃ dvijasattamāḥ/

sarveṣāṃ dvijasattama/

tasmād etat¹ svadharmeṇa

tasmād enaṃ svadharmeṇa

śrāddhaṃ deyaṃ tu² śrāddhayaḥ.//54/

śrāddhadevaṃ vadanti vai.//54/

49 a = Bd. II. 10. 96^a : H. 985^a : Vā. 73. 46^b. ¹ Bd. *mahātmanāḥ*
[49 b = Bd. II. 10. 84^a; cf. 36 a.] 49 b = H. 996^b.

50 a = H. 997^a.

50 b = Bd. II. 10. 96^b : H. 997^b : Vā. 73. 47^a.

¹ Bd. *Hair-*

51 a = Bd. II. 10. 97^a : Vā. 73. 47^b.

¹ Vā. *-h-*

51 a = H. 998^a.

51 b = Bd. II. 10. 97^b : H. 998^b : Vā. 73. 48^a.

¹ H. *teṣāṃ vai*.

52 a = Bd. II. 10. 98^a : H. 999^a : Vā. 73. 48^b.

¹ H. *y-*.

52 b = Bd. II. 10. 98^b : Vā. 73. 49^a.

¹ Bd. *sā*

52 b = H. 999^b.

Trasaddasyoḥ.

53 = Bd. II. 10. 99 : Vā. 73. 49^b. 50^a.

53 = H. 1000.

54 = Bd. II. 10. 100 : Vā. 73. 50^b. 51^a.

54 = H. 1001.

¹ Vā. *iha*.

² Bd. *deyaṃ śrāddhaṃ ca*.

sarveṣāṃ rājataiḥ pātrair
api vā rajatānvitaiḥ/
dattam¹ svadhām purodhāya śrāddham² prīṇāti vai pitṛṇ.//55/
saumyāyane vāgrayaṇe hy aśvamedham tadāpnuyāt/
Somasyāpyāyanam kṛtvā
hy Agner² Vaivasvatasya ca.//56/
udagāyanam cāgnau ca
aśvamedham tadāpnuyāt./
pitṛṇ prīṇāti yo¹ bhaktyā² pitarah prīṇayanti tam.//57/
pitarah puṣṭikāmasya prajākāmasya vā punaḥ/
puṣṭim prajāś tathā¹ svargam¹ yacchanti pitarah puṣṭim
prayacchanti na saṃśayaḥ/
svargam ārogyam evātha¹ yad anyad api cēpsitam.//58/
devakāryād api mune¹ pitṛkāryam viśiṣyate/
devatābhyah pitṛṇām hi devatānām hi pitarah
pūrvam āpyāyanam smṛtam./ pūrvam āpyāyanam smṛtam/
śighraprasādā hy akrodhā lokasyāpyāyanam param.//59/

55 a = Bḍ. II. 10. 101a; Vā. 73. 51b.

55 b = Bḍ. II. 10. 101b; H. 1002b: Ś. 63. 5a; Vā. 73. 52a. ¹ Ś. evam. ² Ś. śrāddhaiḥ, Vā. tathā.

56 a = Bḍ. II. 10. 102a.

56 b = Bḍ. II. 10. 102b; Vā. 73. 52b. ¹ Bḍ. -śc-. ² Vā. agnair.

57 a = Vā. 73. 53a.

57 b = Bḍ. II. 10. 103a; H. 1004a: Ś. 63. 6b; Vā. 73. 53b. ¹ Vā. vai. ² Bḍ. vamsyaḥ.

58 a = Bḍ. II. 10. 103b; Vā. 73. 54a.

58 b = Bḍ. II. 10. 104a; Vā. 73. 54b. ¹ Vā. -m ca. 58 c = H. 1005a: Ś. 63. 7b. ¹ Ś. -vyddhim ca.

59 a = Bḍ. II. 10. 104b; H. 1005b: Ś. 63. 8a; Vā. 73. 55a. ¹ Bḍ. Vā. sadā.

59 b = Bḍ. II. 10. 105a; Vā. 73. 55b.

59 c = H. 1006b.

GROUP B (CHAPTER II)

¹ eṣāṣṭakābhavat paścād Brahmalokagatā satī./
traya ete gaṇāḥ proktās caturtham tu vadāmy atah.³//24/
lokās tu Mānasā nāma lokāḥ Sumānasā²nāma
Brahmaṇḍopari saṃsthitāḥ/
yeṣāṃ tu mānasī kanyā Narmadā nāma viśrutā.//25/
Somapā nāma pitaro yatra tiṣṭhanti śāśvataḥ¹/
dharmamūrtidharāḥ sarve parato Brahmanāḥ smṛtāḥ.//26/
utpannāḥ svadhayā¹ te tu Brahmatvaṃ prāpya yogināḥ/
kṛtvā sṛṣṭyādikam sarve Mānase sāṃpratam sthitāḥ.//27/

24 = M. 15. 24: P.9. 52. ¹ M. ek = Ā-. ² M. -e. ³ P. aham.

25 a = M. 15. 25a.

25 b = M. 15. 25b.

26 = M. 15. 26: P.9. 53b. 54a. ¹ P. 1. -am.

27 = M. 15. 27: P.9. 54b. 55a. ¹ P. 1. P. 2. V. pralayān.

25 a = P.9. 53a. ¹ P. 1. -a-. ² P. 1. -o.

Narmadā nāma teṣāṃ tu kanyā toyavahā sarit./

bhūtāni yā pāvayati

bhūtāni *punati* yā *tu*¹

dakṣiṇāpathagāmini.//28/

pāścimodadhigāmini.//28/

tebhyaḥ sarve tu Manavaḥ

tebhyaḥ sarvatra Manavaḥ¹

prajāḥ sargeṣu nirmittāḥ/

prajāsarge² ca nirmittam.³

jñātvā śrāddhāni kurvanti dharmabhāvena² sarvadā.//29/

tebhya eva punaḥ prāptum

sarvadā tebhya *evāsyā*¹

prasādād yogasamtatim/

prasādād yogasamtatih/

pitṛṇām ādisarge tu śrāddham evaṃ vinirmittam.//30/

sarveṣāṃ rājatam pātram atha vā rājatānvitam/

dattam svadhām² purodhāya³ pitṛṇ priṇāti sarvadā.//31/

Agni- Soma- Yamānām tu kāryam āpyāyanam budhaiḥ²/

agnyabhāve *tu*³ viprasya pāṇau *vātha*⁴ jale *'pi*⁵ vā.//32/

ajākarṇe 'śvakarṇe vā goṣṭhe *vā salilāntike*/

pitṛṇām *amalam*² sthānam dakṣiṇā dik praśasyate.//33/

prācināvitam udakaṃ tilasamtyāgāṃ eva ca/

dattam svadhām purodhāya pitṛṇ puṣṇāti sarvadā/

darbhā māmsaṃ ca pāthinaṃ

darbhā māmsaṃ ca siddhānnaṃ¹

gokṣīraṃ madhuraṃ rasāḥ.//34/

gokṣīraṃ madhusarpiṣi.//34/

khaḍgalohāmiṣaṃ *caivam annam*² śyāmākāśālayaḥ/

yavanivāramudrekṣuśuklapuṣpaghṛtāni³ ca.⁴//35/

vallabhāni praśastāni pitṛṇām iha sarvadā/

dveṣyāni¹ *ca*² pravakṣyāmi śrāddhe varjyāni yāni *tu*.³//36/

masūrasaṇanispāvarājamāṣakulatthakāḥ¹/

padmabilvārkadhāttūrapāribhadrātarūṣakāḥ.//37/

na deyāḥ pitṛkāryeṣu payasā cājāvikaṃ tathā/

kodravodāracanakāḥ¹ kapitthaṃ² madhukātasi//38/

28 a = M. 15. 28^a: P. 9. 55^b.

28 b = M. 15. 28^b.

29 a = M. 15. 29^a.

28 b = P. 9. 56^a.

29 a = P. 9. 56^b.

-aś. ³ P. 2. -aḥ.

¹ P. 2. *pūyate yāti*.

¹ P. 1. -ujāḥ. ² P. 2.

29 b = M. 15. 29^b: P. 9. 57^a.

¹ MT. -ā-. ² M. 'pi.

30 a = M. 15. 30^a.

30 a = P. 9. 57^b.

¹ P. 2. T. *eva syāt*.

30 b = M. 15. 30^b: P. 9. 58^a.

¹ P. 2. -ya-.

31 = M. 15. 31: P. 9. 58^b. 59^a.

¹ P. 1. -ā-. ² M. P. 2. -ā. ³ P. 2. *pitṛṇām tu*.

32 = M. 15. 32: P. 9. 59^b. 60^a.

¹ P. *Āgnidhra-Somapābhyāṃ*. ² M. -aḥ. ³ M. 'pi.

⁴ M. -āu *api*. ⁵ M. 'iha.

33 = M. 15. 33: P. 9. 60^b. 61^a.

¹ P. -vātha *śivān*-. ² M. *ambaram*.

34 a = M. 15. 34^a: P. 9. 61^b.

¹ M. -āḥ *savyān*-. ² P. 2. 9. 62^a.

34 b = P. 2. 9. 62^a.

34 c = M. 15. 34^b.

34 c = P. 1. 9. 63^b: P. 2. 9. 62^b.

¹ P. 1. -māṣaṣṣṭikānnaṃ. P. 2. T. *māṣaṣṣṭi-*

kānnaṃ.

35 = M. 15. 35: P. 1. 9. 62: P. 2. 9. 63.

¹ P. 1. -gi *nāmā*-. ² M. -madhu *kuśa*-. ³ P. 1. *phalāni*. ⁴ P. 2. *vā*.

36 = M. 15. 36: P. 1. 9. 63^a. 64^a: P. 2. 9. 64.

¹ P. 1. *śastrāṇi*. ² M. *sam*-. ³ P. 1. *ca*.

P. 2. *sarvadā*.

37 = M. 15. 37: P. 1. 9. 64^b. 65^a: P. 2. 9. 65.

¹ M. -akusumbhikāḥ: P. 1. -āḥ *kulutthakāḥ*.

² P. 2. -āu-.

38 = M. 15. 38: P. 1. 9. 65^b. 66^a: P. 2. 9. 66.

¹ P. 1. -varaṭa-: P. 2. -varatā-.

² P. 2. -ā-.

etāny api na deyāni pitṛbhyaḥ śrīyam icchatā./
 pitṛn prīṇāti yo bhaktyā te punaḥ prīṇayanti tam.//39/
 yacchanti pitarāḥ puṣṭim svargārogyaṁ prajāphalaṁ./
 devakāryād api punaḥ pitṛkāryaṁ viśiṣyate.//40/
 devatānāṁ ca¹ pitarāḥ² pūrvam āpyāyanaṁ smṛtaṁ/
 śighraprasādās tv akrodhā niḥśastrāḥ³ sthiraśauḥṛdāḥ.//41/

39 = M. 15. 39: P. 1. 9. 66b. 67a: P. 2. 9. 67.

¹ M. p-.

40 = M. 15. 40: P. 1. 9. 67b. 68a: P. 2. 9. 68.

¹ P. 1. svāṅgā- P. 2. -yā-.

41 = M. 15. 41: P. 1. 9. 68b. 69a: P. 2. 9. 69.

¹ P. 2. tu.

² P. 1. devatābhyaḥ pitṛnām tu.

³ P. -saṅgāḥ.

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THE TITLE 'KING OF KINGS'

DAREIOS I is the first Persian ruler whom we know to have styled himself *χšāyaθiya vazarka*, *χšāyaθiya χšāyaθiyānām*, *χšāyaθiya dahyūnām*, *χšāyaθiya dahyūnām paruzanānām*, and *χšāyaθiya ahyāyā būmiyā vazarkāyā*. The title *χšāyaθiya pārsaiy*, 'king in Persia', was already borne by Kyros II as can be seen from the Babylonian records. The reference to Kyros as *šār māt Parsu* is from 548 B.C. Before this date Kyros was designed as 'king of Anšan (Anšān, Ancan). In Pasargadai he calls himself 'Kyros, the king, the Achaemenian' and 'Kyros, the great king, the Achaemenian'.¹ The same title is given by Kyros to his ancestors Kambyses I, Kyros I, and Teispes. A recently discovered inscription from Hamadān² shows Ariyāramna-, son of Čispi- and grandson of Haxāmaniš- as *χšāyaθiya vazarka*, *χšāyaθiya χšāyaθiyānām χšāyaθiya Pārsā*. Pārsā- is described as a *dahyu-*. As head of the house of Achaimenes Ariaramnes seems to have been a vassal to the Median Great King, but at the same time 'king of kings' amongst the Achaemenian rulers, of which we know the branches of Pārsā-, of Anšān, and perhaps as vassal to Anšān the line of Susiana.³ On the Rassam-cylinder, written in Babylonian, Kyros, the chosen of Marduk, bears the titles of the Babylonian kings, but he does not use those mentioned by Dareios I who again does not style himself *šār kiššati*, *šarru rabu*, *šarru dannu*, *šār bābili*, *šār māt šumeri u akkadi*, *šār kibrati irbitim*. As king of Babylonia which he became in 539, Kyros made use, in documents destined for Babylonians, of the titles of the fallen dynasty. The inscriptions from Pasargadai may be prior to the period of Persian successes. But perhaps Kyros, as head of the movement which overthrew with Median help Astyages, styled himself really and intentionally only 'the great king, the Achaemenian.' In a Babylonian inscription he contents himself with the title *šarru dannu* 'mighty king'.⁴ We do not know what titles were borne by Kambyses. Dareios I, the saviour of the Empire, may have assumed new titles.

It has been suggested, that the titles given to Dareios I, 'king of kings', 'king of the lands', and 'king of the lands of people of all origins' were originally Median. Then Kyros ought to have borne them already as the successor of Astyages, the more so as he seems to have adopted him as father, when he married the daughter of Astyages, Amytis, whom he is said to have considered too, as mother.⁵

Nothing is known of the Median royal titles. Dejokes is perhaps not a personal name; the title **dahyuka-* or something similar, may correspond to

¹ Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achaemeniden*, p. 126 f.; E. Herzfeld, *Archaeolog. Mitt. aus Iran*, i. 14 f. On the titles of the Persian kings in general, cf. R. D. Wilson, *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, Berlin, 1915, p. 179 ff.

² E. Herzfeld, *ibid.*, ii. 117 ff. The authenticity of this document appears doubtful to H. H. Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge I*, Halle, 1930, 95.

³ Abradatas of Susiana was the friend of Kyros, Xenophon, *Kyrouph.* 5, 1, 3; 7, 1, 32.

⁴ Weissbach, *l.c.*, p. 8 f.; O. E. Hagen, *Beitr. zur Assyriologie* ii, 1894, 214 f.; 257.

⁵ Ktesias, *Pers.* 2.

a *dahyupati*- of the later Avesta or to a *kavi*- of the Gāthic period. Dejokes seems to have introduced new customs into the political and social life of the Iranians by adopting institutions used by the great oriental monarchies with which the Medians came into contact. But the essentially feudatory character of the Median empire must have remained the same as that of the Persians was down to Dareios I and Xerxes I.

From the ninth century onwards the Medes who are mentioned first by Salmanassar III of Assyria in 835 B.C. were in close contact with the two mighty rival empires of Urartu (*Chaldea*) and of Assyria. It is interesting to note, that the title 'king of kings' was borne by the sovereigns of both empires. But it is first to be traced in Egypt. Amosis I of Egypt, styles himself: *nszw nšwsz m t3.w nb.w* 'king of kings in all countries'.¹ This pharao, who reigned from 1579(8)/76(5) to 1558(7)/1555(4), broke the power of the Hyksos and carried the Egyptian arms to Syria. After Amosis I, Thutmosis III and Amenophis II bear similar titles. Then the title disappears in Egypt, for two passages of Diodoros, calling Osymandyas and Sesoōsis βασιλεὺς βασιλέων are without value,² not to be taken up again before the period of the Ptolemies. This dynasty certainly copied the Persian model, not the remote example of Amosis I and his successors. The pharaos of the New Egyptian empire apparently took up the new title when they turned their political ambitions towards Syria.

In Babylonia the title 'king of kings' was not known. Foreign, probably Assyrian, examples may have been copied when Nabūnā'id mentions a god as *bēl bēlē*, 'lord of lords', and when Marduk is spoken of as *bēl bēlē* and *šar šarrāni*. Nebukadrezar I once styles himself *nasik šarrāni* 'chief of the kings',³ but this is only an exception. The king of Elam seems to have been the overlord of some 32 local rulers. The very complicated question of the royal titles used in Elam still needs clearing up.⁴

Amongst the Assyrian kings Tukulti Ninurta I (about 1260-1232) assumes the title *rubu-e kal šarrāni* 'prince of all kings'.⁵ This sovereign defeated the Mitanni and conquered Babylonia. He turned Assyria into a dangerous rival for the Hittite kings. Then Tiglatpileser I, who extended the Assyrian power to the shores of the Mediterranean sea, assumed besides others the titles *šar bēlē*, *šar kal malki*, *bēl bēlē*, *šar šarrāni*.⁶ At a much later period Assurnasirpal II (884-859), Asarhaddon and Assurbanipal use similar titles, joining to them, occasionally, after Assurbanipal that of 'king of kings of Kūšu and Mušur, i.e. of Ethiopia and Egypt, these countries having been invaded by the Assyrian forces.

Since the ninth century a formidable competitor of the Assyrian power had risen in the north. The kingdom of Urartu became a great empire.

¹ Bilabel-Grohmann, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Aegyptens*, p. 207; compare the following pages for valuable information on the subject of the title 'King of kings'.

² i. 47, 4; 55, 7.

³ H. C. Rawlinson, *The cuneiform inscr. of Western Asia*, v. 55, c. i. 11.

⁴ Cf. the useful pamphlet by F. W. König, 'Geschichte Elams', *Der Alte Orient* xxix. 4, Leipzig, 1931.

⁵ *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, ii. 60, 11.

⁶ Rawlinson, i. 3 f., c. i. 28 f.

Sardur I, who still uses the Assyrian language in his inscriptions, assumes proud imperial titles, amongst them that of 'king of kings',¹ because he wanted to show that he was on the same standing as the Assyrian sovereigns.

The Iranians, who appear in the Assyrian annals in the same ninth century which saw the formation of Chaldea-Urartu, became mixed into the conflict which arose between the two great contending empires. When Kyaxares could claim to be the equal of the kings of Babylonia, Egypt, and Lydia and when Niniveh was destroyed by the help of his Median army, he may have considered himself the heir to the Assyrian titles. About 585 B.C., when an undecided battle in the Halys was fought between the Medes and the Lydians, followed by a treaty between these two powers, the Medes put an end to the remains of the Chaldean kingdom.² This had been overflowed by Kimmerians, Scythians and by the Haik', an Indo-european tribe which came to Urartu from the West and which is one of the formative elements of the Armenian nation. At this period Kyaxares may have taken up the titles of the Chaldean kings. But unfortunately we know nothing of the Median titles. We can therefore only guess, that the Median sovereigns may have imitated the proud kings of Assyria and of Chaldea and that they styled themselves 'king of kings' to show that the empire had definitely passed to the Iranian Medes.

Dareios I certainly used this designation, and he had more right to do so than any other king, his rule extending from India to Karthage and to Macedonia, from the Upper Nile to the steppes of Southern Russia and of Central Asia.

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Dresden.

¹ Lehmann-Haupt, *Corpus Inscr. Chaldicarum*, p. 18 f.

² The last Chaldean king is Rusas III (605-585).

LE MĀH-YAŠT, PRIÈRE A LA LUNE

LES Yašt sont des prières où l'on reprend, pour la plupart, les formules du Yasna en les transformant un peu. Quelques uns, du nombre total de 24 Yašt, sont brefs et simples, d'autres, plus étendus, accusent le soin d'élargir la matière originellement sobre. Quelquefois ils ne sont pas dépourvus d'un certain mérite littéraire.

Leur trait commun c'est leur structure. La louange du dieu est intercalée entre deux formules exactement les mêmes dans tous les Yašt, parfois seulement incomplètes. La formule initiale se compose de deux introductions, une en pazend, c.-à-d. en pehlvi simplifié, l'autre en avestique. La formule finale composée de phrases détachées des Nyāiš et du Yasna est, sauf pour le Yašt iii, ordinairement abrégée et en langue du texte.

L'introduction en pazend, visiblement surajoutée à l'avestique, comprend trois parties où seulement la partie du milieu est l'élément variable, car elle consiste en un appel au Yazata propre du Yašt. Les deux autres sont une invocation à Ahura Mazda et une formule de pénitence.

Dans l'introduction avestique, beaucoup plus étendue, c'est la quatrième partie qui est instable. Elle annonce au Yazata la réjouissance qui lui est préparée; elle varie selon le nom et les attributs de la divinité invoquée.

Les deux introductions et les formules finales ont si peu à faire avec le contenu de chaque Yašt particulier, que, malgré l'unité de la langue, elles ne semblent être que le cadre fait par d'autres mains pour un tableau prêt depuis longtemps et peint avec d'autres intentions.

Les Yašt eux-mêmes sont métriques ou, au moins, l'ont été, mais, parvenus jusqu'à nous dans un état assez altéré, ils présentent des fragments de prose intercalée parmi les vers octosyllabiques. Il est clair que cette prose est due au défaut de mémoire chez les rédacteurs tardifs de la tradition avestique, lorsqu'elle était enfin arrivée à être fixée par écrit.

Les Nos. Y. v, viii, x, xiii, xiv, xvii et xix passent pour anciens;¹ d'autres sont envisagés comme relativement modernes ou modernisés. Les plus importants et les plus riches en renseignements sont les Yašt d'Ardvi-Sūra-Anāhita (v) et de Tištrya (viii). C'est peut-être grâce au désir de systématiser les prières que cette dernière, à Tištrya, est précédée de deux hymnes également consacrés aux corps célestes, au soleil et à la lune. Et si l'on veut se rappeler qu'Ardvi-Sūra réside dans la région des étoiles d'où Ahura Mazda l'appelle pour le secours des hommes (Yt. v. 85), et que Mithra, le Yazata du Yašt x, est devenu dans son développement ultérieur identique au soleil, nous nous trouverons en présence d'une série d'hymnes (je ne m'occupe pas en ce moment du Goš Yašt, ix, qui est bien déconcertant) adressés en hommage aux astres. Ce culte-là n'est pas d'origine aryenne. Spiegel,² qui cherche des influences sémitiques dans l'Avesta, les constate en analysant l'hymne à

¹ Cf. *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii. 7.

² F. Spiegel, *Avesta, die heiligen Schriften der Parsen*, i. 11; 270-72; ii. 217-222.

Tištrya-Sirius. On trouve cependant à côté du Yašt à Sirius, très étendu et très connu, une petite prière bien courte sur laquelle je voudrais attirer l'attention du lecteur. Je parle du Mäh-yašt, de la litanie à la lune.

La voici d'après l'édition de Geldner.¹

xšnaoθra ahurahe mazdā tarōiditi anrahe mainyēuš haiθyāvarštām hyať vasnā fərašōtəməm.

fərastuyē humatōibyasčā hūxtōibyasčā hvarštōibyasčā mąθwōibyasčā vaxə-dwōibyasčā varštōibyasčā. aibigairyā daiθē vīspā humatāčā hūxtāčā hvarštāčā. paitiričyā daiθē vīspā dušmatāčā dužuxtāčā dužvarštāčā.

fərā vā rāhū aməšā spəntā yasnəmčā vahmēmčā fərā manaxhā fərā vačaxhā fərā šyaoθanā fərā anhuyā fərā tanvasčit xʷahyā uštanəm.

staomī ašəm, ašəm vohū vahīštəm asti uštā asti uštā ahmāi hyať ašāi vahīštāi ašəm.

fəvarāne mazdayasnō zaraduštriš vīdāēvō ahura-īkaēšō. hāvanōe ašaone ašahe ratwe yasnāiča vaxmāiča xšnaoθrāiča frasastayaēčā.

mānhahe gaociθrahe gəuščā aēvōdātayā gəuščā pouru-sarədayā xšnaoθra yasnāiča vaxmāiča xšnaoθrāiča frasastayaēčā.

yathā ahū vairyō—zaotā frā mē mrūte (etc.) aθa ratuš ašačit hačā frā ašava vīdōvā mraotū.

(ici finit l'introduction).

1. *nəmō ahurāi mazdāi nəmō aməšaēibyō spəntaēibyō nəmō mānhaī gaociθrāi nəmō paiti-diti.*

2. *kať mā uxšyeiti kať mā nərəfsaiti. pañča-dasa mā uxšyeiti pañča-dasa mā nərəfsaiti. yā hē uxšyastātō tā nərəfsastātō tā nərəfsastātō yā hē uxšyastātāschit. kē yā mā uxšyeiti nərəfsaiti θwať.*

3. *mānham gaociθrəm ašavanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide. tať mānham paiti-vaēnəm tat mānham paiti-vīšəm raoxšnəm mānham aiwi-vaenəm raoxšnəm mānham aiwi-vīšəm. hištəpti aməšā spənta xʷarənō dārayeipti hištəpti aməšā spənta xʷarənō baxšəpti zəm paiti ahurađātəm.*

4. *āať yať mānham raoxšne tāpayeiti mišti urvaranəm zairi-gaonanəm zaramaēm paiti zemāda uzuxšyeiti. aṇtarəmānhāšča pərəno-mānhāšča vīšaptadāšča . . . aṇtarəmānham ašavanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide. vīšaptadəm ašavanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide.*

5. *yazāi mānham gaociθrəm bayəm raēvaṇtəm xʷarənanuhantəm afnanuhantəm tafnanuhantəm varəčənuhantəm xštāvəntəm ištāvəntəm yaoxštavəntəm saokavəntəm zairimyāvəntəm vohvāvəntəm bayəm baēšazəm.*

6. *ahe raya xʷarənanhačā təm yazāi surunvata yasna mānham gaociθrəm zaοθrābyō. mānham gaociθrəm ašavanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide haomayō gava barəmana hīzōv dānhanha mąθračā vačāčā šyaoθnačā zaοθrābyasčā aršuxθaēibyasčā vāyžibyō.*

yeñhē hātəm āať yesnē paiti vanhō mazdā ahurō vaēθā ašāť hačā yānhəmčā tāsčā tāščā yazamaide.

¹ K. F. Geldner, *Avesta, die heiligen Bücher der Parsen*, her. von . . . , ii, *Vispered und Khorde Avesta*, Stuttgart, 1889.

7. *yathā ahū vairyō . . . yasnəmča vaxməmča aōjasča zavarəča āfrīnāmi mānhahe gaočiθrahe gəuščā aēvo-dātayā gəuščā pouru-sarḍayā. ašəm vohū. ahmāi raēšča, etc.*

Ce Yašt est repris par Māh Nyāyiš, une des prières adressées au Soleil, à Mithra, à la Lune, aux Eaux et au Feu.

Et voici la traduction de J. Darmesteter¹ avec l'introduction pehlvie :

(La formule initiale en pazend: Au nom de Dieu! D'Ormuzd, le Seigneur, source d'accroissement, que la puissance et la Gloire s'accroisse! Vienne la Lune qui distribue, le Yazat Lune! De tous mes péchés de trois classes je fais pénitence et repentir: de toutes les mauvaises pensées, les mauvaises paroles, les mauvaises actions que dans le monde j'ai pensées, dites, faites; où je suis tombé; où je me suis enraciné; de tous ces péchés de pensée, de parole et d'action, retombant sur le corps ou retombant sur l'âme, d'ordre spirituel ou d'ordre matériel.)

(L'introduction en avestique, cf. le texte.) Réjouissance d'Ahura Mazda! écrasement d'Añgra Mainyu! [Voilà] ce que souhaitent le plus vos loyaux serviteurs.

Je loue et appelle les bonnes pensées, les bonnes paroles, les bonnes actions dans ma pensée, dans ma parole, dans mon action.

Je prends toute bonne pensée, toute bonne parole, toute bonne action; et je m'abstiens de toute mauvaise pensée, toute mauvaise parole, toute mauvaise action.

'Je vous donne, ô Amesha-Speñtas, sacrifice et prière; je vous donne ma pensée, ma parole, mon action; je vous donne mon âme et la vie de mon corps.

'Je fais louange de la Sainteté.

'"La sainteté est le bien suprême et c'est aussi la bonheur. Le bonheur à celui qui est saint de la sainteté suprême!" (3 fois).

'Je me déclare adorateur de Mazda, disciple de Zarathushtra, ennemi des Daēvas, sectateur de la Loi d'Ahura.

'Pour sacrifice, prière, réjouissance et glorification à Hāvani, saint, maître de sainteté.

'Réjouissance à la Lune qui contient le germe du Taureau; au Taureau créé unique et au Taureau, père des espèces multiples,

Pour sacrifice, prière, réjouissance et glorification.

'(Yathā . . .) Le désir du Seigneur . . . que ce prêtre Zaotar me le dise!— C'est la règle du bien. Que l'homme de bien qui la connaît la proclame!

'1. Hommage à Ahura Mazda! Hommage aux Amesha-Speñtas! Hommage à la Lune qui contient le germe du Taureau! Hommage à la Lune quand nous la regardons! Hommage à elle quand elle nous regarde!

'2. Comment la Lune croît-elle? Comment la Lune décroît-elle? Quinze jours croît la Lune: quinze jours décroît la Lune. Tant qu'elle croît,

¹ J. Darmesteter, 'Le Zend-Avesta, traduction nouvelle', *Annales du Musée Guimet*, xxii.

(c'est la) décroissance, et croissance tant qu'elle décroît. Qui fait que la Lune croît et décroît, autre que toi ?

'3. Nous sacrifions à la Lune, qui contient le germe du Taureau, sainte, maître de sainteté. Je regarde la Lune, j'aperçois la Lune. Je regarde la lumière de la Lune, j'aperçois la lumière de la Lune. Les Amesha-Speñtas se lèvent, ils ramassent sa Gloire; les Amesha-Speñtas se lèvent, ils distribuent sa Gloire sur la terre, créée par Ahura.

'4. Et quand la lumière de la Lune s'échauffe, de la terre pousse un printemps de plantes aux couleurs d'or. Nous sacrifions aux Nouvelles Lunes, aux Pleines Lunes, aux Vishaptathas. Nous sacrifions à la Nouvelle Lune, sainte, maître de sainteté. Nous sacrifions à la Pleine Lune, sainte, maître de sainteté. Nous sacrifions à Vishaptatha, saint, maître de sainteté.

'5. Je sacrifie à la Lune qui contient le germe du Taureau; Dieu libéral, magnifique et glorieux; maître des nuées, de la chaleur, de la science, de la richesse, de la fortune, de la réflexion, du bien-être, de la verdure, des richesses; Dieu libéral et guérissant.

'6. Pour sa magnificence et sa Gloire je veux lui offrir le sacrifice traditionnel; je veux offrir les libations à la Lune qui contient le germe du Taureau. Nous offrons en sacrifice à la Lune qui contient le germe du Taureau, sainte, maître de pureté, le Haoma avec le lait, le Baresman, la sagesse de la langue, le texte divin, la parole, les actes, les libations et les paroles droites.

'Celui et ceux dont le culte, Ahura-Mazda le sait, donne le bien aux êtres en retour de leur sainteté, à ceux-là—à eux et à elles—nous offrons le sacrifice.

'7. . . . De la Lune qui contient le germe du Taureau; du Taureau créé unique; du Taureau, père des espèces multiples, je bénis le sacrifice et la prière, la force et l'agilité.'

D'autres traductions, celle de Spiegel¹ et de Harlez,² diffèrent dans quelques détails. Ainsi au § 2 on lit chez Spiegel: 'Wie viel seine Zunahme ist, so viel ist auch seine Abnahme, so viel ist seine Abnahme als seine Zunahme'—même chose chez de Harlez. J. Darmesteter, connaissant mieux la tradition parsie, explique le terme 'décroissance' comme se rapportant aux étoiles qui sont moins brillantes à mesure que la lune grandit et inversement; par conséquent, dans la traduction de Darmesteter, la phrase en question se compose de deux parties, chacune à sujet différent.

En revanche, là où Darmesteter traduit 'plantes aux couleurs d'or', Spiegel semble être plus près de la vérité en comprenant *zairigaonangm* comme 'grüne'. En effet, bien que le correspondant sanskrit de *zairi*—*hari*—indique ordinairement 'jaune doré, vert jaune' etc., les noms de couleurs n'étant nullement précis, on devrait plutôt voir dans *zairigaona* l'indication de ce vert tendre qui caractérise les pousses du printemps.

Ces remarques, qu'on pourrait multiplier, ne diminuent point la haute

¹ F. Spiegel, *Avesta, die heil. Schr. der Parsen*, t. iii; *Khorda Avesta*, Leipzig, 1863.

² de Harlez, *Avesta, livre sacré des sectateurs du Zoroastre*, 2^e éd. Paris, 1881.

valeur des traductions qu'on possède déjà, comme d'autre part ces traductions elles-mêmes ne nous empêchent pas d'en espérer d'autres plus exactes.

Ce qui nous paraît le plus intéressant à la lecture de ce Yašt, c'est l'existence du culte de la lune dans l'Avesta. Au même titre que le Soleil (Yašt vi, Hvare xšaeta) et le Sirius-Tištara (Yašt viii), la Lune appartient aux *yazata*, à ces conceptions ou plutôt images dont le nombre s'est singulièrement développé au fur et à mesure de l'évolution ou, si l'on veut, de la décadence du mazdéisme.

On annonce des sacrifices à la Lune :

nivaedayemi haṅkārāyemi māhyaeibyō . . . antarəmānhāi . . . nivaedayemi haṅkārāyemi pəzənō mānhāi . . .

'j'annonce et j'accomplis (ce sacrifice) pour les génies du mois . . . pour la nouvelle lune; . . . j'annonce et je l'accomplis pour la pleine lune', dit Yasna i. 8.

On l'invoque à côté du Soleil et du Sirius :

dadvānhəm ahurəm mazdəm yazamaide ātrəm ahurahē mazdā puθrəm yazamaide. āpō varuhiš mazdadātā ašaoniš yazamaide. hvarəxšaētəm aurvaṭ aspəm yazamaide. mānhəm gaociθrəm yazamaide. tištrīm stārəm raēvantəm xʷarənanhəntəm yazamaide. gəuš hudānhō urvānəm yazamaide. Yasna xvi. 4.

'nous sacrifions à Ahura-Mazda, le créateur; nous sacrifions au feu, fils d'Ah. M. Nous honorons les eaux saintes et bonnes, créées par Ahura Mazda; . . . le soleil brillant aux coursiers rapides; . . . la lune qui contient le germe des troupeaux;¹ . . . Tištrya, astre splendide, majestueux. Nous honorons l'âme du bœuf qui donne le bien.'

Cette litanie de Y. xvi est très curieuse au point de vue de répartition des *yazata*. Elle se compose de passages de dimension inégale, mais chacun d'eux commence par les mots : *ahurəm mazdəm*—suit l'épithète chaque fois différente—*yazamaide*. Après cette phrase vient l'énumération des divinités qu'on honore comme présidant au gouvernement du monde. Chaque *ahurəm mazdəm* . . . inaugure une nouvelle série d'êtres divins.

Ainsi la première série c'est Ahura Mazda plus Zarathuštra et les créatures pures, plus les six abstractions : Vohu Manō, Aša Vahišta, Xšaθra Vairya, Spentā Armaiti, Haurvatāt et Ameretāt. C'est le groupe supérieur, de six Aməša Spənta avec Ahura Mazda en tête, et Zarathuštra comme supplément qui ne paraît point nécessaire ici. En effet l'hommage au prophète constitue un passage à part. On y rencontre la Fravaši de Zarathuštra, les paroles, la loi, la foi et les ordonnances du sage; la liste se termine par les bonnes créatures de deux mondes : *fravašim . . . sravdā . . . daenqm . . . varənm . . . tkaešm . . . damqm . . . yazamaide*. C'est aussi un groupe de six. Il représente les éléments intellectuels.

Le groupe suivant c'est le feu, les eaux, le soleil, la lune, l'astre de Sirius ou Tištrya et *gəuš urvan*. C'est le groupe cosmique.

Immédiatement après viennent les lignes où Ahura Mazda est accompagné

¹ Ainsi de Harlez; 'du Taureau' de Darmesteter semble ici impropre, cf. A. Meillet, *Trois conférences sur les gāthā de 'Avesta'*, Paris, 1925, p. 44.

de Mithra, de Sraoša, de Rašnu, des Fravaši, de Verəthraghna et de Rāma-x^uāstra. Bien que considérés comme personnifications de lumière, ces dieux sont en même temps placés par la mythologie à la limite et à l'entrée du monde éternel. Protecteurs des hommes et leurs juges en même temps, ils forment la transition entre le ciel et la terre.

Je me réserve de discuter ailleurs le groupement des principes divins dans le Yasna d'après un ordre et des nombres traditionnels. Ici, il suffit d'attirer l'attention du lecteur sur le fait que, selon la doctrine du Yasna, les éléments primordiaux, feu, eaux et *urvān*, font groupe avec les corps célestes, le soleil, la lune et le Sirius.

Chacun de ces noms est pourvu d'un déterminatif qui lui appartient exclusivement et qui l'accompagne dans la plupart des passages de l'Avesta. Le feu est le fils d'Ahura Mazda, les eaux sont saintes et excellentes, le soleil a les coursiers rapides, Tištrya est majestueux, *urvān* est *hudāh* 'aux dons favorables' la lune est *gaočīθra*.

Ces épithètes sont constantes, il y a cependant des passages où le nom de la lune n'est orné d'aucun adjectif, ainsi :

nivaeḍayemi hankārayemi . . . apəmča zəməmča urvaranəmča anhāsča zəmō avanhasča ašnō vātaheča āsaonō stārəm mānhō hūrō anayranəm raočanham . . . Yasna i. 16; même chose Y. iii. 18, etc.,¹ cf. aussi Nyāiš viii et Gāh iii du Khorde Avesta.

'j'annonce et j'offre ce sacrifice . . . (au profit) de ces eaux, de ces terres, de ces plantes, de cette terre et de ce ciel, du vent pur, des étoiles, de la lune, du soleil et des lumières (célestes) qui n'ont pas de commencement.'²

On parle ici de l'univers visible et la lune y est mentionnée comme un élément entre autres. Elle est néanmoins divine; preuve les passages où l'on s'adresse aux divinités qui président aux mois et à leurs parties, preuve aussi les mentions de la nouvelle et de la pleine lune, définie au moyen du déterminatif *ašavan* 'pur, saint, pieux, etc.', déterminatif par excellence liturgique et religieux, cf. Yasna i. 8; ii. 8; iii. 10, etc.

D'autre part cependant, si on se retourne vers les Gāthā, partie plus ancienne de l'Avesta, on ne constate pas que la lune y soit honorée. Les invocations s'adressent à Ahura Mazda, aux sept Aməša Spənta, à savoir à Aša, et Xsathra, à Vohumāno et à Sraoša, à Armaiti, à Haurvatāt et à Amərətāt, au feu *vafīšta*, aux Eaux qui pénètrent toutes choses, à l'âme du bœuf et aux âmes des justes. On honore Zarathuštra et les prêtres *θarvan*; on nous transmet des détails à peu près historiques sur la famille du prophète. Mais les corps célestes ne figurent point dans les Gāthā. La doctrine ancienne et pure ne connaissait pas le culte des étoiles. Elle s'oppose à cet égard au reste de l'Avesta.

Nous nous trouvons ainsi en présence de deux religions. L'une, due à Zarathuštra, est plus ou moins moniste, car son dualisme foncier doit se

¹ Les chiffres ne sont pas les mêmes dans l'édition de Spiegel.

² D'après de Harlez. J. Darmesteter traduit les derniers mots par : ' . . . la lumière infinie créée d'elle-même'.

résoudre un jour en un monisme final. L'autre, qui pénètre de plus en plus la religion imposée par le réformateur, est pluraliste; les dieux personnels font un curieux mélange avec des abstractions et des forces cosmiques et le culte des astres occupe une place importante.

C'est dans cette seconde religion, manifestement plus populaire et ne s'amalgamant que peu à peu avec la doctrine intellectuelle de Zarathuštra que nous rencontrons des invocations à la lune.

Elles sont de deux espèces. Les unes invoquent la lune qui a le caractère sacré, comme on l'a vu Yasna i. 8; ii. 8; iii. 10, etc., mais dont les fonctions ne sont pas spécifiées pas plus qu'elles ne le sont pour d'autres phénomènes ou éléments énumérés dans les mêmes prières. D'autres, à savoir Vendidad xxi. 31; Yasna iii. 49; xvii. 23; Nyāiš ix—presque identique du reste à Māh-yašt—Yašt xii (Rašnu-yašt), et quelques autres fragments du Khorde Avesta (p. ex. Sirōze) mettent à côté du nom de l'astre l'épithète *gaociθra*. Cette épithète se trouve partout où une prière est exclusivement adressée à *māh-*, c.-à-d. la où la lune est considérée comme un dieu à part.

Gaociθra est ordinairement traduit: 'qui contient le germe des troupeaux'. Spiegel¹ en donne l'explication suivante:

'Den Schlüssel zu dieser Benennung giebt uns der Bundeshesh c. 14, wo gesagt ist, dass nach dem Tode des eingebornen Stiers der Same desselben dem Monde übergeben wurde, der ihn reinigte und die verschiedenen Arten des Viehs davon schuf.

'... von der astrologischen Bedeutung von Sonne und Mond werden wir ... bei den Fravashis sprechen ...'

Pour ces Fravaši, un ouvrage relativement tardif, Minokhired, dit explicitement que ce sont des astres. Et Spiegel, en attribuant aux Fravaši une origine relativement récente, attribue par cela même au culte des astres en Iran une origine moderne. Nous n'en sommes pas aussi sûrs.

En effet la notion de génies protecteurs qui peuvent apparaître en même temps comme génies intérieurs des êtres divins, humains et des corps célestes ne se trouve pas dans les Gāthā. Et il est vrai que leur puissance s'affirmant au point de rendre inutile toute existence d'Ahura Mazda, on est obligé, pour les passages les concernant, de constater leur opposition avec la doctrine de Zarathuštra. Mais cela n'exclue pas leur ancienneté. Le Yašt Fravardin xiii, qui témoigne de l'importance des Fravaši dans la religion iranienne, est considéré par Bartholomae (*Grundriss*, ii. 7) comme ancien. On ne peut, par conséquent, de l'équation: Fravaši = étoiles tirer rien qui nous éclaire sur le caractère et l'époque où s'est développé le culte de la lune.

Il se peut qu'il fût très ancien. L'enseignement de Zarathuštra n'avait pas déraciné les croyances qui l'avaient précédé dans l'Iran, toujours ouvert aux influences du dehors, ni cet enseignement a pu se maintenir intact. C'est un fait très connu que les habitudes et les sentiments refoulés remontent à la surface à la première occasion. Après les mazdéens fidèles au pur idéalisme des Gāthā, il y a eu des mazdéens qui ont fait sciemment des concessions au

¹ *Avesta* ... übersetzt, ii. xxi.

peuple ou bien qui se sont laissés entraîner, sans le savoir, par les courants d'à côté. Ce malheur—si le malheur est là—est arrivé à bien des religions. Dans l'Inde voisine le Hināyana et le Mahāyana croient chacun poursuivre le chemin de la vérité, et l'hindouïsme, remplaçant le brahmanisme, se dit toujours l'héritier des Védas, bien que son prédécesseur même le fût déjà dans une mesure restreinte. La présence des conceptions astrologiques babyloniennes sur le sol iranien ne prouverait peut-être que l'adaptation du zoroastrisme aux tendances qui lui étaient étrangères, il est vrai, mais qui pouvaient ne pas être neuves.

Si l'on veut affirmer que la foi en corps célestes, êtres vivants, bienveillants et actifs, telle que nous la connaissons de certains Yašt, est importée de l'étranger comme une innovation toute faite, on s'étonne de ne pas voir le zoroastrisme réagir contre ce culte. A l'époque de la renaissance mazdéenne on ne manquait pas de violence contre les adversaires. Mais les conceptions babyloniennes qui percent si manifestement dans les textes canoniques ne choquaient pas les croyants parce qu'elles s'étaient depuis longtemps entremêlées avec des traditions aryennes.

On a beaucoup insisté sur l'opposition entre ce qu'on appelle la réforme de Zoroastre d'un côté et la mythologie indienne de l'autre. Mais de nombreux points de contact ont survécu à la séparation des deux peuples et des éléments indo-iraniens continuent à vivre dans le zoroastrisme. Mieux encore: le fonds aryen s'est si étroitement lié au fonds chaldéen qui devait nécessairement exister dans le voisinage de la Mésopotamie qu'il en a résulté une croyance hybride. Cette fusion de l'élément aryen et de l'élément babylonien dans le cadre zoroastrien est claire dans le Māh-yašt.

'Combien de jours la lune croît-elle? combien de jours décroît-elle?' Rien dans cette pensée (Māh-yašt 2) n'appartient plus particulièrement à un peuple qu'à un autre. La lune est partout la mesure du temps, et bien que la Chaldée passe pour avoir été le berceau de l'astronomie, il n'est pas impossible que d'autres points du globe n'aient développé les mêmes notions. Les plaines et les plateaux où se mouvaient les indo-européens ne se prêtaient pas moins bien à l'observation du ciel que les prés de la Mésopotamie.

Mais d'autres définitions de la lune du Māh-yašt correspondent plutôt aux idées indiennes. 'Saint', 'maître de la Sainteté' ou 'chef pur du monde pur', 'être majestueux', 'qui répand les eaux' ou 'maître des nuées'—selon la traduction de Darmesteter ou de Harlez—'qui pleut des plantes' (da giesst er herab grüne Bäume—Spiegel—. . . *mišti urovaranəm zairi-gaonanəm zaramaēm paiti zemāda uzuxšyeiti*), 'dieu libéral qui guérit' (*bayəm bažšazəm*) se rapportent autant à la lune qu'à sa déification en la personne de Varuṇa.

Varuṇa, la contrepartie védique d'Ahura Mazda, dieu suprême, répond à la définition du Māh-yašt 3 (. . . *ašavanəm ašahe ratūm*) et du Māh-yašt 5 (. . . *raēvaṇtəm xʷarananruhaṇtəm*); il est l'être pur et glorieux. Il est aussi guérisseur avant que les Ašvin eussent assumé ce rôle. Tandis que Mithra est dit être la lumière du jour, Varuṇa surveille la terre et l'éclaire pendant la nuit, il est donc la lune.¹ Dans la période postvédique Varuṇa n'est plus que le dieu des

¹ Cf. H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 49 ss.; A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, i. 535; Hardy, &c.

eaux, fonction que le Māh-yašt attribue à la lune, cependant le Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4. 4. 18 le nomme encore la lune croissante.

. . . *raoxšnəm mānhəm aiwi-vaēnəm raoxšnəm mānhəm aiwi-viśəm* . . . dit le Māh-yašt 3. C'est toujours la lune brillante qu'on admire dans l'Avesta. C'est aussi la lune claire qu'il faut regarder dans l'Inde; la pureté est sa nature foncière et l'astre n'est bienveillant qu'en tant que pur; les taches de la lune présentent son état corrompu, lorsqu'elle n'est que nuisible.¹

D'autres attributs de la lune concordent aussi avec les idées indiennes. Elle distribue l'humidité (Māh-yašt 5) et elle fait croître les plantes (Māh-yašt 4). Ici le Māh-yašt va de pair avec les Brāhmaṇa (p. ex. ŚB. iii. 7. 4. 4), la Bhagavadgītā et, en général, avec la mythologie postvédique. Les gouttes de Soma filtrées par le *pavitra* sont comparées à la pluie bienfaisante. Il y a peut-être ici un peu de renouvellement de l'image ancienne, déjà effacée, du dieu-lune présidant à la pluie. Elle a dû se trouver dans le fonds de la représentation ultérieure du Soma-lune.

Cependant le dieu habituel de la pluie dans l'Iran est Tištrya, que l'Avesta (cf. Tištar-yašt) et les textes Pehlvi nomment le chef des étoiles. Néanmoins on dit de la lune *afnaruhant*. Les choses ne sont pas très claires; il y a eu peut-être un choc d'idées chaldéennes et d'idées indiennes.

Les Indiens ne déifient pas les étoiles. Les corps célestes—d'après le folklore du Nord de l'Inde²—ne sont que le séjour des âmes; quelquefois ils sont les âmes elles-mêmes, cf. la notion védique de *saptarsi*, des *kyttikā*, etc. Quant à la lune, elle est une manifestation de Brahma, cf. ŚB. xiii. 2. 7. 7, mais elle n'est pas dieu.

Autre chose en Chaldée.³ Là le ciel avec ses étoiles est le prototype de la terre et tout ce qui doit avoir lieu sur la terre s'annonce d'abord dans le ciel, le macrocosme de notre monde. De cette conception première découle le caractère astral des divinités assyro-babyloniennes. Chaque être divin a son correspondant parmi les astres du firmament ou plutôt, si l'on consulte les listes de la période assyrienne tardive, à chaque planète etc., correspond une divinité. Finalement l'astre est dieu lui-même. Ainsi Marduk éclaire la nuit—comme le fait aussi Varuṇa—et s'appelle alors Sin, dieu de la lune. Un temple à Sin-lune a existé à Ur,⁴ et des hymnes en l'honneur de la Lune-dieu étaient chantés aux fêtes lui consacrées jusqu'à l'époque des Séleucides. Le culte ne faisait pas de distinction entre les corps célestes et les dieux. Le Māh-yašt est conçu tout à fait dans l'ordre d'idées religieuses babyloniennes.

Je laisse de côté la relation entre le monde divin et la conception du nombre. Le rôle que certaines représentations numériques ont joué dans l'histoire des religions est trop important et trop compliqué à la fois pour être brièvement traité. Un jour, peut-être, pourrons-nous revenir à ce sujet. Passons maintenant à un autre trait qui est commun aux notions religieuses de la Mésopotamie et de l'Iran, au moins en tant que le démontre le Māh-yašt. Il s'agit du taureau, image et signe du dieu.

¹ 'Institutes of Vishnu', *Sacred Books of the East*, vii. 220.

² Cf. Hopkins, *Origin and Evolution of Religions*, p. 54 ss.

³ Cf. Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien u. Assyrien*, Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek, Heidelberg,

⁴ 1923.

⁵ B. Meissner, op. cit., ii. 59 ss.

Les mythologies de tous les peuples, autant qu'on le sache, accordent beaucoup de place aux animaux, et le taureau, emblème de la force, est un sujet que l'iconographie représente volontiers. Mais il y a des pays où il a une importance particulière et c'est le cas de l'Assyro-Babylonie. Marduk-lune a le taureau pour signe; il est même taureau. Ce n'est pas une simple comparaison des traits de la divinité avec ceux de l'animal; la relation est plus profonde. Les deux images alternent comme deux formes alternantes d'un seul être ou d'un seul principe. Dans le *Māh-yašt*, au delà des montagnes qui bordent l'Iran sans former une barrière infranchissable du côté de la Mésopotamie, la lune est *gaociθra*. Je me permets d'analyser ce mot de la façon la plus simple, sans tenir compte de la savante interprétation de Spiegel: *cithra* 'apparence, vue, signe, ensemble de signes etc. etc.'¹ avec l'apposition de l'élément *gao* donne le *bahuvrihi* 'qui a pour emblème le taureau'; c'est la définition de la lune iranienne, de celle des *Yašt*, et de la lune assyro-babylonienne.

Un autre astre encore possède dans l'Avesta l'épithète de 'taureau'. C'est *Tištār* du 19^e fargard du *Vendidad*. Inconnu dans l'ancien panthéon des Perses, il figure dans le *Vendidad* comme l'astre de la pluie. Mais on le nomme aussi protecteur des troupeaux. Il correspondrait alors à *Tammuz* babylonien, qui est en même temps maître des plantes auxquelles il distille la rosée vivifiante. Ainsi *Tištār-Sirius* partage avec la lune les attributs que les Hindous ne trouvaient qu'à *caṇḍramas* et que les peuples de la vallée du Tigre mettaient au compte d'un autre corps céleste. Et la lune seule? Divine et honorée, elle n'est cependant que rarement mentionnée dans l'Avesta, encore plus rarement invoquée. On se demande: pourquoi cet astre n'a-t-il pas occupé une place plus en vue en Avesta tardif? pourquoi la superposition des idées babyloniennes aux idées indiennes ne lui a-t-elle pas prêté plus d'importance dans la liturgie avestique? C'est peut-être que ce mélange même de notions constituait un danger. Le rôle de la lune était doublé en partie par celui de *Tištār*, et ce dernier se trouvait soutenu par l'image de *Tammuz* voisin, l'image brillante et vigoureuse. Au contraire, la lune hindoue, base de la représentation iranienne, n'avait jamais vécu d'une vie éclatante dans la mythologie de l'Inde, étrangère au culte des étoiles. Sa divinisation est venue de l'ouest et, sur la notion indienne et babylonienne en même temps de la lune favorable aux plantes, on a greffé le motif babylonien de *gaociθra*, en colorant le tout de piété mazdéenne (*mānham . . . ašavanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide*). Le résultat de cette opération est le *Māh-yašt*, œuvre hybride et de ce fait même extrêmement intéressante. Elle montre combien les images apparemment simples sont complexes, et combien d'éléments étrangers d'origine diverse se cache sous les doctrines apparemment nationales et et unes.

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¹ Cf. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, s.v.

THE MENTION OF 'FIRE' IN ISAIAH AND THE DOWNFALL OF SENNACHERIB

REFERENCES to 'fire' and descriptions of its destructive and all-consuming forces are more frequent in Isaiah ix, x, xxix, xxx, xxxi, and xxxiii, than in any other prophetic book of the O.T.

In connexion with the mention of 'fire' in all these passages, reference is always made, either expressly or implicitly ('peoples, nations, terrible ones, multitude of nations that fight against Ariel, nations that fight against Mount Zion') to Assyria, its king and army. In two of them the downfall of Assyria is compared with 'the day of Midian', viz.

- (1) Isa. ix. 4. 'The rod of his oppressor thou hast broken as in the day of Midian,'
- (2) Isa. x. 26. 'and the Lord of hosts shall stir up against him a scourge as in the slaughter of Midian at the rock of Oreb.'

In (2) it is obvious that 'the day of Midian' is a reference to Gideon's battle with the Midianites; but also (1) refers to the same event. For 'the day of Midian' in Isa. ix. 4, is immediately followed by 'For all the armour of the armed men in the tumult . . . shall even be for *burning*, for *fuel of fire*' which is, no doubt, an allusion to the device of the trumpets and 'torches within the pitchers' which Gideon adopted in his attack on the Midianites, who, being alarmed at the noise of the trumpets and the sight of the fire—thinking that they were being attacked by a very large army—fled in rout before Gideon and his men (id. 22).

This comparison between Isa. ix. 4-5 and Judges vii, leads me to assume that what had actually happened at Sennacherib's camp near Jerusalem as narrated in 2 Kings xix. 35, 36, to which Isa. ix. 3-4 is no doubt an allusion, must have been something similar to that which had occurred during Gideon's battle with the Midianites. The point of similarity is that of the appearance of fire at midnight. But whilst in the case of Gideon the fire had appeared by his own device, in the case of Sennacherib the fire-outbreak must have followed an earthquake which had occurred at Jerusalem. The city of Jerusalem itself, however, would not seem to have been seriously affected; on the other hand the severe earthquake and the fire following it had apparently quite suddenly overtaken Sennacherib and his army in their camp on the outskirts of Jerusalem and had so greatly alarmed them that they fled in great haste, many falling dead in the tumult.

If this view is accepted it would appear that the references in several passages in Isaiah to 'fire' are to be explained in the light of the events which occurred during Sennacherib's encampment near Jerusalem. If so interpreted we will also obtain a better understanding of their text.

The passages concerned are:

- (1) Isa. x. 5-17. In this passage which, as it alludes (v. 9) to the words of Sennacherib's messengers quoted in Isa. xxxvi. 19, must be taken to refer to

Sennacherib, we find vv. 16-17 saying: 'Under his glory there shall be kindled a burning like the burning of fire. And the light of Israel shall be for a *fire* and his Holy One for a *flame*; and it shall burn and devour his (Assyria's) thorns and his briers in one day.'

(2) Isa. xxix. 3-8. This paragraph which mentions the siege of Jerusalem and the sudden flight of her foes says that: 'Thou (Zion) shalt be visited by the Lord of hosts *with thunder, and with earthquake, and great noise, with whirlwind and tempest, and the flame of devouring fire* (6). And the multitude of all nations that fight against Ariel shall be as a dream, as a *vision of the night*' (7).

(3) Isa. xxx. 27-33. In this paragraph Assyria and its King are expressly mentioned. 'Behold, the name of the Lord cometh from far, *burning with his anger, and in thick rising smoke* . . . and his tongue is as a devouring fire (27): And his breath, *as an overflowing stream* (28). . . . For through the voice of the Lord shall the *Assyrian be broken in pieces*. . . (31) . . . For *Topheth* is prepared of old: yea, for the King it is made ready; he hath made it deep and large; the pile thereof *is fire and much wood*; the breath of the Lord, *like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it*' (33).

(4) In Isa. xxxi. 8-9, there is an allusion to what is said in 2 Kings xix. 35 ('And the Angel of God the Lord went forth and smote in the camp of the Assyrians'); 'Then shall the Assyrian fall with the sword, *not of men*: and the sword, *not of men*, shall devour him (8) . . . saith the Lord, whose *fire* is in Zion, and his *furnace* in Jerusalem' (9).

(5) In Isa. xxxiii. 3, 11-14 we read: 'At the noise of the *tumult* the peoples are fled; at the lifting up of thyself the nations are scattered (3). . . . Your breath is a *fire that shall devour you* (11). And the peoples shall be as the burnings of lime; as thorns cut down that are burned in the fire' (12).

Then the Prophet continues his prophecy by addressing the sinners of Jerusalem and imploring them to take an example of the great punishment God brought upon the Assyrians by the burning fire: 'The sinners in Zion are afraid; trembling hath surprised the godless ones; who among us shall dwell with the *devouring fire*? Who among us shall dwell with *everlasting burnings*?' (14.)

On the other hand he is glad to emphasize the fact that the city of Zion itself had not been affected by the earthquake, for he says (16, 20) 'He (the Lord) dwells on high; his place of defence is the munitions of rocks (16). . . . Look upon Zion, the city of . . . Jerusalem, a *quiet habitation* (in contrast to the shocks which were felt in the camp of the Assyrians), a tent that *shall not be removed*, the stakes whereof *shall never be plucked up*' (20).

(6) It is also possible that vv. 18-20 in chapter xxiv are an allusion to this event 'For the windows on high are opened and the *foundations of the earth do shake* (18). The *earth is utterly broken*, the *earth is clean dissolved*, the *earth is moved* exceedingly (19). The *earth shall stagger like a drunken man* and shall *be moved* to and fro like a hut' (20).

The echo of this great event can also be traced, in my opinion, in some chapters of the Psalms, which emphasize that at a time of a very strong

earthquake in the vicinity of Jerusalem and the Temple, the latter two have remained intact, 'a quiet habitation'.

(1) This in my opinion is the content of Psalm xxix which on the one hand describes the power of the voice of the Lord: 'The God of Glory thundereth (3). The voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars of the Lebanon (5). He maketh them to skip like a calf; Lebanon and Sirion like a young wild ox (6). The voice of the Lord cleaveth the *flames of fire* (7) . . . shaketh the wilderness of Kadesh (8), i.e. earthquake from one end of the country (Lebanon and Sirion in the north) to the other end (Kadesh in the south); whilst on the other hand it asserts that 'in His (God's) Temple everything saith: Glory' (9), i.e. the quietness in the Temple shows the Glory of God.

(2) As an allusion to this phenomenon we may perhaps also consider some verses of Ps. xlviii. Whilst vv. 4-7 describe the dismay of the kings, i.e. Assyria (cf. Isa. x. 8), their retreat and trembling, vv. 3, 12 and 13 tell us how in contrast thereto Zion is safe and quiet, and how thereby the glory of God is exalted.

(3) The event is, I think, even more explicitly expressed in Ps. xli. This chapter speaks of the earth 'changing' and the mountains 'being moved and shaken' (2); of 'the Lord who uttered his voice' and 'the earth melted' (6); and of 'the kingdoms' that 'were moved' (6) in consequence. At the same time, however, this Psalm also tells us of 'a river, the streams whereof make glad the city of God' (4) i.e. in 'the city of God' nothing had happened and all is at peace; because 'God is in the midst of her *she shall not be moved* (i.e. she will not feel the effect of the earthquake). God shall help her *early in the morning* (i.e. when the inhabitants of Jerusalem wake up in the morning they will learn of the retreat of the Assyrians by night).

(4) I think that Ps. xcvi may also be interpreted as referring to the same event. For when v. 1 says that 'The Lord reigneth, the earth rejoiceth' the Psalmist means that the earth rejoices at the power God had revealed by what he had done to the Assyrians. For vv. 3-5 are indeed only a description of the events that had actually occurred during Sennacherib's downfall: '*A fire* goeth before him, and burneth up his adversaries round about (3) . . . the earth saw, and trembled (4). The hills melted like wax at the presence of the Lord' (5). By these happenings the name of God became known in the whole world (6) and 'ashamed all they that serve graven images' (7). Zion alone rejoiced because of the 'judgements' which the Lord had effected against the enemies of his people (8).

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